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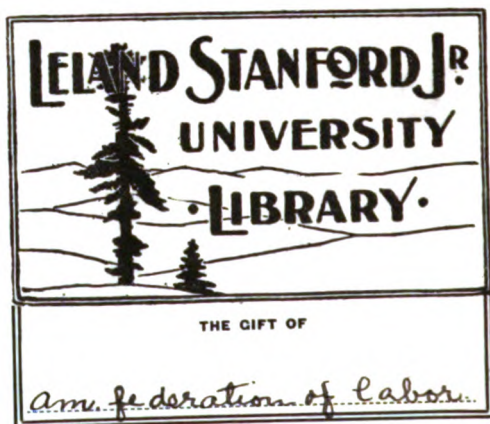
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Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
November 8 to 22, Inclusive
1915



THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1915

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1916

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	10	Joe. A. Mullaney, 15 Eleventh st., Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.
		53	A. A. Myrup, 212 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	53	J. Goldstone, 68 McKibben st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		52	R. C. Schneider, 29 Oakland st., Salem, Mass.
		69	Frank X. Noschang, P. O. Box 397, Albany, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	68	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		68	C. M. Felder, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.
		68	C. F. Foley, 420 N. Second st., Pottsville, Pa.
		68	Jas. C. Shanesy, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	14	Geo. Abernathy, 1711 Suburban ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	29	James W. Kline, 1270-1285 Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		28	J. M. Tobin, 1424 Jackson st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		28	Wm. F. Kramer, 1270-1285 Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of.....	4	44	J. A. Franklin, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kansas.
		43	A. Hinzman, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		43	M. J. McGuire, 288 Guerro st., San Francisco, Cal.
		43	Chas. MacGowan, Seventh st., Silvis, Ill.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	29	A. P. Sovey, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		28	John J. O'Brien, 1236 Valencia st., San Francisco, Cal.
		28	Joseph Collins, 1455 Twelfth ave., San Francisco, Cal.
		72	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	71	John H. Tobin, 5 Cottage st., E. Weymouth, Mass.
		71	Thomas O'Hare, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		71	Chas. H. McKenna, 304 North St., New Bedford, Mass.
		71	J. Thomas Beasley, 64 Hancock st., Dorchester, Mass.
		104	Joseph Proebstle, 521 Riddle Road, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		104	Albert J. Kugler, 135 Wegman Place, Jersey City, N. J.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United.....	5	104	John Rader, 2430 Maplewood ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		104	John Sullivan, 25 Third ave., New York City.
		104	Joseph Obergfell, 2347-51 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Brick Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International.....	1	29	Frank Butterworth, 2341 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of.....	3	34	Jos. E. McClory, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		33	J. D. Barnes, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		33	Sam Tobin, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		280	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		280	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		280	John A. Metz, 73 W. Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	7	279	A. J. Howlett, 30 Hanover st., Boston, Mass.
		279	P. H. McCarthy, 810 Merchants Bank Building, San Francisco, Cal.
		279	D. A. Post, 416 S. Main st., Wilkesbarre, Pa.
		279	A. M. Swartz, 1410 Sandusky st., N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carriage and Wagon Workers of North America, International Union of.....	1	38	William MacPherson, 6337 Throop st., Chicago, Ill.
		79	G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
		79	Samuel Gompers, 801 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	5	79	Thos. F. Tracy, 708 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		79	J. Mahlon Barnes, 355 N. Tenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		78	Phil H. Mueller, 615 Chestnut st., St. Louis, Mo.
		50	F. J. Kiernan, 21 Inwood st., Dorchester, Mass.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	3	50	H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		50	Wm. Christman, 1163 Wheeling ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United.....	1	30	Max Zuckerman, 16-20 Seventh st., New York City.
Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, The.....	1	10	E. B. Boyden, care The Bulletin, San Francisco, Cal.
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.....	1	12	Edward Gurney, 2409 Snyder ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	39	Frank A. Scoby, 755 E. Seventh st., Red Wing, Minn.
		73	F. J. McNulty, 408 Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
		73	Samuel Grimblot, 336 Sherman st., Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	72	T. A. Singer, 3718 Grand ave., Chicago, Ill.
		72	Charles P. Ford, 408 Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
		72	F. J. Sweek, 30 S. Michigan ave., Battle Creek, Mich.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	27	Frank Feeney, 708 S. Fifty-second st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		53	Matt Comerford, 6334 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
		53	James G. Hannahan, 6334 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	52	John J. Glass, Lafayette High School, Buffalo, N. Y.
		52	R. G. Moser, W. Thirty-eighth ave. and Meade st., Denver, Colo.

ORGANISATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	4	40	Timothy Healy, 211 E. Forty-fifth st., New York City.
		40	C. L. Shamp, 3615 N. Twenty-fourth st., Omaha, Nebr.
		40	Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		40	William J. Brennan, 66 S. Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
		85	T. A. Rickert, Room 406, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		85	B. A. Larger, 116 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	84	Malier Schwarz, 21 Milk st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		84	Victor Altman, 750 Ashland ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		84	Margaret C. Daley, 2513 Surf ave., Coney Island, L. I., N. Y.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	2	327	Benjamin Schlesinger, 32 Union Square, New York City.
		326	Solomon Polakoff, 43 E. Twenty-first st., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.....	3	34	D. A. Hayes, 930-932 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
		33	Robert Baxter, Mount Winans, Baltimore County, Md.
		33	William W. Campbell, 423 Plymouth ave., Rochester, N. Y.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	2	47	T. W. Rowe, 738-46 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
		47	Wm. P. Clarke, 738-46 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	10	Thomas J. Mahoney, 4173 Twenty-sixth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Granite Cutters, International Association of America, The.....	3	45	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass.
		45	James Garvey, Milford, Mass.
		45	James Smart, 4 Glenwood ave., Barre, Vt.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	29	Martin Lawlor, 72-73 Bible House, New York City.
		28	Michael F. Greene, 52 Freeman st., Orange, N. J.
		28	John O'Hara, 251 Main st., Danbury, Conn.
Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	4	80	Domenick D'Alessandro, 82 State st., Albany, N. Y.
		80	J. B. Etchison, 440 1/2 Indiana ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		80	Joseph V. Mareschi, 814 W. Harrison st., Chicago, Ill.
		79	Alfonso D'Andrea, 820 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
Horsehoers of the United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....	2	29	Hubert S. Marshall, 809 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		28	Patrick F. Ryan, 6428 S. Carpenter st., Chicago, Ill.
		122	Edward Flore, 375 Oak st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	121	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		121	Thomas S. Farrell, 310 Prospect ave., S. E., Cleveland, Ohio.
		121	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
		121	Edmund Raleigh, P. O. Box 893, Springfield, Mass.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	2	33	John Williams, Room 506 House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		32	John J. Sullivan, 4532 Magoun ave., East Chicago, Ind.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	2	30	William J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		30	John T. Taggart, 329 Highland ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union	2	21	James F. Brock, P. O. Box 11, Station 1, Troy, N. Y.
		20	Harry L. Morrison, 683 Third ave., Troy, N. Y.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of.....	1	18	A. Letrodec, 51 Sixth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	1	35	Philip Bock, 699 Chestnut ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		63	T. V. O'Connor, 702 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	63	John Kean, 948 Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
		62	A. J. Chlopek, 702 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		62	R. J. Butler, 702 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		144	Wm. H. Johnston, 310 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
		144	J. A. Taylor, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	144	James O'Connell, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
		144	A. O. Wharton, Ghio Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		143	Thos. Van Lear, 2395 University ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Maintenance of Way Employes, International Brotherhood of.....	1	81	H. Irwin, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, Canada.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	1	61	Homer D. Call, 212 May ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America.....	3	34	W. W. Britton, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	George Leary, Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard ave., Chicago, Ill.
		45	John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	45	Thos. Redding, 5019 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		44	Hugh Frayne, Bartholdi Building, New York City.
		44	Jas. Moriarty, 9 Appleton st., Boston, Mass.
		390	John P. White, 1106 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		390	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
		390	Frank J. Hayes, 1109 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		390	William Green, 1107 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	389	John H. Walker, 304 Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.
		389	Duncan McDonald, 505 Farmers' Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		389	Adolph Germer, Mt. Olive, Ill.
		389	John Moore, 77 Ruggery Building, Columbus, Ohio.
		42	P. J. Reardon, care of P. O. Box 473, Anaconda, Mont.
Miners, Western Federation of.....	4	42	James Roberts, Moyle, B. C. Can.
		42	Thomas McManus, Box 11, Goldfield, Nev.
		41	Joseph D. Cannon, 509 Denham Building, Denver, Colo.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
		100	Joseph F. Valentine, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	John P. Frey, Lock Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	5	100	R. H. Curran, 107 Hobart st., Rochester, N. Y.
		100	Schuyler Lent, 729 Manhattan ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		100	John F. Dunachie, 300 Leonard st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		200	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	3	200	E. H. Slassman, 68 Haight st., San Francisco, Cal.
		200	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose ave., Toronto, Ont. Canada.
		126	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		126	P. H. Triggs, 218 Walnut st., Springfield, Mass.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	126	Wm. Kemp, 1414 Clinton st., St. Louis, Mo.
		125	J. H. Baker, 459 Flint st., Rochester, N. Y.
		125	T. H. Norris, Granite st., Butte, Mont.
		125	Joseph F. Clark, 3806 S. Twelfth st., Tacoma, Wash.
Papermakers, International Brotherhood.....	1	45	George J. Schneider, 941 State st., Appleton, Wis.
Patternmakers' League of North America.....	2	33	James Wilson, Rooms 1008-9 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		32	James L. Forrest, 738 W. Madison st., Chicago, Ill.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flagg Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	16	Patrick Quinn, 1412 Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	35	Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International.....	2	24	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
		24	Henry J. Wessel, 491 Sixteenth ave., San Francisco, Cal.
		46	Edward J. McGivern, Middletown, Ohio.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	46	Charles A. Gunther, 3033 Octavia st., San Francisco, Cal.
		46	John Donlin, 820 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
		45	James O'Connor, 1053 Saratoga st., E. Boston, Mass.
Plate Printers' Union of America, International Steel and Copper.....	1	13	John J. Deviny, care of Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Washington, D. C.
		80	John R. Alpine, 411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	4	80	Thos. Kearney, 167 W. Washington st., Room 700, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Charles Rau, 112 W. LaSalle st., Room 37 Chicago, Ill.
		80	Charles Anderson, 19 Third st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Post Office Clerks, National Federation of.....	1	32	Thos. F. Flaherty, 746 Pacific Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	39	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		39	John P. Duffy, 303 Blakely st., East Liverpool, Ohio.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Printing Pressmen's Union, International.....	4	57 57 57	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn. Henry Altman, Pressmen's Home, Tenn. Mervin Lipman, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	56	Dan'l. Murphy, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		36	Fred W. Sutor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
		63	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of.....	4	63	D. G. Ramsay, Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.
		62	J. B. Bode, care of B. & M. Ry., Chelsea Station, Boston, Mass.
		62	H. G. Alexander, 122 Tate st., Greensboro, N. C.
Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood.....	3	98	E. Wm. Weeks, 506-7 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		98	E. M. Ware, 309 Conrad st., Palestine, Texas.
		97	W. J. Adames, 508 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Railway Clerks, Brotherhood of.....	1	50	James F. Riley, 10 Fountain Place, Kansas City, Mo.
		148	W. D. Mahon, 104 E. High st., Detroit, Mich.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	4	147	Rezin Orr, 104 E. High st., Detroit, Mich.
		147	William Taber, 138 N. La Salle st., Room 55, Chicago, Ill.
		147	John T. McGrath, 130 Stone ave., Scranton, Pa.
Railway Postal Clerks, Brotherhood of	1	20	Frank J. Guscetti, 2119 Addison st., Berkeley, Cal.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	1	12	Jeremiah T. Hurley, 413 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
		40	Andrew Furuseth, 57 Clay st., San Francisco, Cal.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	4	40	John Carney, P. O. Box 875, Seattle, Wash.
		40	Eugene Steidle, 42 Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
		40	I. N. Hylen, Maritime Hall, San Francisco, Cal.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International.....	1	8	W. J. Pettit, LaSalette, Ontario, Canada.
		6	J. M. Gavlak, 3643 W. Forty-seventh st., Cleveland, Ohio.
Slate Workers, American Brotherhood of	1	3	Pat F. Hanley, Bangor, Pa.
Spinners' International Union.....	1	22	Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman st., Holyoke, Mass.
		45	Charles C. Shay, 107 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance Theatrical.....	4	45	John J. Barry, 75 Albany st., Boston, Mass.
		45	John Suarez, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
		45	L. G. Dolliver, 68 Haight st., San Francisco, Cal.
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of.....	1	27	Thos. J. Dolan, 508-510 Fort Dearborn Building, Chicago, Ill.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	25	James J. Fred, 1839 Eighty-fifth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		24	Charles A. Sumner, 2208 E. Thirtieth st., Kansas City, Mo.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	22	Sam Griggs, 528 American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		22	James A. Short, 1245 Farwell ave., Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	11	W. L. Funder Burk, 1210 Jefferson ave., East, Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	45	Samuel E. Heberling, 328 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		45	Thos. Clonessy, 7207 Peoria st., Chicago, Ill.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	131	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		131	John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline st., Boston, Mass.
		131	Michael Casey, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		130	M. E. Decker, Sixteenth and Capp sts., San Francisco, Cal.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	1	189	John Golden, 86-87 Bible House, New York City.
Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	30	Thomas J. Williams, 414 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Timberworkers' International Union.....	1	7	J. G. Brown, 202 Maynard Building, Seattle, Wash.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	39	E. Lewis Evans, 50-53 American National Bank Building, Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	15	Michael Carraber, 221 Fourth ave., North Pelham, N. Y.
		119	Marsden G. Scott, Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		118	Frank Morrison, 801-809 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	5	118	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		118	Hugh Stevenson, 97 Leuty ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		118	T. W. McCullough, 9, The Winona, Omaha, Nebr.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	1	35	James H. Hatch, 229 E. Sixty-seventh st., New York City.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Hugh Ernst, 14 Seventh st., San Francisco, Cal.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Spiegl, 2362 Court Place, Denver, Colo.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	S. B. Marks, Comptroller's Office, City Hall, Atlanta, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Fitzpatrick, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank Broden, care of City Clerk's Office, Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. F. Hansen, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. E. Blakeley, 22 S. Commercial st., Emporia, Kans.
Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor.....	1	1	P. J. Ryan, 212 F st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edward S. Alden, 189 High st., Holyoke, Mass.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Chas. E. James, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ford A. Allen, 4009 Woodland ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 531 Diamond st., Butte, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank M. Coffey, Labor Bureau, State Capitol, Lincoln, Nebr.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph Cozzolino, 268 Washington st., Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Stuart A. Hayward, 788 Seventh st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Patrick F. Casey, 506 Luck ave., Zanesville, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Fred L. Bourne, 522 E. Thirty-first st., N., Portland, Oreg.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor....	1	1	J. P. Ogletree, care 1311 Sixth ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. O. Gossett, care of City Hall, Fort Worth, Texas.
Utah State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Albert H. Kempton, 525 Ninth ave., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	Chas. R. Case, 1518 Sixteenth ave., N., Seattle, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry P. Corcoran, care 610 Ohio ave., Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Frank J. Weber, Brisbane Hall, Mil- waukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Herb. R. Schneider, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Astoria (Oreg.) Central Labor Coun- cil.....	1	1	H. M. Lornnsten, Box 138, Astoria, Oreg.
Atlanta (Ga.) Federation of Trades	1	1	J. A. Alleyne, 500 Greenferry ave., At- lanta, Ga.
Bakersfield (Cal.) Kern County Labor Council.....	1	1	W. W. Harris, care of Labor Journal, Bakersfield, Cal.
Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor	1	1	John H. Ferguson, 2715 Jefferson st., Baltimore, Md.
Billings (Mont.) Yellowstone County, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. P. McGinley, Billings, Mont.
Bloomington (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
Boise (Idaho) Trades and Labor Coun- cil.....	1	1	Geo. A. Warden, Boise, Idaho.
Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harry P. Jennings, 41 Thomas Park, S. Boston, Mass.
Butte (Mont.) Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	O. M. Partelow, 405 N. Montana st., Butte, Mont.
Calumet (Ill.) Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7267 Coles ave., Chicago, Ill.
Chelsea (Mass.) Central Labor Union..	1	1	Henry Abrahams, 987 Washington st., Boston, Mass.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. F. Neary, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Coun- cil.....	1	1	Frank L. Rist, 1311 Walnut st., Cin- cinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. Wayne Hart, 502 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
El Paso (Texas) Central Labor Union..	1	1	Wm. Sachs, care 209 San Antonio st., El Paso, Tex.
Fresno (Cal.) Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	G. W. Boswell, 1139 I st., Fresno, Cal.
Granite City (Ill.) Tri-City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Thos. M. Cavanagh, 2035 Madison ave., Granite City, Ill.
Great Falls (Mont.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Clara McGinley, Great Falls, Mont.
Hamilton (Ont., Can.) Trades and La- bor Council.....	1	1	E. W. D. O'Dell, 171 Young st., Hamil- ton, Ont., Can.
Joplin (Mo.) Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Geo. H. Keller, care 716 Joplin st., Jop- lin, Mo.
Kansas City (Mo.) Industrial Coun- cil.....	1	1	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Kansas City Mo.
Lafayette (Ind.) Central Labor Union..	1	1	Meta Skemp, 204 S. Sixth st., Lafayette, Ind.
Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Sesma, 540 Maple ave., Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

xiii

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Minneapolis (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. L. Mayo, 4312 Madison st. N. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
New Orleans (La.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James E. Porter, 822 Octavia st., New Orleans, La.
New York (N. Y.) Central Federated Union.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 211 E. Forty-fifth st., New York City.
Oakland (Cal.) Central Labor Council of Alameda County.....	1	1	William A. Spooner, 812 Broadway, Oakland, Cal.
Philadelphia (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Leonard Kraft, 1312 Filbert st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh (Pa.) Iron City Central Trades Council.....	1	1	John Hoehn, 609 Wabash Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Portland (Oreg.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Eugene E. Smith, 250 Twelfth st., Apt. 112, Portland, Oreg.
Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union.....	1	1	Roderick A. McGarry, 72 Weybosset st., Providence, R. I.
Pueblo (Colo.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Ed. Anderson, P. O. Box 219, Pueblo, Colo.
Red Wing (Minn.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. G. Hall, Red Wing, Minn.
Reno (Nev.) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	George Townshend, 1046 Ralston st., Reno, Nevada.
Richmond (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. C. Leber, 547 Twentieth st., Richmond, Cal.
Rock Island (Ill.) Tri-City Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles A. Reagan, 2104 Third ave., Rock Island, Ill.
Sacramento (Cal.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Fred C. Severance, 1420 Fourteenth st., Sacramento, Cal.
St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph J. Hauser, 3631 Salena st., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Geo. W. Lawson, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
Salem (Oreg.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	B. W. Sleeman, 1499 Vincent Ave., Portland, Oregon.
Salt Lake City (Utah) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	D. A. Camomille, 748 Braizer Place, Salt Lake City, Utah.
San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council.....	1	1	Andrew J. Gallagher, 1379 Masonic ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Santa Clara County (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	George A. Batchelor, 72 N. Second st., San Jose, Cal.
Santa Barbara (Cal.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank H. Castro, Santa Barbara, Cal.
Santa Rosa (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	W. H. Ives, 541 A st., Santa Rosa, Cal.
Scranton (Pa.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John T. Dempsey, Pauli Building, Scranton, Pa.
Seattle (Wash.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank W. Cotterill, 2142 Ninth ave., Seattle, Wash.
Sedalia (Mo.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert Kraneffeld, 911 E. Fourth st., Sedalia, Mo.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
South Chicago (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	E. D. Miller, Room 718, 219 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
South Framingham (Mass.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	F. E. Fletcher, S. Framingham, Mass.
Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 407 Myers Building, Springfield, Ill.
Stockton (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	George A. Dean, 1415 E. Oak st., Stockton, Cal.
Tacoma (Wash.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Mrs. J. G. Triska, care 1146 ½ Pacific ave., Tacoma, Wash.
Toronto (Ont. Can.) District Labor Council.....	1	1	John H. Kennedy, 588 Gladstone ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Vallejo (Cal.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. B. Dale, 1224 Napa st., Vallejo, Cal.
Vancouver (B. C.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	H. H. Spear, Room 210, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.
Wallace (Idaho) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles W. McFarland, 98 King st. Wallace, Idaho.
Walla Walla (Wash.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	P. W. Dowler, 1620 Fourth ave., Seattle, Wash.
Wallingford (Conn.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. L. Merchant, 75 Pals st., Wallingford, Conn.
Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Newton A. James, Hyattsville, Md.
Youngstown (Ohio) United Labor Congress.....	1	1	M. C. Higgins, 107 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
Zanesville (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. Voll, 134 Hamline ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Cemetery Employees' Union No. 10634.....	1	1	John Sullivan, care 208 Sagamore st., Ocean View, San Francisco, Cal.
Clay Workers' Union No. 14778.....	1	8	James J. White, Box 492, Toronto, Ohio.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959.....	1	9	James J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 13105.....	1	2	Harry A. Milton, 19 Ramona st., San Francisco, Cal.
Federal Labor Union No. 11796.....	1	1	Frank C. Bomar, 214 Foam st., New Monterey, Cal.
Federal Labor Union No. 12631.....	1	1	John Holm, P. O. Box 97, Nome, Alaska.
Federal Labor Union No. 12985.....	1	4	S. P. Johnson, 1024 George st., Butte, Mont.
Federal Labor Union No. 14374.....	1	1	Frank H. Ainsworth, 748 Pacific Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Federal Labor Union No. 14651.....	1	1	Forbes H. Brown, 405 Fremont st., Vallejo, Cal.
Flat Janitors' Union No. 14332.....	1	1	Wm. Quesse, 4732 Indiana ave., Chicago, Ill.
Gas and Water Workers' Union No. 9840.....	1	2	Timothy Driscoll, 538 Noe st., San Francisco, Cal.
Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters' Union No. 12432.....	1	1	J. Hammerschlag, 167a Albion ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Grain Workers' Union No. 11407.....	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City
Janitors' Protective Union No. 10367.....	1	1	John R. Matheson, 508 Missouri st., San Francisco, Cal.
Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union No. 14605.....	1	1	G. B. Harrison, 1615 Fifteenth ave., Seattle, Wash.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Janitors' Protective Union No. 14843..	1	1	James H. Corbley, 519 W. Monroe st., Springfield, Ill.
Laborers' United No. 13018.....	1	1	Ernest Carter, 2070 University ave., Berkeley, Cal.
Laborers' United No. 11440.....	1	1	Daniel F. Foley, San Rafael, Cal.
Laborers' United No. 14113.....	1	1	F. P. Lamoreux, 1430 West st., Fresno, Cal.
Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861.....	1	1	Oscar Joas, 2940 Sixteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Office Employes' Association No. 12755.....	1	1	Mary E. Galvin, 5342 Ellis ave., Chicago, Ill.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773.....	1	1	J. E. Giles, 402 Ouray Building, Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188.....	1	1	Thos. G. Riley, 435 City Hall Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14863.....	1	1	A. M. Thompson, 882 Twentieth st., Oakland, Cal.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	C. G. Ammon, 121 Alscot Road, Bemondsey, London, England.
		1	E. Bevin, 36 Princes st., Bristol, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	Fred Bancroft, 239 Quebec ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	1		Agnes Nestor, Room 610, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Woman's International Union Label League.....	1		Anna Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan ave., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.....	2		Rev. E. Guy Talbott, Wright and Callendar Building, Los Angeles, Cal.
			Rev. Charles Stelzle, Fifth ave. Building, New York City.
Farmers' National Congress.....	1		J. H. Patten, 204 Second Street Southeast, Washington, D. C.

Number of Unions.	NAME.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
86	National and International.....	223	18,825
24	State.....	24	24
62	Central.....	62	62
24	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	24	44
6	Fraternal Organizations.....	8	3
202		341	18,958

List of Fraternal Delegates

To British Trades Union Congress.	From British Trades Union Congress.
1895 Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. J. W. Sullivan. 1896 Adolph Strasser. Martin Fox. 1897 Geo. E. McNeill. James Duncan. 1898 Harry Lloyd. James O'Connell. 1899 Thomas F. Tracy. J. M. Hunter. 1900 Sidney J. Kent. Daniel J. Keefe. 1901 Eugene F. O'Rourke. Patrick Dolan. 1902 Henry Blackmore. Max S. Hayes. 1903 Martin Lawlor. W. D. Ryan. 1904 D. D. Driscoll. John A. Moffitt. 1905 James Wood. Frank K. Foster. 1906 James Wilson. John T. Dempsey. 1907 W. E. Klapetzky. Andrew Furuseth. 1908 James J. Creamer. John P. Frey. 1909 B. A. Langer. W. B. Wilson. 1910 T. V. O'Connor. Wm. B. Macfarlane. 1911 Daniel J. Tobin. George L. Berry. 1912 John H. Walker. Chas. L. Balne. 1913 Louis Kemper. W. D. Mahon. 1914 Matthew Woll.* W. D. Mahon. 1915 Matthew Woll.*** W. D. Mahon. 1916 Matthew Woll.	1894 John Burns. David Holmes. Edward Cowey. 1895 James Mawdaley. Sam Woods. 1896 John Mallinson. Edward Harford. 1897 J. Havelock Wilson. William Inskip. 1898 William Thorne. James Haslam. 1899 Alexander Wilkie. John Weir. 1900 Pete Curran. Frank Chandler. 1901 Ben Tillett. M. Arrandale. 1902 E. Edwards. William Mullin. 1903 James O'Grady. William Abraham. 1904 James Wignall. William Mosses. 1905 David Gilmour. Allen Gee. 1906 J. N. Bell. David J. Shackleton. 1907 John Hodge. John Wadsworth. 1908 H. Skinner. A. H. Gill. 1909 J. R. Clynes. W. Brace. 1910 Ben Turner. G. H. Roberts. 1911 J. Crinlon. J. A. Seddon. 1912 R. Smillie. I. H. Gwynne. 1913 T. Greenall. ** 1914 1915 C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
1898 Thomas I. Kidd. 1899 James H. Sullivan. 1900 W. D. Mahon. 1901 John R. O'Brien. 1902 D. D. Briscoll. 1903 John Coleman. 1904 John H. Richards. 1905 Frank Feeney. 1906 Thomas A. Rickert. 1907 Robert S. Maloney. 1908 Hugh Frayne. 1909 Jerome Jones. 1910 John J. Manning. 1911 Wm. J. Tracy. 1912 John T. Smith. 1913 Wm. J. McSorley. 1914 M. M. Denoghue. 1915 H. J. Conway. 1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1898 David A. Carey. 1899 David A. Carey. 1900 David A. Carey. 1901 P. M. Draper. 1902 John H. Kennedy. 1903 James Simpson. 1904 John A. Flett. 1905 William V. Todd. 1906 Samuel L. Landers. 1907 W. R. Trotter. 1908 P. M. Draper. 1909 F. Bancroft. 1910 R. P. Pettipiece. 1911 Wm. Glockling. 1912 John W. Bruce. 1913 Gus Franco. 1914 R. A. Rigg. 1915 Fred Bancroft.

*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year.	City and State.	Date.
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Cal.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Cal.	November 8-22.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1916

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local or Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have

no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof he represents, but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall

receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the *American Federationist*, and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank, or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his

term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$6.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the

full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of three-fourths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1 of this Article has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein

affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, or strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

Sec. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

Sec. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

Sec. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International

Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions

are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than sixty (60) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall,

through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$1.00 or more than \$10.00, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the names of members paid for on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated

union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one

of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railroad, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or

interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

of the

American Federation of Labor

1915

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY—Monday Morning Session

California State Building,
Panama-Pacific International Exposition,
San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 8, 1915.

Pursuant to the law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., by Mr. Daniel C. Murphy, President, San Francisco Labor Council.

Chairman Murphy: In accordance with the usual custom at the opening of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor a member of the clergy will ask the blessing of the Almighty upon our deliberations. The invocation will be offered by the Most Reverend Archbishop Edward J. Hanna.

Archbishop Hanna: O Father Almighty and all wise, in whose power are the destinies of the world, and Who by Thy wisdom dost guide the great movements for the betterment of men and by Thy might bring them unto realization, look down graciously upon Thy children gathered here in Thy name. From the North have we come, from the East and the West, striving ever to make better the

condition of the poor, striving ever to make noble the lives of those who toil; and who labor. Oh! Make us recognize labor's great place in the world's development. Make us recognize our task in lifting the burdens that have weighed too heavily upon the toilers; make us realize the glory of our cause; make us persevering in attaining unto what is just, and make us kindly in the face of that opposition which every great battle for advance must of necessity encounter. Vouchsafe unto us that leadership without which our efforts will be as naught; leadership that is wise, leadership that is patient, leadership that is prudent, leadership ready ever to sacrifice all for the cause to which we have dedicated ourselves. In these days when the industrial dreams of the old world seem to have no outcome, make us know that in Thy power is our success, in Thy power our safety. Make us in these awful times know the great value of human life; make us strive not after the things that pass—treasure, wealth, possession—but after the things that remain—truth, love, service. Oh! grant that we may serve wisely, grant that we may serve well—make us know that the man of heroic mold is the man that gives his life for his brother—and finally make us understand that in our world-wide strug-

gle we can help the lowly, uplift the fallen, bring peace which the world cannot give.

O Father, we need wisdom, we need strength. Give them unto us for Thy name's sake, that Thy kingdom may come, that Thy will may be done on earth as it is in heaven. Amen.

Chairman Murphy: I desire at this time to introduce a representative of the Panama-Pacific Directorate, a man who has during the past year had a great deal to do with the reception of delegations of many of the international conventions that have been held in this city. He is here in his official capacity to extend a welcome in behalf of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. It gives me great pleasure to introduce the President of the Board of Directors of the Exposition, Mr. C. C. Moore.

Mr. Moore: Ladies and Gentlemen—There have been, or will have been within a few weeks, 950 or more congresses and conventions held in this Exposition. Many of them have been significantly and appropriately held here. I might say all have been welcome, but sitting here as delegates of this American Federation of Labor Convention, can any of you doubt that of all that have preceded, this convention has by rights, by the proprieties and by all of the reasons justifying conventions in this Exposition, a special place and a special reason to be here.

Of course you are welcome. There has been a great deal said about the success of the Exposition, its accomplishments, its influence to advance education, an appreciation of art, of science, of mankind in his relations one with the other. I hope and believe we have done something along such generous, splendid lines. But everywhere these grounds over is the evidence of a co-operation of labor, enthusiastically, helpfully, purposefully, and we now extend to you all an acknowledgment and recognition. And with our welcome goes a special fervor that you, its representatives from the country over, have come here to see what labor has done in the Exposition.

We are very proud, not only as Californians, but as Americans, of what has been accomplished here; and while the credit is, and properly must be, distributed to many thousands of earnest people who have contributed, how could this have been brought about if we had not had the enthusiastic co-operation of the very forces and elements you represent. I am glad this morning in the presence of Mr. Gompers, to make acknowledgment to you of the service that good man has rendered this Exposition. He came out early in the history of our work, he entered into the spirit of our undertaking. He saw the potential influence that the Exposition could exert if properly directed. He gave us then assurances of helpfulness, and, friends, many, many times have we called him to that promise and never once has he failed to give us the full

measure of help. I am glad that he is here that he may see the confidence he had in us and in our cause has been justified by results.

In our Exposition Board labor has been represented by the Hon. P. H. McCarthy. He has had his tasks, his trials—because trials and troubles, gentlemen, are synonymous with Exposition—and he has discharged his responsibilities splendidly, helpfully and earnestly and looking forward to the results that have been accomplished. The local labor organizations have helped us much by contributions, and, what is more than contributions, by earnest public spirit, enthusiasm, good will and confidence in our enterprise. That has made possible many things. In the warmth of our local support we have been able to go over obstacles and conditions which were considered insurmountable. I wish, therefore, you would all feel that we of the Exposition Board and citizens generally recognize that the responsibilities that devolved upon labor were properly met here, that you all did measure up to the expectations that we had and that the world had of what labor should do and could do here.

I will say no more. You will know without these words of mine how welcome you are, how appropriately welcome you should be. I will now, in line with the policy of the Exposition, give to your President a little token. It does not mean much in form or outline, but it does carry with it a wealth of sentiment, a degree of appreciation on the part of the Exposition Board that could not be more abundant, could not be more deeply felt if that token took the form of fine metal and precious gems. It is only a bronze medal, but, ladies and gentlemen, it is symbolic of cordial good feeling and warm appreciation on our part always. If, Mr. Gompers, you will accept this we will always be grateful for what you have done for this meeting and for your presence here.

Chairman Murphy: It becomes my very pleasant duty to present to some of you who have not met him, the next speaker, who will acknowledge on behalf of the American Federation of Labor the kindly words that have been spoken to us by the President of the Exposition Directorate. It is entirely unnecessary, I take it, to introduce the great and grand man of labor, President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers: Mr. Chairman, Mr. President of the Directorate of the Panama-Pacific Exposition—I expected to be the last speaker this morning in our opening exercises, and hoped to have an opportunity to prepare my address, based upon what you gentlemen have said and what I was in hopes to hear from the Governor of California and the Mayor of San Francisco. I was going to open my remarks with a jest, but the reception accorded me

by you this morning has destroyed the jest upon my lips, so I must address myself to more serious subjects. For the personal tributes paid me I have a great appreciation, I would not be human if I had not, but I prefer to interpret the tribute to the great cause in which we are enlisted; the great movement of the workers of America in the endeavor to crystallize the cause and the sentiment and the hope into the ideals of to-day; the actualities of the future. We have helped, I have helped, but, Mr. Moore and ladies and gentlemen, it would have been impossible for any man to be of effective help did not the great rank and file of the American labor movement understand their duties as well as their rights and be insistent upon both.

You started right. You had to understand, and did understand, that if this Exposition was to be a triumph far exceeding that of any other in the history of America, it was necessary to take into consideration this new element, this great group of our people knocking upon the doors to be heard, not necessarily only to make demands upon society, but to be accorded the privilege of being of service. The men of labor responded to your call. You placed them upon your directorate, you placed them in positions where they gave service. They co-operated with you in every honorable effort to make this Exposition, not only mechanically and artistically a success, not only to make it a financial success, but to place upon the history of this Exposition the magnificent tribute of fraternity and ideality.

There is coming to be understood more widely than ever that our country, the Republic of the United States, is founded upon the sovereignty of her people; that in this great Republic of ours the demand of the wealth producers, whether upon the farm, in the factory, the shop, the mine, the mill or elsewhere, is not based upon any poverty or misery of the masses of our people, but upon their inherent natural right to the rewards of their toil and the reward which society owes to the toilers of our country, the producers of wealth, without which labor and service modern society and civilization must come to an end.

The American Federation of Labor, as its name implies, is a federated body of organizations. It has only that power conceded to it by the organizations constituting and making up the American Federation of Labor. Primarily, and of greater importance than the American Federation of Labor itself, are the great national and international trade unions, the sovereign industrial organizations of men and women of labor. And it is good that the American Federation of Labor has but the power which the organizations concede to it and that all other powers are reserved by them. It makes us understand that there is no power which can be imposed upon our unions or upon their membership; that this federated movement must exist and progress and succeed upon the voluntary obedience of the great rank and file, their consensus of judgment and opinion. The very fact of the voluntary

character of our federation makes it necessary to be careful that we do not exceed the powers conceded to us, for after all, we can only live and prosper upon the good will, the respect and the confidence which the rank and file of the toilers have in our movement and in our men.

We work and struggle, and out of the great mass of the peoples that have come to our shores, speaking as many languages as are reputed to have been spoken in the attempt to build that great historic Tower of Babel, with peoples coming from all climes and countries, with all their prejudices, with all their hatreds, with all their justified feeling of protest—perhaps unexpressed in their own homes—with all their shortcomings, with all their ignorance, with all their intelligence, to have brought about a comprehensive movement of these elements, assimilating them with those among us of American birth and those who have been here for some period of time and have acquired citizenship, to have brought about a movement as broad and comprehensive and humanitarian and practical out of all these elements, says something for the American trade union movement. Thousands and millions of these workers have been brought here, without regard for their short-comings, superinduced by the greed for profit. If they have been brought here for the mere sake of profit they are good enough for us to open the doors of our organizations and invite them in to join, for weal or woe, in this great uplifting cause and struggle.

We are a part of this country; we are not apart from it. We are Americans, either by birth or adoption, and loyal to the principles upon which our Republic is based. We believe there is no country on the face of the globe comparable to the United States of America, and believing that, we believe as firmly that there is much room for improvement and it is the duty, as it is the mission, as it is the purpose of the American labor movement, to do its share in the struggle to secure that improvement.

We may make mistakes, we are an institution of humans and as humans individually we are liable to err and we may err sometimes collectively; but that is one of the faults of democracy one of the faults for which democracy must pay. It is better that we should make mistakes and learn and profit by them than to have a government, politically or industrially, in which no opportunity is given to struggle for the right, and, incidentally, to make mistakes. But in the great long run of our work there is not a field from which the activity of the organized workers can be excluded, whether it be for the movement to take the children out of the factories and workshops and give them the opportunity to be in the homes, in the school rooms, and on the play grounds that they may imbibe the glorious sunshine and grow into the men and women of the future, upon whom, after all, the perpetuity of our government depends; or whether it be for the protection of life and limb and health, whether it be

for safety—aye, safety at sea as well as in the mines and factories—whether it be for a shorter workday and to build up men and women in strength and character and nobility and spirituality; whether it be to secure a better reward in the form of wages or a higher compensation for work performed, whether it be for sanitary conditions for the work life or the home. These are often interpreted to be the material concepts of the organized labor movement of America, whereas, while these are fundamentally necessary for our physical existence, they are equally essential to the higher and better thought and character and action and lives and hopes and aspirations for which the whole world of labor has struggled for centuries, of which the toilers have borne the scars of the industrial struggle. With all that history, with all the scars and sacrifices there is an idealism to which every human being aspires, and it is the much misunderstood and misrepresented organized labor movement upon which the mission falls to struggle for their achievement.

I feel that I have no right to take up any more of the time of our friends who have honored us by their visit and their speeches of welcome. There is so much to say, there is always so little time in which to say it. I should have much preferred, if I had my choice, to have given way to the Governor of California, Mr. Johnson, and to the Mayor of San Francisco, Mr. Rolph. I could then at the same time have accepted their addresses of welcome, and in anticipation of what they shall say, from the bottom of my heart, for the delegates to this convention, their wives and daughters and friends, all, we thank you, thank you most heartily.

And Mr. Moore, President of the Exposition Directorate, permit me to assure you that I appreciate more than I can find words to say the kindly references to myself and the presentation of this bronze medal. I have a number of medals presented by previous expositions, and they are either in the safe or adorn the walls of the offices of the American Federation of Labor. When I said at the outset that I preferred to interpret the personal tribute to me as the tribute to this great labor movement I meant it, and I accept this splendid token of good will and friendship in that same spirit. It will not be mine, it will belong to the American Federation of Labor, and for our Federation as well as myself I thank you, sir, and through you the Board of Directors who have honored the Federation and myself in this respect.

Chairman Murphy: I will state to President Gompers that the program was arranged out of deference to the wishes of the Exposition Directorate, as it would be impossible for them to fill their various engagements unless they were given a certain stipulated time in which to meet them. For that reason the speakers were called upon in the order they have been.

The next speaker needs no introduction to any audience in the State of California, but for the benefit of those

delegates and visitors who have come from far distances and may not be aware of the fact that the State of California and the organized workers particularly are very fortunate in possessing a chief executive who is conscious of their needs, who is in direct sympathy with us, and who knows exactly our purposes and intentions, I will say these few words in presenting him to you. We are able at all times to get the sincere co-operation, the help that is always needed, and the benefits derived from an administration that is very favorably inclined towards our movement, and because of these facts it gives me great pleasure at this time to introduce the Governor of the State of California, the Hon. Hiram W. Johnson.

Governor Johnson: Ladies and Gentlemen—I listened, as you did, enraptured a few moments ago to a very, very eloquent and touching speech; and as I listened to the great man of labor tell of the concepts of organized humanity, throughout this land and all the world, of how little children should be cared for that they might fittingly, in the years to come, direct and preserve this great nation, as I heard him tell of how organized labor was striving for the hopes and the aspirations and the ideals of men and women, my heart beat high, for I can say to you, Mr. Gompers, and to the representatives here assembled, that the concepts of labor described here to-day, are the creed of government of the State of California.

I am here, as I have come many times in the past few months, to welcome as far as I may, as a humble representative of the people of the State of California, the delegates of a great convention. I come to you this morning, however, with a little more pleasure and a bit greater feeling than usual under these circumstances. Not alone do I express to those who have come from afar, our welcome and our greeting, but I extend too to the men and women of California, who have made this State what it has become in the past few years, the most hearty felicitations; and it is more appropriate, it seems to me, that this State should greet this convention and this Federation, than that it should be greeted by any other State in all the nation.

There was a time, my friends, when you and I, in the past, knocked at the doors of legislation in the State of California, asking for justice, and we knocked in vain. And then there came that which was peaceful revolution in our State, and we battered down the opposition that had existed so long, and to-day, within the confines of this particular commonwealth, the doors are wide open to all of God's people. Your accomplishment, in a brief period, has here been marvelous, but the way lies open to you now and the path is clear, to the concepts that are yours. It would, of course, be presumptuous in me to attempt to direct your steps or even to indulge in the suggestions that occur to one occupying the position that I do; but I see, I think, with a clarity of vision that perhaps you who are closer

to your movement may not wholly have, that which besets our path in the future. I see that your danger arises now in a State like California where the way is clear for even greater accomplishment, not from without, but lies within. I see that your course must be steered with steady hands, avoiding on the one hand the Scylla of anarchy of organized poverty, for which there is some excuse, and avoiding on the other hand the Charybdis of anarchy of organized wealth, for which there is no excuse; and avoiding both, remembering that this nation of ours is for all its people, and that this Western Empire, above all the States in the Union, represents its men and its women and its children, may we ever go forward in this State not by revolution, but by peaceful evolution of a fundamental society, seeing and knowing and understanding, and accomplishing justice for all humanity.

I come to you to-day, however, only in welcome and in blessing, if you will permit it. I come not to preach nor in didactic fashion to present to you what a sympathetic participant and one who believes in you may observe. I come now only as your representative, proud of the fact that in the government of the State of California, and in the Governor of the State of California, the men and women and the children of this State, are the sole sovereigns, and that both State and individual stand for the concepts of humanity.

Chairman Murphy said: Fortunate as we are in having as our chief executive a man who is responsive to the needs and requirements of the people, we are also fortunate in so far as our local municipal administration is concerned in having as the executive of civic affairs a man who is mindful and considerate of the people of organized labor and of all the people as any executive we have ever had. It therefore gives me great pleasure to introduce to you the mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, Hon. James Rolph, Jr.

Mayor Rolph: Mr. Chairman, Mr. President of the American Federation of Labor, your Excellency the Governor of the State, Delegates, Visitors, Convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco—It has been my pleasure and my privilege during the last eight months to have extended a welcome on many occasions to conventions which have honored San Francisco by meeting here during our Exposition period. I have extended it with all the warmth that goes with a real San Francisco welcome, and in San Francisco's name I have bidden them welcome to our city by the Golden Gate. But this morning, like the Governor and like you, I have been so thrilled by the address delivered by this stalwart champion of labor throughout this

great country of ours that I feel it the greatest privilege I have had during this Exposition year to breathe this atmosphere and to hear the words coming from this distinguished man who represents labor for the upbuilding of humanity, that it is the happiest period I have experienced sitting here on this platform, meeting you and ready to extend to you a hearty welcome in the name of my fellow-citizens of San Francisco.

You have come from all over a great nation, you have come from every nook and corner of this great country of ours, you have come to the west post of civilization on the Pacific to hear from the Governor of the State of California that the creed of the American Federation of Labor is the creed of the government of California; and I want to say to you as the mayor of all the people of San Francisco that that creed is the creed of the government of the City and County of San Francisco. I feel with you in every word Mr. Gompers has uttered. I believe in those principles, and I am just as proud as any man in this convention this morning to say that I, too, carry a union card as an honorary member of the International Brotherhood of Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, Local Union No. 205.

You have come out to visit the World's Exposition, you have come to see what the world has done, you have come to witness the greatest achievement of man, the building of these palaces, this wonderful achievement which crowns the success of the building of the Panama Canal. We opened our Exposition on February 20. We thanked the foreign commissioners, we thanked the governors from all the States, we thanked every one who contributed to the building of this institution, and I have brought this morning my final tribute, which I want to again read to-day, in my opening speech at the Exposition:

"And now a final tribute. We have paid homage, and justly so, to our friends from afar, to the governors and representatives of other cities and countries, to the men at home who planned this enterprise and to those who have brought it to perfection. We have not forgotten the gifts of the cities, States and nations, nor the men and women whose personal support was given through these commonwealths; to directors, commissioners, governors and presidents too much credit cannot be given, but we who have watched this Exposition grow know that Aladdin's lamp did not produce it. Like Rome, it was not built in a day. When we look at these marvelous buildings we wonder how it was ever done, how mere man could accomplish this miracle.

"And this is the point I wish to make. These palaces of the people are the work of men, and by work I mean hard work. Into this Exposition every morning trudged thousands of men and out of

it every evening they thronged homeward. They were not in holiday dress, there were no glittering badges on their coats, they waved no flags or banners and they made no speeches. Their badges were the badges of toil, a smear of plaster here, a smear of cement across the shoe or a smear of paint across the sleeve; these were their marks of distinction. Their robes of state consisted of overalls and blue jumpers. It was their labors that transformed a waste of mud flats and sand dunes into the fairyland about us. They sank the piles upon which these colossal structures stand; they built them up timber by timber, stick by stick and bolt by bolt. Let us give them their dues. Let us give full praise to the men of muscle and skill, to the men of strong brains and clever hands. It is the biggest and best job on earth, it is a monument to the man who works, and in San Francisco's name I thank him for it."

To-day, to you who represent the great throngs of organized labor throughout this great country of ours, I again make acknowledgment of the work, the skill and the effort put forth by the men, the real men, who built this wonderful Exposition here that you have come to enjoy, and in their name and in San Francisco's name I bid you the most cordial welcome from the finest people in the world in the greatest city in the world; I bid you welcome to a people and a city that are happy that you are here.

My eye has just caught the presence here of a man that I recognize out here as one of the leading stalwart advocates of labor. He is my friend Andrew Furuseth. This morning I was detained on the height overlooking the Pacific Ocean, watching a sailing ship beating her way in to the Golden Gate and bearing the name "Golden Gate." I never see a ship that I do not think of Andrew Furuseth and his fight in the cause of seamen.

I am a ship-owner. I have been in that business all my life. I am in favor of the "Seamen's Bill," and when some of these old shell-backs that have been walking on the beach and thinking of the days when they were in command of the sailing ships that came around Cape Horn and dropped anchor in this peaceful harbor of San Francisco forget, or else have it driven out of them, that the days when the sailor could be tied up by the wrist, when he could be fed on bread and water, when he could be beaten with a belaying pin, when he could be driven out on the jibboom and thrown overboard if he did not obey, are past, the day will come when Andrew Furuseth's bill will be a welcome one.

I have favored that bill; I did what I could in assisting in the passage of that bill; I am for the bill, and any time any one wants to argue with me against the merits of that bill I am ready for the argument. And for the calamity howlers, those who are always looking on the pessimistic side of everything, the time is

not far off when they will be shoved to one side and the principles, the noble principles of the bill, which mean the building up and the helping of humanity, I feel in my very bones will triumph throughout this whole great land of ours.

I thank you for the privilege it has been to me to be present, and, as I said before, I extend the welcome I was invited to extend with all the warmth of a real sunshiny San Francisco welcome.

Chairman Murphy: Following the remarks of the Mayor in regard to the workers who built these great Exposition buildings, it is peculiarly fitting that the next man to speak should be the man who represented the Exposition in the conferences it was necessary to hold from time to time to straighten out any difficulty or misunderstanding that arose. It was natural, that during the progress of building this great Exposition, there were times when the contract needed a little explanation or interpretation. At such times the representatives of labor were met by the gentleman who was delegated by the directorate of the Exposition to arrange for the completion of this great work without any interruption as provided in the contract. This man, we of San Francisco, are well acquainted with and have confidence in. He understands the labor question and was willing to deal fairly with us at all times. I therefore take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. H. D. H. Connick, Director of Works of the Exposition.

Mr. H. D. H. Connick: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—As the chairman has just stated, I was appointed by the Exposition to do several things, among which was to represent the Exposition in all matters appertaining to labor. And I want to take this occasion to congratulate the members of the local Building Trades Council and the local Labor Council and the officials and committeemen they elected and appointed to meet with me from time to time. We had controversies, in fact they are necessary in carrying out a work of considerable magnitude, but in every instance these officials and these committeemen listened to me and listened to men I brought to them to explain their case with the utmost patience and ruled with absolute fairness. The result of that has been that the Exposition has been enabled to conduct its activities without any industrial strife, and it is further proven that it is perfectly possible to carry on any construction work, regardless of its magnitude, or any operation without industrial strife, provided both sides are willing to be fair with each other and absolutely honest.

I thank you for this opportunity to be present this morning, and express my sincere appreciation to those officials and

those committeemen that have worked with me and have given me ideas that have assisted me materially in carrying out this work.

Chairman Murphy said: I need not say much in introducing the next speaker. He is probably as well known to Conventions of the American Federation of Labor as any man I might mention. He has had long experience in the labor movement and has fulfilled the duty of the offices which he has held, the Hon. P. H. McCarthy.

Mr. P. H. McCarthy: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—So much has been said this morning that it would be idle for me to say anything except to welcome you here. But, however, I can not allow the occasion to pass without calling attention to the fact that while 900 conventions, congresses and gatherings of various kinds will have met here by the time this great Exposition closes, yet I know, and there are those sitting on the platform who know there never was a convention, there never was a congress or gathering of any kind which convened within the confines of this great Exposition to which the people who fought for the Exposition and believed it should be held in this city owe more to than to the men who guide the destinies of this greatest of all industrial movements, the American Federation of Labor.

You remember, Mr. Mayor, that when we were in Washington, fighting as men rarely ever fought in order to convince our friends there that we ought to have the Exposition in this city, that they ought to vote to give it to San Francisco to the exclusion of New Orleans—a beautiful city in a beautiful state and a lovable people—but nevertheless we felt if we got the privilege of building it here it would not be a training school for men who had not associated themselves prior to that time with the organizations in the building industry. Rather would it be built by men of union labor equal to the task of giving one hundred cents of value for every dollar paid by the Exposition.

So I say no convention ever convened here more entitled to praise than the American Federation of Labor. I have in mind the fact when I say this that when all the dear brothers in Congress were seen, when every man possible was pledged, there were seventeen votes that must be rounded up somewhere in order that San Francisco win out and that New Orleans be allowed to remain in peace and harmony with her own citizenship without being bothered with a great Exposition like this. The St. Louis convention of this organization resolved itself into strict neutrality. The American Federation of Labor was not going to take up the cause of either city. But just about the time the dear brothers in Congress were about to vote on the question of whether or not we would get it, somehow or other good luck stepped in and the Executive Coun-

cil of this great institution convened in Washington.

McCarthy, who was then Mayor of San Francisco and not an agitator, flew out of the city, went to Washington, looked into the countenance of the brainiest, and, although not in stature, the biggest man in all America, whether it be commerce or labor, and into the countenance of his colleagues, Duncan and the rest of them, and said: "Men, do you propose to keep quiet, do you propose to allow New Orleans to take this Exposition away from a city like San Francisco and a State like California, unionized possibly as no other State could be with the material we have at hand?"

After a while Congressmen found a pile of letters and telegrams on their desks, and they would say to the gentlemen from New Orleans: "We must be released, we must be with San Francisco," and all such changes were traced either to the office of President Gompers or to some person sent there by him. And San Francisco won. Of all the men who have presided over congresses during the life of this Exposition, Gompers alone ought to be the chief, and to-day it is the pleasure of my life to welcome him back here after eleven years. And I welcome you delegates here to this convention in behalf of the State Building Trades Council.

Remember, my friends, that we have done things since you were here eleven years ago. There are many here to-day who were in the San Francisco convention eleven years ago. Our city was wiped out almost entirely by fire. We have not only built this great Exposition, with the assistance of one of the best managements an institution ever had; we have not only built this, I say, but we have rehabilitated our city as it stands to-day in a manner calculated to allow peace and harmony to prevail throughout the entire movement. We haven't had a secession movement or a quarrel. Under these conditions we can welcome you to our midst in words such as the Governor used.

You may have governors at home—I presume you have—but you never will, unless you improve to beat the band, have a governor such as we have. There are some of you also who know you have a United States Senate. That is what we are afraid of. We realize that the biggest men in the United States every once in a while go to the Senate, and we are very much afraid that the biggest man we have here will go. We are fearful that the big men throughout the United States are discussing the question and have their minds set on keeping away from the people of these United States some big things. So we are fearful that our governor, Hiram W. Johnson, will be forced to give up his place here as governor and go into the United States Senate in order to get bigger things for the people as a whole throughout these United States.

We are a little selfish in this. When I was running for mayor in 1907—and

had less chance of being elected than a nice snowball would have in the front parlor of the place presided over by Lucifer—a friend here said: "P. H., don't run, we want you. We need you in this movement more than the city needs you as mayor." While we know our governor can do things for people generally throughout the country, while we know he can take a lot of hot air out of what is being delivered in the upper house in Washington, we don't like to lose him, and I say to those of you political wire-pulling manipulators, if any of you there be in this convention, to let up trying to take Johnson out of California.

No man has ever done so much good within a short time as Governor Johnson has in California. Time was when if we met with an accident we would have to get up a benefit or sell our tools. To Hiram W. Johnson is due the fact that for some years past we have had an employers' liability law that gives us a reasonable amount to keep ourselves and our little ones from want during the period of time we are disabled. When he said to you the people of this State control it and that he was with them he gave expression to a great truth.

The Mayor said he was a union man and had a card of the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders. There can be no more appropriate union for him to go into. He and Andrew Furuseth have been running around salt water so long and attending so ably to the sailors that he also has a perfect right to be there, and a great many of us now feel—myself among them, for I feel that private life is an easy thing, we don't have to go around handing out, you know—the chances are he will be going up higher. I presume when he starts that game if we appeal to Brother Furuseth he may be held down.

At the close of his address Mr. McCarthy announced that the Central Labor Council would meet Thursday night and the Building Trades Council Friday night and invited the delegates to attend both meetings.

Chairman Murphy said: Brother McCarthy has spoken of the accomplishment of the labor movement in California. A great deal of credit for that accomplishment is due to the fact that we have in California a branch of the American Federation of Labor, the California State Federation, and we are fortunate in having with us the president of that organization, Brother Daniel P. Haggerty.

President Haggerty: Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Friends—It affords me very great pleasure to be in a position to welcome you here today, for several reasons. As president of a

great organization consisting of the wage-workers of California and as a native son of California, I welcome you in the State building, and I think it fits in well with the organization of which I am an officer. It is unnecessary for me to go into the details of our organization. You are all familiar with the workings of state federations because you are all members of such bodies.

We are proud of our State, we are proud of the record our organizations have made, we are proud of the fact that in the office of Governor we have a man who is friendly to our organizations. We have made considerable progress during the period of his administration; much more so than during previous administrations. There were several departments in California that were of vital interest to labor that were dead prior to the time Governor Johnson took office. Among them was the office of State Labor Commissioner. When Governor Johnson took charge he appointed a man from the ranks of labor, a man who was in a position to know the wants of labor, and when the time came 'o put laws into effect we had a commissioner, John P. McLaughlin, a member of the Teamsters' Union, who made the office operative.

I am very glad to be in a position to say that we have a good sprinkling of trade unionists holding important offices in this State. The same can be said of the City and County of San Francisco, where such men are on the Board of Supervisors and on the different commissions. It is very pleasant to be able to state that the Governor and Mayor are men who have looked out for the interests of organized labor. I hope when you go back to your own States and cities you will go to the bat and make them as good as the State of California and the City of San Francisco.

I hope that during your stay in this city you will see the labor temples that have been constructed by labor unions with their own money and their own hands. Look over the Exposition and you can go home and say for once you have visited an exposition entirely constructed by union men. That is one thing California is particularly proud of. We are glad to be able to say that we have built an exposition and conducted it along the lines labor wished, and we are now opening it to you. We hope your stay will be productive of good results and that the proceedings of your convention will bring about a better relationship between the different organizations, bring about better laws in our National Capital and in the various States from which you come.

Again I extend to you a welcome to California, the land of sunshine and flowers.

Chairman Murphy said: I do not think it will be necessary to add any extensive remarks to what has already been said. I merely wish, as a representative of the labor movement in San Francisco, to extend to you all a hearty and sin-

care welcome. I trust and hope that your deliberations will be productive of much benefit to the people you have the honor to represent.

Unfortunately the gavel, the emblem of authority that is usually turned over to the president by the temporary chairman, has failed to arrive. Hoping you will excuse that dereliction of duty on somebody's part, I will now turn over the convention to the President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers.

President Gompers said: It is quite fortunate that I was not reserved to address this convention until after Governor Johnson and Mayor Rolph addressed you, for I imagine I should have been inspired to make a real speech. I cannot forego the privilege of expressing for this convention as well as for myself and for the men and women of labor of America our gratitude and appreciation of the addresses of welcome of the Governor and the Mayor, and all that was declared and intimated and urged, of the address of our old comrade in the struggle, P. H. McCarthy, President Haggerty of the State Federation and President Murphy of the San Francisco Labor Council. To all of you and to the great masses of the citizenship, the people, the workers of California, please convey to them as best you can the great gratitude and deep sense of obligation we feel.

You have done, not only splendidly, but nobly, the work of this great Exposition, wonderful as it is. The rebuilding of San Francisco in addition to this Exposition is a marvel, and I am quite sure that the students of history, when this decade and era shall have gone by and the future citizenship will read of the marvelous character and characteristics of the people of California, of San Francisco, there will be a tribute of honor paid you and your people of which no imagination to-day can have any conception.

For myself I want to express my great appreciation and obligation. I have been coming to San Francisco since and including 1891. There are men and women in California whom I count as my dearest friends, men and women as sincerely devoted to the cause of labor, to the cause of liberty, to the cause of justice and the cause of humanity as exist in any part of this continent or this world. I cannot find words to express the profoundness and the depths of my feeling of affection and regard and respect. God speed you people of California! May you ever live up to the high ideal of your hopes and your works. May you be as practical as you are to-day and triumph be the glory of your achievement.

I now declare this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor duly in order and in session.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 8, 1915.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

"Please express to the convention my sincere regrets that the pressure of official business prevents my being present at any time during its sessions, and convey to my fellow trade unionists my heartiest greetings and good wishes for the success of the convention and the great movement of human uplift which it represents.

"W. B. WILSON,
"Secretary of Labor."

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Moser, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 8, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 329 delegates, representing 85 International and National Unions, 24 State Branches, 63 Central Bodies, 21 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 7 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 10 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, J. Goldstone, R. C. Schneider, 158 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer, C. M. Feider, C. F. Foley, James C. Shanessy, 341 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—George Abernathy, 14 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, J. M. Tobin, Wm. F. Kramer, 85 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, M. J. McGuire, Charles MacGowan, 173 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, John J. O'Brien, Joseph Collins, 85 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—Charles L. Baine, John H. Tobin, Thomas O'Hare, Charles H. McKenna, J. Thomas Beasley, 356 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Joseph Proebstle, Al-

bert J. Kugler, John Rader, John Sullivan, Joseph Obergfell, 520 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 29 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Joseph E. McClory, J. D. Barnes, Sam Tobin, 100 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—William L. Hutcherson, Frank Duffy, John A. Metz, A. J. Howlett, P. H. McCarthy, D. A. Post, A. M. Swartz, 1956 votes.

Carriage and Wagon Workers of North America, International Union of—William MacPherson, 38 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, Thomas F. Tracy, J. Mahlon Barnes, Phil. H. Mueller, 394 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—F. J. Kiernan, H. J. Conway, William Christman, 150 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United—Max Zuckerman, 30 votes.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America—E. B. Boyden, 10 votes.

Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada—Edward Gurney, 12 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Frank A. Scoby, 39 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, Samuel Grimblot, T. A. Singer, Charles P. Ford, F. J. Sweet, 362 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 27 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, John J. Glass, R. G. Mosser, 210 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Brennan, 160 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Maier Schwarz, Victor Altman, Margaret C. Daley, 422 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benjamin Schlesinger, Solomon Polakoff, 653 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—D. A. Hayes, Robert Baxter, William W. Campbell, 100 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—T. W. Rowe, William P. Clarke, 94 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Thomas J. Mahoney, 10 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, James Garvey, James Smart, 135 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Michael F. Greene, John O'Hara, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common

Laborers' Union of America, International—Domenick D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison, Joseph V. Mareschi, Alfonsac D'Andrea, 319 votes.

Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Patrick F. Ryan, 57 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, Edmund Raleigh, 606 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—John Williams, John J. Sullivan, 65 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, John T. Taggart, 60 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, Harry L. Morrison, 41 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of—A. Letroadec, 18 votes.

Lithographers, International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, 35 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Thomas V. O'Connor, John Kean, 250 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—William H. Johnston, J. A. Taylor, James O'Connell, A. O. Wharton, Thomas Van Lear, 719 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of—H. Irwin, 81 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—John F. Hart, Homer D. Call, 61 votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America—W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, 100 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thos. Redding, Hugh Frayne, James Moriarty, 178 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John P. White, John Mitchell, Frank J. Hayes, William Green, John H. Walker, Duncan McDonald, Adolph Germer, John Moore, 3,116 votes.

Miners, Western Federation of—P. J. Reardon, James Roberts, Thomas McManus, Joseph D. Cannon, 167 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, R. H. Curran, Schuyler Lent, John F. Dunachie, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Owen Miller, E. H. Silsman, D. A. Carey, 600 votes.

Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, P. H. Triggs, William Kemp, J. H. Baker, T. H. Norris, 753 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—George J. Schnelder, 45 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, James S. Forrest, 65 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge & Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Patrick Quinn, 16 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 35 votes.

Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, International—Matthew Woll, Henry J. Wessel, 48 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Edward J. McGilvern, Charles A. Gunther, John Donlin, James O'Connor, 183 votes.

Plate Printers' Union of North America, International Steel & Copper—John J. Deviny, 13 votes.

Plumbers & Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, Thomas Kearney, Charles Rau, Charles Anderson, 320 votes.

Post Office Clerks, National Federation of—Thomas F. Flaherty, 32 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, John P. Duffy, 74 votes.

Printing Pressmen's Union, International—George L. Berry, Henry Altman, Mervin Lipman, Daniel Murphy, 227 votes.

Quarryworkers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Sultor, 36 votes.

Railroad Telegraphers, Order of—H. B. Perham, D. G. Ramsay, J. B. Bode, H. G. Alexander, 250 votes.

Railway Carmen of America, Brotherhood—E. William Weeks, E. M. Ware W. J. Adames, 293 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street & Electric—W. D. Mahon, Rezin Orr, William Taber, John T. McGrath, 589 votes.

Railway Postal Clerks, Brotherhood of—Frank J. Guscetti, 20 votes.

Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—Jeremiah T. Hurley, 12 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, John Carney, Eugene Steidle, I. N. Hylen, 160 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—W. J. Pettit, 8 votes.

Slate & Tile Roofers' Union of America, International—J. M. Gaviak, 6 votes.

Slate Workers, American Brotherhood of—Pat F. Hanley, 3 votes.

Spinners' International Union—Urban Fleming, 22 votes.

Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, John J. Barry, John Suarez, L. G. Dolliver, 180 votes.

Steam Shovel & Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of—Thomas J. Dolan, 27 votes.

Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of

North America, International—James J. Freel, Charles A. Sumner, 49 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Sam Griggs, James A. Short, 44 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 11 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Samuel E. Heberling, Thomas Clohesy, 90 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen & Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey, M. E. Decker, 523 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, 189 votes.

Tile Layers & Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic & Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 30 votes.

Timberworkers, International Union of—J. G. Brown, 7 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 39 votes.

Tunnel & Subway Constructors' International Union—Michael Carraher, 15 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Marsden G. Scott, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Hugh Stevenson, T. W. McCullough, 591 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, 35 votes.

California State Federation of Labor—Hugo Ernst, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—Frank Spiegl, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—S. B. Marks, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John J. Fitzpatrick, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Frank Broden, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—F. C. Hansen, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—George E. Blakeley, 1 vote.

Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor—P. J. Ryan, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Edward S. Alden, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Chas. E. James, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Ford A. Allen, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Frank M. Coffey, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Joseph Cozzolino, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Stuart A. Hayward, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Patrick F. Casey, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—Fred L. Bourne, 1 vote.

Tennessee Federation of Labor—J. P. Ogletree, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—H. O. Gossett, 1 vote.

Utah State Federation of Labor—Albert H. Kempton, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor, Charles R. Case, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Harry P. Corcoran, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Weber, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—H. R. Schneider, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—J. A. Allyn, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—John H. Ferguson, 1 vote.

Bakersfield, Cal., Kern County Labor Council—W. W. Harris, 1 vote.

Billings, Mont., Yellowstone County Trades and Labor Assembly, J. P. McGinley, 1 vote.

Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John B. Lennon, 1 vote.

Boise, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council—Geo. A. Warden, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Harry P. Jennings, 1 vote.

Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union—Joseph McGovern, 1 vote.

Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—O. M. Partelow, 1 vote.

Chelsea, Mass., Central Labor Union—Henry Abrahams, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—T. F. Neary, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council, Frank L. Rist, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—J. Wayne Hart, 1 vote.

El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union—Wm. Sachs, 1 vote.

Fort Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly—C. W. Woodman, 1 vote.

Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades Council—G. W. Boswell, 1 vote.

Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Central Trades Council—Thos. M. Cavanagh, 1 vote.

Great Falls, Mont., Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly—Clara McGinley, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., District Trades and Labor Council—E. W. D. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Joplin, Mo., Trades Assembly—George H. Keller, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Lafayette, Ind., Central Labor Union—Meta Skemp, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council, Frank Sesma, 1 vote.

New Orleans, La., Central Labor Union—James E. Porter, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

Minneapolis, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—C. L. Mayo, 1 vote.

Oakland, Calif., Central Labor Council of Alameda County—Wm. A. Spooner, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Leonard Kraft, 1 vote.

Phoenix, Ariz., Trades Council—Ben. A. Adams, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Central Trades Council—John Hoehn, 1 vote.

Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Council—Eugene E. Smith, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Roderick A. McGarry, 1 vote.

Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Ed. Anderson, 1 vote.

Red Wing, Minn., Trades and Labor Council—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

Reno, Nevada, Central Trades and Labor Council—George Townshend, 1 vote.

Richmond, Calif., Contra Costa Central Labor Council—J. C. Leber, 1 vote.

Rock Island, Ill., Tri-City Federation of Labor—Charles A. Reagan, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council—Fred C. Severance, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—Joseph J. Hauser, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Salem, Oregon, Trades and Labor Council—B. W. Sleeman, 1 vote.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor—D. A. Camomille, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Andrew J. Gallagher, 1 vote.

Santa Clara County, Calif., Central Labor Council—George A. Batchelor, 1 vote.

Santa Barbara, Calif., Central Labor Union—Frank H. Castro, 1 vote.

Santa Rosa, Calif., Central Labor Council—W. H. Ives, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—John T. Dempsey, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—Frank W. Cotterill, 1 vote.

Sedalia, Mo., Federation of Labor—Robert Kraneheld, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—E. D. Miller, 1 vote.

South Framingham, Mass., Central Labor Union—F. E. Fletcher, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Stockton, Calif., Central Labor Council—George A. Dean, 1 vote.

Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Union—Mrs. J. G. Triska, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., District Labor Council—John H. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Trades and Labor Council—J. B. Dale, 1 vote.

Wallace, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council—Charles W. McFarland, 1 vote.

Walla Walla, Wash., Trades and Labor Council—P. W. Dowler, 1 vote.

Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union—J. L. Merchant, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Newton A. James, 1 vote.

Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—M. C. Higgins, 1 vote.

Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council—John A. Voll, 1 vote.

Clay Workers' Union No. 14778—James J. White, 8 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959—James J. McAndrews, 9 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 13105—Harry A. Milton, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 11796—Frank C. Bomar, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12631—John Holm, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12985—S. P. Johnson, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 14374—Frank H. Ainsworth, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 14651—Forbes H. Brown, 1 vote.

Gas and Water Workers' Union No. 9840—Timothy Driscoll, 2 votes.

Gas Appliance and Stove Fitters' Union No. 12432—J. Hammerschlag, 1 vote.

Grain Workers' Union No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

Janitors' Protective Union No. 10367—John R. Matheson, 1 vote.

Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union No. 14605—G. B. Harrison, 1 vote.

Janitors' Protective Union No. 14843—James H. Corbley, 1 vote.

Laborers, United, No. 13018—Ernest Carter, 1 vote.

Laborers, United No. 11440—Daniel F. Foley, 1 vote.

Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861—Oscar Joss, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Association No. 12755—Mary E. Galvin, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773—J. E. Giles, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188—Thomas G. Riley, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14862—A. M. Thompson, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—C. G. Ammon, E. Bevin, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Fred Bancroft, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League—Miss Agnes Nestor.

Women's International Union Label League—Miss Anna Fitzgerald.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—Rev. E. Guy Talbott and Rev. Charles Stelzle.

We have received credentials from B. Suzuki and S. Yoshimatsu of Japan, representing the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan.

We recommend that the courtesy of the convention be extended to them with the opportunity of being heard at some convenient time.

The committee further reports that they have received credentials from L. P. Straube, coming from the Commercial Portrait Artists' Union No. 14286, Chicago, Illinois. A protest was entered against these credentials and as soon as a hearing is held in the matter, the committee will make its final report in this case.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER, Chairman;

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS, Secretary.

Chairman Moser moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Gompers said: The report of the committee is adopted and the delegates whose names have been reported as entitled to seats will now constitute this convention.

President Gompers announced the following appointments:

F. J. Bonnington, Typographical Union No. 21, Assistant to the Secretary.

James Gallagher, Painters No. 19, Sergeant-at-Arms.

James Coulsting, Stationary Firemen No. 86, Messenger.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

"New York, Nov. 8, 1915.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

"Kindly convey to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention my congratulations and best wishes for the complete success of its efforts to further advance and safeguard the interests of the workers.

"JOS. N. WEBER.

"President American Federation of Musicians."

"ASAMBLA OBRERA DE FILIPINAS. Manila.

Manila, Sept. 9, 1915.

"Dear Sir:

"It is our great pleasure to inform you that on June 19th of this year, the Philippine Labor Assembly, composed of more than one hundred thousand representatives of all the different labor organizations in the islands, was inaugurated in the city of Manila. Its objects are to defend the interests of the laboring classes within the legal grounds and to better their general welfare as circumstances permit.

"On behalf of the said Philippine Labor Assembly, we extend to you our

most sincere greeting, hoping to hear from you.

"Sincerely yours,

"JOAQUIN BALMON, Secretary.

"P. E. SOKO, President.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers,

"President of the American Fed-

eration of Labor,

"Washington, D. C."

President Gompers said: The president of the American Federation of Labor has already replied to this letter, and with the consent of the convention it will be referred to the Committee on Organization. There being no objection it was so ordered.

President Gompers read the following telegram from E. A. Bates, Secretary-Treasurer of the New York State Federation of Labor:

"Proposed constitution for the State of New York was defeated by nearly 500,000 majority. That is satisfaction enough for one campaign. Please convey to the delegates to the convention fraternal greetings from the New York State Federation of Labor."

President Gompers said: An abstract of the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has been prepared and will be submitted to you. The abstract has been prepared

for the convenience of the delegates and has been made as brief as it was possible to make it. I will call upon the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Brother James Duncan, to read the abstract of the report of the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duncan read a portion of the abstract of the report of the Executive Council.

Delegate Tobin, of the Teamsters' delegation, arose and stated that he regretted there were so few delegates present to hear the splendid report being read; that while he did not desire to interrupt Vice-President Duncan, it was his opinion that it would be better to adjourn and have the abstract of the report read upon reconvening Tuesday morning. Vice-President Duncan stated that the Executive Council's report had been printed in full and would be released at 2 p. m., and therefore it would be necessary to finish the reading.

After a brief discussion a motion was made to adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock Tuesday morning in Eagles' Hall. The motion was seconded and carried, and at 2 o'clock p. m. the Convention was adjourned to 10 o'clock Tuesday, Nov. 9th.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., November 8, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

The past year has been one of particular stress for the labor movement, testing its power and its practical efficiency. Like every other organization the labor movement has found itself confronted in its various relationships by war conditions and war difficulties. At the outbreak of the war there came a great catastrophic upheaval, when the activities and policies of peace were suddenly sundered and Europe was plunged into an atmosphere of fighting and destruction.

Men's thought and efforts had been centered upon progress, upon the development of civilization and upon the conservation of human life and the enlargement of opportunities for human development. With the declarations of war, almost in an instant everything was changed, the course and purpose of organized society were changed to further the purpose of destruction and to serve war needs. Skill of men's minds and muscles, knowledge and scientific invention, progress of all the ages were put at the service of the armies and navies engaged in the terrific conflict, destroying human life with unparalleled effectiveness. It seemed as though Europe had suddenly gone mad; all of the agencies to which had been entrusted the welfare and the progress of humanity were suddenly made helpless. But after the period of almost paralyzed horror had passed, we began to devise ways by which we could control the convulsion following the war and utilize even war conditions for human betterment. The period of readjustment enabled us as a nation to adapt ourselves so as to organize upon a basis that would enable us to protect the citizens of our own nation.

The working people have been those who have suffered most from these changes. During that period of wonder and horror that followed the beginning of the war many of the workers were suddenly left without the means of earning a livelihood; left to struggle on as best they could for themselves and those dependent upon them, although they had not been able to provide out of their scanty wages to meet such an emergency. Industries throughout the country struggled on for a time in a halting sort of fashion and some stopped. The commerce that was prepared to meet the needs of peace was wasted in the war situation. There followed a period of depression which meant to the workers of our country unemployment of such a serious nature that thousands were facing starvation. Yet, in the midst of all of this confusion, this turmoil, uncertainty and even despair, there was one agency upon which the workers fixed their trust and hope, the one agency that was appealed to by the toilers and the oppressed, not only of this but of the nations that were suddenly submerged in the European war.

The labor movement has done much in the crisis of the European war, but it has been hampered by lack of funds. The same obstacle is felt in carrying out ideals and plans for greater helpfulness in all international relations.

This agency remained because it was founded for an unselfish purpose, because it did not exist for the hope of gain, because all of its efforts were bent upon the protection and assistance of human beings. The labor movement owes its existence to the needs of men. It expresses their hope for the future. It continues because it meets the needs of the people, and it maintains its power and its vigor in proportion as it keeps itself free from the agencies of greed and of selfish interest that would use it to further their own purposes or would weaken it to eliminate its opposition. In this country as the desires of men increase and are more urgent, the need for the labor movement becomes greater. In the period of distress and disruption that followed, men's thoughts and men's hopes were turned to the labor movement of America. Whether organized or unorganized, they knew they could depend upon that organization to help them in their time of need.

In the time of peace, the labor movement is the constructive force in the industrial world which brings system, organization and opportunity for progress into industrial relations between employers and employes. It is the democratic medium by which the toilers can work out their problems, remedy wrongs and secure for themselves ever increasing opportunity for better living.

Industrial organization is now upon too large a scale to permit of haphazard methods and disorganized conditions in any of its relations. Employers have found that their interests in industry must be very highly systematized if they are to survive in the struggle with their competitors. Employes can not remain a helpless disorganized mass with inarticulate wants and needs if they are not to be crushed and maimed by the strong organized forces in industry. Such inhumane and unwise policy would result in reducing the workers to a condition for which only industrial revolutions and rebellions would secure betterment, protection or justice. Such a policy is not worthy of an enlightened nation. It is subversive to all ideals of industrial progress or industrial statesmanship.

It has become a generally accepted fact that all relations of life must be so organized that there shall be in existence agencies for constructive development and gradual and natural progress—agencies whereby the problems arising in these various relationships can be worked out without upheavals of unnecessary disturbances. It is now recognized that policies and principles of statesmanship must be applied to industrial relations as well as to political relations. In truth, industrial relations are now of greater consequence than political relations because they touch the lives of the people more intimately and with greater power for good or evil than do political relationships. Furthermore, it is now recognized throughout the civilized world that the agency necessary for the existence of regulation, system and progress in relations between workers and their employers is the trade union, which is founded upon the highest ideals for associated effort of any kind. It is a simple democratic organization which meets the needs of the workers and enables them to protect themselves and make such progress that they shall become of increasing value and importance to the nation.

The labor movement of America was the great steadying force in the period of upheaval and transition that followed the outbreak of the war. It was the force that insisted upon the maintenance of existing standards that protected the workers against all efforts to throw upon them the full burden of the war. It was the force that demanded for the workers an opportunity to work in order to earn a daily living. It was the force that held true and tided things over.

When employers had readjusted to meet the changing conditions and to meet the demands of European nations that had grown out of the conduct of the war, the labor movement of the country was the agency that enabled the workers to share more equitably the results of the industrial impetus given by the war. The workers soon realized that the employers intended to keep to themselves all of their vastly increased profits. The organized workers made demands through their regular representatives and many unorganized workers caught the spirit of the day and organized in order that they too might make their demands effective. Thus there came in many industries a great labor forward campaign. It was recognized that the organized economic power of the workers was their main dependence under all conditions and all necessities, whether for protection or for opportunity to share in prosperity.

In the meanwhile the workers of the warring nations were constantly turning to the labor movement of America for assurance that the influence and the power of our own workers of this country would be exerted upon international relations for the maintenance of the cause and rights of humanity. Appeals came from the workers of desolated lands for assistance and in it all and through it all the spirit of fraternity, the spirit of fellowship among industrial workers survived, even when the outward physical ties of organization were temporarily lost in the stress of war.

Even though of late there has been increasing difficulty in maintaining intercourse with the labor movements of some foreign countries, yet there still remain the spirit of fraternity and the confidence that the American labor movement will stand for the rights of humanity, of the workers in all of the countries, and will insist upon the paramount importance of humanity. Yet to maintain the force of our labor movement straight and unerring, has not been an easy task. There have been innumerable influences that have sought to fasten themselves upon the labor movement of this country because they recognized its power and because they desired to use it to serve their own purposes.

It has been due to the integrity, the honor and manhood of the wage-earners that many efforts to embroil our country in the present international complications have failed. They have held their ideals too dear to be sacrificed to personal gain, and they have not deviated from the determination to make all forces and all conditions contribute to the progress of the labor movement which is the well-being of the wage-earners. In every trade they have sought to obtain higher wages, shorter hours of work, and better working conditions. They have used their influence to secure not personal benefits, but something that would lift the labor movement upon a higher plane with greater opportunities. These efforts to use the labor movement have come in all manner of guises. They have come as humanitarian efforts; they have come as patriotic appeals; they have come as promoting the highest ideals which human beings have conceived. But the trade union movement of America has steadfastly refused to be moved from the principles upon which it has built up its present power and effectiveness. The trade union movement, the powerful militant organization in industry for the protection of the rights of the workers and for the maintenance of industrial justice, has refused to give its sanction to any political movement in furtherance of peace at any price. While the trade union movement recognizes that peace is absolutely necessary for normal, consecutive development and progress, yet it refuses to secure this peace at the sacrifice of ideals and standards of justice. It maintains that a necessary assurance of peace is power for self-protection and readiness to maintain rights. The principles of statesmanship that hold true in the industrial world hold true in the political world.

The trade union movement holds that peace in any relationship can be secured only when justice prevails and that peace follows because men are accorded their rights and are assured opportunities for necessary progress. The trade union movement is founded upon democratic principles; therefore, it holds that people have a right to work out their own salvation according to their own ideals. In accord with this ideal it refuses to sanction any effort to interfere with others who are working out their own problems. Further, it holds that it ought to take advantage of every opportunity to plan for peace in a constructive way. At the Philadelphia Convention, the trade union movement endorsed a proposal that when the nations shall meet to determine upon conditions of peace at the conclusion of the present war, that representatives of the wage-earners—the great masses of all the nations—ought to be present in order to present and insist upon conditions and declarations that shall provide for the safety and the advancement of human welfare and shall maintain human rights as of greater importance than any other consideration. The trade union movement insists that a human being is of greater importance than the product of his toil. The human being is the creator and in him lies that infinitely valuable thing—creative genius. Creative genius is the thing that civilization and the agencies of civilization ought to protect. This is the principle which the trade union movement has endorsed, and which it proposes to further in all of the councils of state.

As we have said again and again, the trade union movement is as wide and as deep as human life. There is nothing that concerns human life that is foreign to the labor movement. While the efforts of the trade union movement are directed first of all to secure certain material benefits, these benefits are for the purpose of promoting and advancing human life. It has been demonstrated that the shorter workday lengthens the lives of the workers. It gives them opportunities for better living. It is indisputable that higher wages provide the workers with the necessities for better living, and therefore make better men and women. Improved conditions of work protect the health of the workers, conserve their productive power and make them of greater value to themselves and the nation.

From this it is evident that the work of the trade union movement is of tremendous importance to the workers themselves and to the nation, and it is also evident how serious are the duty and obligation that devolve upon us as the members of this Executive Council. The seriousness of that duty and obligation has been ever present to our members, and we have tried to do what we could and make the following report of our year's work.

We have had four meetings during the year as follows:

January 11-16, 1915; April 19-24, 1915; September 20-25, 1915, and November 6, 1915.

There were submitted to us during the year 162 documents. The most important of the matters to which we have given attention and consideration during the year are included in this report.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1914, and ending September 30, 1915.

It is with satisfaction I report at the close of the fiscal year a balance on hand of \$110,632.39—\$70,132.39 in cash and \$40,500 advanced from the defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions on account of \$50,000 loan to erect American Federation of Labor office building. Of the total amount on hand, \$97,887.83 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$12,744.56, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$8,683.16 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$4,061.40, is in the fund created by the one-cent assessment levied December 17, 1914, to defray expenses of appeals in the United Hatters, contempt cases and for the organization of women workers.

The total receipts from all sources are \$271,625.53, the total expenses are \$303,985.95, which includes the \$40,500 advanced on office building loan, leaving the actual expenses amounting to \$263,485.95. Deducting the actual expenses from the receipts shows an excess of the receipts over the expenditures of \$8,139.58.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1915:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1914.....		\$102,492 81
Per capita tax.....	\$176,372 31	
Supplies.....	8,028 54	
Interest on funds on deposit.....	2,340 00	
American Federationist.....	36,731 27	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters' case.....	15,777 24	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	5,373 95	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	14,257 98	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	890 53	
Reinstatement and initiation fees.....	5,804 47	
Money received and not receipted for.....	858 50	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	5,190 74	
	<u>271,625 53</u>	
Total.....		\$374,118 34

EXPENSES.

General.....	\$193,595 26	
Defense fund:		
Local trade and federal labor unions.....	\$8,223 57	
*On account of amount advanced on office building loan.....	40,500 00	
	<u>48,723 57</u>	
American Federationist.....	35,294 06	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	5,052 66	
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters' case.....	11,982 43	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	9,192 62	
Reinstatement and initiation fees.....	145 35	
	<u>303,985 95</u>	
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915.....		\$70,132 39

[RECAPITULATION.

In general fund.....	\$12,744 56	
In defense fund for local and federal labor unions.....	57,387 83	
	<u>\$70,132 39</u>	
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915.....		\$70,132 39
*On account of amount advanced on office building loan from defense fund.....		\$40,500 00
Balance on hand September 30, 1915, including building loan.....		\$110,632 39

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:		
Appropriations:		
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	\$500	00
National Women's Trade Union League of America.....	450	00
Union Label Trades Department.....	52	25
Rent.....	5,924	50
Refunds of premiums on bonds and supplies returned.....	139	38
Premiums:		
Bonds, local unions.....	5,052	66
Treasurer's bond.....	125	00
Secretary's bond.....	20	00
Fire insurance.....	14	45
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	1,173	00
Legislative expenses.....	7,068	75
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	241	24
Office fixtures.....	83	90
Postage stamps.....	4,501	02
Printing and binding proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention.....	2,669	50
Stamped envelopes.....	1,011	84
Supplies and printing.....	18,377	03
Telegrams.....	2,090	64
Expenses of delegate to Philadelphia Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.....	51	30
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates.....	11	50
Expenses of fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	207	85
Philadelphia:		
Committee rooms.....	190	00
Expenses, Secretary attending Philadelphia Convention.....	106	80
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	424	00
Printing and supplies.....	132	34
Printing daily proceedings.....	2,295	60
Stenographers.....	1,189	89
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, stationery, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs.....	180	02
Salary:		
President.....	6,875	01
Secretary.....	4,750	01
Treasurer.....	500	00
Office employees.....	41,730	82
Janitor service.....	47	80
Expenses:		
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	269	10
Executive Council meetings.....	6,157	20
President traveling during year.....	1,893	84
Secretary traveling during year.....	424	14
Defense fund:		
Strike benefits.....	8,190	90
On account of amount advanced on office building loan.....	40,500	00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	32	67
Assessment:		
One-cent assessment to defray expenses in the United Hatters' case.....	11,982	44
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	9,192	62
Organizing expenses.....	72,342	90
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	35,294	06
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter for organizing and legislative purposes.....	3,648	00
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	1,404	00
Postage on American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	381	15
Legal expenses.....	25	00
Expenses attending Louis Kemper's funeral.....	91	00
Expenses relative to erecting of booth and American Federation of Labor exhibit at Panama Exposition.....	3,885	75
Refund of reinstatement and initiation fees received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	133	10
Total.....	\$303,985	95

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENTS

Assessments levied on the membership of affiliated organizations August 4, 1913, and December 17, 1914, were to defray expenses of appeals in the United Hatters' case, and the contempt case, and after all expenses were paid in these cases the balance to be used to organize women workers.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for this fiscal year, ending September 30, 1915:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1914.....	\$286	59
Receipts from October 1, 1914, to and including September 30, 1915.....	15,777	24
Total.....	\$16,043	83

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

EXPENSES.

On account of attorney fees and expenses relative to the United Hatters' case:

Alton B. Parker.....	\$7,500 00
Frank L. Mulholland.....	1,368 61
Printing brief in Lawlor vs. Loewe case, Alton B. Parker.....	376 25
On account of stenographic work, Hatters' case, J. H. Ralston.....	71 70
On account attorney fees preparing bill to be introduced in Legislature, J. H. Ralston.....	100 00
Organizing expenses, S. A. Conboy.....	720 04
Organizing expenses, M. Kelleher.....	940 15
Organizing expenses, Wm. Collins.....	449 01
Organizing expenses, M. Scully.....	456 67
Total.....	\$11,982 43

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$16,043 83
Expenses.....	11,982 43

Balance on hand September 30, 1915..... \$4,061 40

*All expenses incurred in the Buck Stove and Range, Contempt and United Hatters Case have been paid, and there is a balance of \$4,061.40 in this fund to be used for the organization of women workers.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1915, INCLUSIVE

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 35 years:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882.....	268 20	262 25
1883.....	690 19	352 32
1884.....	357 42	543 20
1885.....	584 03	450 58
1886.....	474 11	635 08
1887.....	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888.....	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889.....	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890.....	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892.....	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893.....	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894.....	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898.....	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899.....	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900.....	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901.....	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902.....	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903.....	247,802 96	196,615 57
1904.....	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905.....	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906.....	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907.....	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908.....	207,655 23	196,937 36
1909.....	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910.....	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911.....	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912.....	207,373 60	277,479 23
1913.....	244,292 04	258,702 92
1914.....	263,166 97	265,787 21
1915.....	271,625 53	303,985 95
Total.....	\$3,417,126 95	\$3,346,994 56*

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$3,417,126 95
Expenses.....	3,346,994 56

Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915..... \$70,132 39

On account of amount advanced on Office Building loan..... 40,500 00

Balance on hand September 30, 1915, including building loan..... \$110,632 39

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT TO ORGANIZE WOMEN WORKERS

Period February 28, 1914, by the Executive Council in accordance with resolution adopted by the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L.)

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses from October 1, 1914, to September 30, 1915:

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand September 30, 1914.....	\$3,818 67
Receipts from October 1, 1914, to and including September 30, 1915.....	5,378 95
Total	\$9,192 62

EXPENSES.		
Names of Organizers.	States Wherein Work Was Done.	Amount Received.
1. Kelleher, Mary.....	New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York.....	\$1,047 64
2. Collins, William.....	New York.....	931 24
3. Conboy, Sara A.....	Indiana, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Georgia, New Jersey, New York.....	853 70
4. McMahon, Thomas.....	Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania.....	801 85
5. Miller, A. W.....	Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Minnesota, Maryland, New Jersey.....	797 65
6. Reagan, Thos. J.....	Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Georgia.....	607 00
7. Walker, Jesse.....	New York, Pennsylvania.....	582 98
8. McIntyre, B. F.....	South Carolina, Georgia.....	571 95
9. Deskan, Samuel.....	New York, Pennsylvania.....	508 27
10. Mills, K. B.....	New York.....	504 00
11. Sicaud, Edmond.....	New Hampshire, Massachusetts.....	492 93
12. Scully, Mary.....	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut.....	448 52
13. Miles, Chas. A.....	Tennessee, New York.....	430 16
14. Agurkes, Joseph J.....	Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Georgia.....	282 20
15. Smith, E. B.....	New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts.....	181 60
16. Hogan, C. B.....	New York, Connecticut.....	84 23
17. Wilkins, J. J.....	New York, Connecticut.....	66 70
	Total	\$9,192 62

RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$9,192 62
Expenses.....	9,192 62

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1915, there have been issued 212 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, one was granted to the following International:

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen;

One State Branch: South Carolina State Federation of Labor;

Trade unions, 126; Federal Labor Unions, 40.

Forty-four Central bodies, as follows:

Alabama:	Mississippi:	South Carolina:
Tuscaloosa.	Jackson.	Greenville.
California:	North Carolina:	Spartanburg.
Santa Barbara.	Charlotte.	South Dakota:
Canada:	Durham.	Aberdeen.
Sherbrooke.	New York:	Tennessee:
Illinois:	Mt. Kisco.	Bristol.
Carlyle.	Tonawanda.	Texas:
Gillespie.	New Jersey:	Ablene.
Oglesby.	Atlantic County.	Amarillo.
Royalton.	Nevada:	Brownwood.
Sandoval.	Tonopah.	Cleburne.
Westville.	Oklahoma:	Commerce.
Indiana:	Sapulpa.	Strawn.
Dunkirk.	Pennsylvania:	Texas City.
Iowa:	Harrisburg.	Vermont:
Iowa City.	Johnstown.	Wilder.
Kansas:	Mt. Carmel.	West Virginia:
Hutchinson.	Nanticoke.	Clarksburg.
Massachusetts:	New Kensington.	Wheeling.
Gardner.	Shamokin.	Washington:
	Porto Rico:	Bremerton.
	Bayamon.	Chehalis.

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS. Suspended, 1: Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers; membership, 2,500. Merged, 1: American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, amalgamated with Operative Plasterers' International Association of United States and Canada; membership, 1,200.

CENTRAL BODIES. Disbanded, 18.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS. Disbanded, 42; suspended, 148; reinstated, 18; joined internationals, 4; revoked 2.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS. Disbanded, 12; suspended, 70; reinstated, 18; joined internationals, 5.

CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1915

YEAR.	International.	Department.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897.....	8		2	18	154	35	217
1898.....	9		0	12	129	53	203
1899.....	9		1	35	303	101	449
1900.....	14		5	96	484	250	849
1901.....	7		4	123	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months).....	14		6	127	598	279	1,024
1903.....	20		3	171	743	396	1,333
1904.....	11		5	99	179	149	443
1905.....	3		1	67	143	73	287
1906.....	6		4	53	167	87	317
1907.....	3		1	72	204	93	373
1908.....	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909.....	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910.....	2	0	1	83	152	96	334
1911.....	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
1912.....	2	1	2	57	149	49	260
1913.....	2		1	63	197	59	322
1914.....	2		1	44	128	50	225
1915.....	1		1	44	126	40	212

International.....	1
State.....	1
Central.....	44
Federal Labor Union.....	40
Local Trade Union.....	126
Total.....	212

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LOCAL UNIONS

The American Federation of Labor in the past nineteen years has formed out of directly chartered local unions, the following seventy-five national and international organizations:

1896.

Mineral Mine Workers' Progressive, Northern.
Actors' National Protective.
National Union of Textile Workers.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders' Union.
Brickmakers' Alliance, National.
Federated Association of Wire Drawers.

1897.

Bicycle Workers' International Union.
Gold Beaters' National Union.
Steam Engineers' National Union.
Core Makers' International Union.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.
Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's National Union.

1898.

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union of America.
Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union.

1899.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.
Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers.
Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.
Team Drivers' International Union.

1900.

Chain Makers' National Union of the United States of America.
Glass Workers' National Union.
International Jewelry Workers' Union of America.
International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union.
International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.
United Metal Workers' International Union.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

1901.

Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.
Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.
International Watch Case Makers.
International Association of Car Workers.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America.
National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.

1902.

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America.
Sawsmiths' Union of North America.
Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America.
National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States.
United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.
International Association of Tube Workers.
International Association of Marble Workers.
Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America.

1903.

Quarrymen's International Union of North America.
American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.
International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.
International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters.
International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.
Brotherhood of Railway Expressmen of America.
International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America.
International Shingle Weavers' Union of America.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, National Alliance of.
International Association of Glass House Employes.
Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of America.
Glove Workers' International Union of America.
Order of Commercial Telegraphers.
Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union of America.
National Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America.
International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.

1904.

Asbestos Workers of America, National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and,
International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada.
Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers' International Union.
Brushmakers' International Union.
International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes.
International Union of Building Employes of America.
International Union of Paper Box Makers.
Tack Makers' International Union.

1905.

National Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.
International Union of Pavers and Rammermen.

1906.

Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America.

1907.

International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of
United States and Canada.
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.
Lobster Fishermen's National Protective Association.

1910.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

1913.

International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada (second time chartered).

UNION LABELS

There are now 56 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.	Garment Workers, Ladies.	Painters.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Glove Workers.	Papermakers.
Bill Posters and Billers.	Grinders and Finishers, Pocket	Photo-Engravers.
Bollermakers.	Knife Blade.	Piano and Organ Workers.
Blacksmiths.	Hatters.	Plate Printers.
Bookbinders.	Horseshoers.	Powder Workers.
Boot and Shoe Workers.	Iron and Steel Workers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Brewery Workmen.	Jewelry Workers.	Print Cutters.
Brickmakers.	Lathers.	Sawsmiths.
Broommakers.	Laundry Workers.	Slate Workers.
Brushmakers.	Leather Workers on Horse	Stove Mounters.
Carpenters and Joiners, Broth-	Goods.	Tailors.
erhood.	Lithographers.	Textile Workers.
Carriage and Wagon Workers.	Machine Printers and Color	Timber Workers.
Carvers, Wood	Mixers.	Tobacco Workers.
Cigarmakers.	Machinists.	Travelers' Goods and Leather
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.	Marble Workers.	Novelty Workers.
Coopers.	Metal Polishers.	Typographical.
Electrical Workers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	Upholsterers.
Garment Workers, United.	Molders.	Weavers, Wire.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Barbers.	Hotel and Restaurant Employees.	Stage Employees, Theatrical.
Clerks, Retail.	Meat Cutters and Butcher	Teamsters.
Engineers, Steam.	Workmen.	White Rats Actors.
Firemen, Stationary.	Musicians.	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge, Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers; Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water); Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horsehoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Paper Box Makers; Suspendermakers, Garter, Arm Band, and Hose Supporter Makers; Flour and Cereal Mill Employees; Carbon Makers; Pennant Makers, and Soap Makers.

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1907 up to and including 1915. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANISATIONS.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	110	105	107	127	138	146	151	157	158
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	241	255	255	265	285	299	318	343	341
Bill Posters	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	93	100	100	100	100	93	90	96	85
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	157	152	128	161	199	167	162	167	173
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	320	320	320	325	327	333	343	381	356
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	89	79	71	78	79	85	91	94	85
Brewery Workmen, International Union	.	400	400	400	450	450	450	520	520
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers	43	28	25	38	34	34	39	32	29
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	9	8	8	6	7	7	7	7	7
Brushmakers' International Union	5	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	58	81	73	71	78	.	.	.	.
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1929	1796	1640	1904	1946	1923	2107	2128	1956
Carriage, Wagon, & Automobile Workers	31	15	15	11	20	27	29	35	38
Carvers' Union, International Wood	16	13	13	12	12	10	10	11	10
Car Workers, International Association of	50	44	50	50	46	.	.	.	.
Cement Workers	58	73	90	90	90	90	90	73	16
Chainmakers' National Union	6	6	3	2	c	c	c	c	c
Cigar-makers' International Union	399	409	398	432	436	415	402	400	394
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	.	.	58	50	50	50	50	50	50
Clerks, Bro. of Railway Postal	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15	20
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	500	500	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office	9	12	13	14	16	18	22	28	32
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	23	13	15	21	22	28	38	36	30
Commercial Telegraphers	35	19	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	13	13	8	6	6	6	8	10	12
Coopers' International Union	53	49	41	41	43	45	46	45	39
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3	3	3
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	302	321	138	160	189	196	227	308	362
Elevator Constructors	23	25	20	21	21	23	26	27	27
Engineers, International Union of Steam	175	168	161	160	160	177	200	203	210
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway	.	.	.	.	.	2	1	++	++
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary	125	173	107	81	80	114	160	160	160
Fishermen's National Prot. Assn., Lobster	6	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	63	78	46	47	40	25	10	29	+
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees	7	8	8	3	.	.	.	.	.
Foundry Employees, International Bro. of	10	7	5	7	5	5	5	6	6
Fur Workers, International Association of	4	4	2	2	c	c	c	c	c
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Can., Intl.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8	37
Garment Workers of America, United	334	439	534	542	525	464	585	607	422
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. and Canada	80	88	93	100	100	100	100	100	100
Glass Workers' International Assn., Amal.	14	12	11	12	12	11	13	12	11
Glass Workers of America, Amal., Window	61	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Glass Workers, American Flint	.	.	.	.	.	.	91	99	94
Glass Snappers, Window	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Glove Workers	8	8	8	8	9	11	13	11	10
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National	5	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	3	3	2	2	+	+	+	+	+
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Granite Cutters' International Assn. of A., The	126	130	131	134	135	135	135	135	135
Hatters of North America, United	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	5	8	6	5	8	8	8	10	10
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	97	112	88	114	127	125	221	256	319
Horsehoers of United States and Canada	44	61	72	72	49	52	53	57	57
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	363	386	368	370	430	476	539	590	606
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	100	100	60	80	45	45	55	64	65
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Assn.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	102	100
Jewelry Workers' International	6	4	3	4	3	2	++	++	++
Lace Operatives, Amal.	8	8	8	8	9	10	11	12	12
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	23	16	18	187	668	584	788	699	653
Leathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	40	58	50	50	50	50	50	55	60
Laundry Workers, International Union	31	40	35	29	26	26	26	28	41
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	40	40	40	37	26	20	19	18	18
Leather Workers of America, Amal.	10	8	8	8	6	6	c	c	c
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Assn.	23	11	13	17	21	24	26	28	35
Lithographic Pressfeeders	.	.	10	9	9	9	10	+	+
Longshoremen's Association, International	320	315	213	208	250	235	220	250	250
Machinists, International Association of	560	621	484	569	671	598	710	754	719
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

VOTING STRENGTH.—Continued.

ORGANIZATIONS.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915
Maintenance of Way Employees, Intl. Bro. of.....	132	135	100	87	100	91	80	65	81
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of.....	20	22	24	27	28	28	30	41	16
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	53	63	63	54	31	40	54	62	61
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.....	153	161	160	162	172	166	169	178	178
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mine Workers of America, United.....	2549	2525	2670	2337	2504	2670	3708	3345	3116
Miners, Western Federation of.....					513	506	485	389	167
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of.....	375	375	394	400	500	500	546	600	600
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	624	648	596	635	676	685	709	744	753
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	31	43	10	16	24	28	40	44	45
Papermakers' League of N. A.....	50	55	50	52	56	60	65	67	65
Pavers and Ramblers, Intl. Union of.....	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	16	16
Paving Cutters Union of U. S. of A. & Can.....	18	20	26	32	32	35	35	35	35
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.....	28	29	32	35	37	40	44	47	48
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.....	50	50	40	40	40	20	10	10	10
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & Can., Oper.....			145	152	147	157	173	180	183
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	160	180	184	200	200	260	290	297	320
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	58	59	59	58	65	65	65	77	78
Printing Pressmen, International.....	166	172	178	186	190	190	190	193	227
Printers, Plate, of U. S. A., Intl. S. and O.....	12	12	12	13	13	12	13	13	13
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.....			10	7	28	35	31	35	43
Quarry Workers, International.....	41	45	45	50	35	40	40	40	36
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.....				228	269	287	280	287	293
Railway Employees' Amal. Assn., St. & Elec.....	320	320	333	367	393	402	457	545	589
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.....	10	10	10	11	12	12	12	12	12
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	248	255	168	160	160	160	160	160	160
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers.....	19	16	16	9	+	+	+	+	+
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....									
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	6	6	5	5	5	5	6	6	6
Slate Workers.....	30	27	21	14	7	4	3	3	3
Spinners' Intl. Union.....	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.....	55	56	56	56	56	d	d	d	d
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.....									27
Steel Plate Transferers' Assn. of America.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N. A.....	29	31	35	40	42	43	45	45	49
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....	85	83	89	80	86	89	66	60	44
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	15	14	10	9	11	11	11	11	11
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	92	93	80	80	87	87	96	98	90
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	167	161	132	117	120	120	120	120	120
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	366	377	320	358	382	415	469	511	516
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	150	150	150	200	250	250	250	250	250
Textile Workers of America, United.....	114	129	100	100	100	109	162	180	189
Theatrical Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance.....	60	62	80	91	98	110	132	160	180
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	21	19	17	19	21	24	27	30	30
Timber Workers.....	18	17	18	18	15	15	31	25	7
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	14	14	15	8	3	3	2	1	1
Tip Printers.....	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	51	46	43	41	40	37	36	37	39
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.....	7	5	5	6	8	9	9	9	9
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union.....				13	17	18	19	17	15
Typographical Union, International.....	428	440	455	491	518	547	564	594	591
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	26	28	28	28	28	28	31	35	35
Watch-case Engravers, International.....	2	2	2	2	2	c	c	c	c
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
White Rats Actors' Union of A.....	11	11	11	11	66	110	110	110	87
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	3	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	3
Woodmen and Saw Mill Workers.....	10	3	7	6	+	+	+	+	+
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.....	93	40	41	32	31	e	e	e	e
Centrals.....	574	606	594	632	631	560	621	647	673
Locals.....	713	616	608	647	680	590	659	570	489
State Branches.....	37	38	39	39	38	41	42	43	44
Total vote of Unions.....	16425	16892	15880	16737	18643	18499	20976	21185	20433

* Charter revoked. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ‡ Disbanded.

a Merged with Machinists. b Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. d Not recognized. e Merged with Carpenters. f Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. ** Withdrew.

CHARTERS—Reports from the Secretaries of 86 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 1,791 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,421 lapsed and surrendered—1,367 of the charters lapsed and surrendered with the American Federation of Labor unions, and 54 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 36 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 38,509.

STRIKES—Reports from 70 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 1,004 strikes, in which there were 144,929 involved. Of that number 99,543 secured improved conditions. The total cost of the strikes reported on was \$3,418,831.72. Adding to that amount \$88,254.10, donations made by unions for financial assistance of other unions, we have a total of \$3,507,085.82 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

ORGANIZATIONS.										Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Gain in wages.		
A. F. of L. locals.....	166	54	8	10	5	3	4,837	3,587	2½c per hour	\$9,147 12	\$1,520 68
Asbestos Workers.....	4	2	4				400	400		13,860 00	
Bakers.....	17	22								973 00	
Barbers.....	34	27					344	344		500 00	
Bill Posters.....	2	1			1		15			5,100 00	
Blacksmiths.....	12	4	30				75			73,743 00	173 46
Boilermakers.....	14	15	359	1	3	2	1,048	13		822 00	15,000 00
Bookbinders.....	6	3	86	1	1		164	175		50,349 00	1,150 00
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	13	23	3								
Brewery Workers.....	6	6	11	7	8	2	3,726				
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers.....	11	6	1		1						
Broommakers.....	11	14	3		1		80	30	5 to 10 percent	5,000 00	350 00
Brushmakers.....	2	1	34				35			300 00	150 00
Carpenters, Brotherhood.....	162	222	12	2	1	1	16,200	25,000	5c per hour	196,545 00	2,620 00
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	4		250							1,001 34	
Carvers, Wood.....	6	1	6	1	8		24	18			
Cigar makers.....	15	8	3	1		3	925	581			
Clocks Retail.....	42										
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	1		29	2	2	9	600			55,000 00	1,000 00
Commercial Telegraphers.....	3	3	3	1	1	1	200			2,500 00	280 00
Coppers.....							140	120	2½c per hour	2,100 00	175 00
Dishwashers.....											
Electrical Workers.....	64	25	2,760	11	3	2	3,760	2,080	25c per day	1,400 00	
Elevator Constructors.....	2		130	6			55	55	50c per day	5,436 00	
Engineers, Steam.....	24	5		6	5	4	50			3,211 00	2,000 00
Firemen, Stationary.....	23		11	3	2		864	778			
Firemen, Stationary.....											
Foundry Employees.....	2		1				180	180	10c per day		57 00
Garment Workers, United.....	18	2	8				10,000	10,000	10 to 20% a day	5,000 00	1,000 00
Garment Workers, Ladies.....	20	65	5	2			700			4,586 00	
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	8	3	6	2	2		5,500				1,460 00

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Glass Workers, Amal.	2	2											
Glass Workers, Flint.	1	11		1		6		589				\$185,291 14	\$300 00
Glove Workers.	12	46		17		1	1	1,930	250		$\frac{1}{2}$ hour	11,439 14	6,340 00
Granite Cutters.						7		5,000	4,400	75c per day c		222,775 57	17 00
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.	1	1											5,900 00
Hatters.	56	50	1,250	14		1	1	2,000	1,520	1 to 7½c hr.			
Hodcarriers.	17	7	120	1		1		281	241	25c per day			
Horsehoers.	43	67		62	10	9	9	2,090	912			61,436 45	23,022 27
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.	7	4		3			3	1,200	700			2,500 00	600 00
Iron and Steel Workers.								1,200	100			16,592 80	750,00
Lace Operatives.						2		1,400	1,400				
Lathers.	18	29		2				1,400	1,400				
Laundry Workers.	24	11	950	7	4	2	1	1,320	287	25c & 50c day d	e	2,550 00	2,800 00
Leather Workers on Horse Goods			605			2		15				2,101 00	
Lithographers.	2		800				1	80				15,038 00	
Longshoremen.	41	18		12	2		1	6,000	5,840			1,500 00	500 00
Machine Printers and Color Mixers			16	43	7	3	1	11,500 m		30c per day		122,330 51	
Machinists.	38	73				51						700 00	
Maintenance of Way Employees.	25	62											
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.	15	14					1	343			2 and 4 per week	12,265 49	60 00
Metal Polishers.	10	2		30	5	15	3	720	600			15,624 00	1,000 00
Metal Workers, Sheet.	33	20		7	3	2	4	500	300			17,300 00	
Mine Workers, United.	89	74		1				13,000				1,738,500 00	
Miners, Western Federation of.	13	16		1	1		1	7,000	2,000	30-60c per day		7,576 25	4,750 00
Molders, Iron.	1	13				20		1,091				162,384 72	
Molders, Iron.	37	8	1,500										
Musicians.	59	120											
Painters.	5	7											
Papermakers.				12				166	150			22,000 00	
Patternmakers.	8	5		5		4		250	200			5,139 13	
Raving Cutters.	3	3	138									2,886 40	35 00
Photo-Engravers.	1		75			1						5,980 40	
Piano and Organ Workers.	67	30	350	26	1			217	2,100			525 00	3 00
Plasterers.	42	17		39	6	13		2,755	2,630	50c per day		26,691 00	
Plumbers and Steamfitters.	18	2	500										600 00
Post-office Clerks.	3	1	685					90				26,074 85	
Potters, Operative.						2							
Powder and High Explosive Workers	1		26										

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Print Cutters.....	12	4	6,000	1				18	15			\$942 50	\$100 00
Printing Pressmen.....	10	1	1,189					650				1,800 00	1,000 00
Pulp and Sulphite Workers.....	8	2	200			1		1,600	1,400	<i>f</i>		53,000 50	
Quarry Workers.....	5		2,000			1							
Railroad Telegraphers.....	70	53						40	40			65 30	
Railway Carmen.....	10	6	5,000	10		1	1	20,980	20,885	1c to 4c hr. <i>j</i>		1,060 00	400 00
Railway Employes, Street.....	18	2	892										
Railway Postal Clerks.....	2	2											
Roofers, Composition.....	4												
Seamen.....	8	1											50 00
Signalmen, Railroad.....	4	4											2,775 60
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	4	4											
Slate Workers.....	1					1		140					
Spinners.....	47	50	4	3	10			150	150			5,000 00	5,000 00
Stage Employes, Theatrical.....	7	4		60	10			550	400			7,000 00	50 00
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.....													
Steel Plate Transferrers.....	4		4										
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	2	4	110	1				100	100	25c a day	4 hrs. per wk.	355 00	200 00
Stonecutters.....	9	4	1,222	2	1	2		90	50	25 to 50c a day		925 00	
Stove Mounters.....	3	3	25										
Switchmen.....	1	5											
Tailors.....	12	42	6,000	24	1	5		50	15			6,400 00	
Teamsters.....	106	11	3,000	10	26	1		3,600	3,600	30c a day	$\frac{1}{2}$ hr.	17,000 00	1,000 00
Textile Workers.....	40	4						5,226	5,110	5 to 15 per ct. <i>g</i>	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per wk.	30,000 00	3,000 00
The Lays.....	4	2		3	1		1	250	210			1,000 00	
Timber Workers.....	1	3					55 <i>h</i>					4,000 00	1,000 00
Tobacco Workers.....			165										
Trade Goods and Leather Workers.....	5	4		5				300	300	\$2 per wk.	$\frac{1}{2}$ & 1 hr.	1,500 00	70 00
Novelty Workers.....	2							295	85			159,857 11	500 00
Tunnel and Subway Constructors.....	17	14	1,034	3	6	3	3	225	200	15 per cent		2,351 00	
Typographical Union.....	3	5		7	5	1	2						10 00
Upholsterers.....													
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....				4									
Wearers, American Wire.....													
Totals.....	1,791	1,421	38,509	552	115	218	119	144,932	99,543			\$3,418,831 72	\$88,254 10

a for 6 members; *b* jobs completed; *c* for 5,000 members; *d* 25c per day for 235 women members; 50c per day for 32 men; *e* 122 members gained 9-hour day, 57 members gained 8-hour day; 1,100 gained from 16c to 25c per day; 250 advanced from average of 29c per hour to minimum of 34c and after 1 year 37½c per hour; *g* 15 per cent for tile layers; 20 per cent for painters; *h* lockouts; *i* hours reduced from 12 to 8 per day for 1,214 and 6-day week for 2,060; *j* 11,000 benefited; *k* for 90 members; *l* lockout; *m* 26 demands won.

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE LAST YEAR.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool in- surance.	Unem- ployed benefits.
A. F. of L. Locals.....	\$2,820 75	\$40 00	\$1,380 53	\$871 70	\$3 00	\$1,342 13
Bakers.....	4,389 95	1,425 00	53,605 00			
Barbers.....	29,625 00		58,298 29			
Billposters.....						300 00
Boilermakers.....	8,100 00					
Bookbinders.....	7,575 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	16,325 00		91,212 34			
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Wk.	300 00					
Broommakers.....	700 00		500 00			
Carpenters, Brotherhood.....	324,000 00	45,000 00				
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	575 00					
Carvers, Wood.....	1,400 00				139 85	
Cigarmakers.....	283,961 26	5,960 00	210,000 00	56,000 00		100,000 00
Clerks, Retail.....	11,035 00		17,270 00			
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	2,823 00					7,099 00
Commercial Telegraphers.....						500 00
Coopers.....	5,400 00		200 00	1,000 00		
Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.....	400 00					
Diamond Workers.....	2,950 00		2,589 00			10,932 50
Firemen, Stationary.....	8,000 00	2,000 00				
Foundry Employes.....	150 00		435 00			
Fur Workers.....	400 00					
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	69,411 15			9,000 00		55,000 00
Glass Workers, Amal.....	150 00					
Glove Workers.....	100 00					
Granite Cutters.....	29,713 00					
Grinders, Pocket Knife Blade.....			126 00			
Hatters.....	36,014 25					1,200 00
Hodcarriers.....	9,000 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employes.....	65,145 97		95,621 55			
Iron and Steel Workers.....	7,900 00	1,550 00	16,440 00			
Lace Operatives.....	3,326 75					
Lathers.....	6,683 00					
Laundry Workers.....	700 00					115 00
Leather Workers on H. G.....	1,640 00		2,135 00			
Lithographers.....	8,420 00					
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.....	2,400 00					
Machinists.....	60,805 68					
Meat Cutters and Butcher Wk.	2,500 00					120 00
Metal Polishers.....	5,151 00		6,000 00			2,600 00
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	10,700 00					
Miners, Western Federation.....	29,700 00		59,500 00			10,500 00
Molders, Iron.....	79,063 40		144,338 00			46,960 00
Painters.....	108,882 50	13,075 00	30,800 00			
Papermakers.....	3,000 00					
Patternmakers.....	6,700 00		8,034 81		1,965 43	15,789 50
Paving Cutters.....	2,800 00			1,275 00		
Photo-Engravers.....	3,900 00		10,933 71			
Piano and Organ Workers.....	2,100 00	800 00	1,500 00			1,250 00
Plasterers.....	35,600 00					
Plumbers and Steamfitters.....	21,200 00		68,903 00			
Post Office Clerks.....			1,400 00			
Potters, Operative.....	10,575 00					
Print Cutters.....	500 00					
Printing Pressmen.....	12,231 50					
Pulp and Sulphite Workers.....	250 00	200 00	375 00			
Quarry Workers.....	1,372 00					
Railroad Telegraphers.....	100,650 00					
Railway Employes, Street.....	310,866 34		56,877 62			
Roofers, Composition.....	1,600 00					
Seamen.....	15,578 17a					
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	800 00					
Slate Workers.....	900 00	100 00		200 00		2,000 00
Stage Employes, Theatrical.....						
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.....	300 00					40 00
Steel Plate Transferrers.....						
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	5,200 00					
Stonecutters.....	10,065 00					
Stove Mounters.....	1,100 00					
Switchmen.....	119,399 25					
Tailors.....	12,848 70		21,180 90			
Textile Workers.....	3,000 00					
Tobacco Workers.....	1,450 00		6,248 00			
Travelers' Goods and L. N. W.	400 00					
Tunnel and Subway Con.....	2,880 00			2,000 00	12 50	
Typographical Union.....	254,715 93	b				
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	200 00					854 16
Weavers, American Wire.....	200 00		68 00			
Totals.....	\$2,190,718 55	\$70,150 00	\$965,971 75	\$70,346 70	\$2,120 78	\$256,002 29

a Including sick benefits, \$5,300.00; shipwreck benefits, \$10,183.50. b Maintenance Union Printers' Home. \$107,662.02: Old Age Pension. \$302,651.55.

Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year are, in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception they provide death, sick, out-of-work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of the local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 4. Number of persons involved, 400; benefited, 400. An advance in wages of 2½ cents per hour. No reductions in wages in past year. 20 agreements secured without strike.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 22. 300 members were involved in shop strikes, each affecting from one to ten men. As a result of these strikes about 30 per cent received increases in wages and the same percentage reduced the hours of labor from ten and nine, to nine and eight per day. Improvements secured in sanitary conditions of workshops. Cost of strikes, \$13,860. 148 agreements secured without strikes. Death benefits, \$4,389.95; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,425; sick benefits, \$53,605.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 27. 344 members were involved in various strikes, and all were benefited. Cost of strikes, \$973. Death benefits, \$29,625; sick benefits \$58,298.29.
- Bill Posters.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 30. One strike pending, 15 members involved. Six agreements were secured during the year without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully. Cost of strikes, \$500. Unemployed benefits, \$300.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved 3,500. 9 agreements renewed without strike. Cost of strikes, \$5,100. As result of organization members are enjoying on an average of 40 per cent better wages, with a shorter workday.
- Boilermakers.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 359. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1; lost, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 1,048; number of persons benefited, 13. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 200; the balance were displaced or returned to work under same conditions. 3 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$73,743. Death benefits, \$8,100. Donations to other unions, \$173.46.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 86. 1 strike pending, 7 members involved. 15 agreements were secured without strikes. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As a result of organization, the eight-hour day has been established with a 10 to 30 per cent increase in wages. Death benefits, \$7,575. Donations to other unions, \$85.09.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 13; surrendered, 23. Strikes won, 3. Number of persons involved, 164; benefited, 175. Despite business depression the organization succeeded in not only maintaining wages and conditions for the members, but there were various instances of wage increases and betterment of conditions. Cost of strikes, \$822. Death benefits, \$16,325; sick benefits, \$91,212.34; disability benefits, \$5,300. Donations to other unions, \$15,000.
- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 6 local and 2 branch unions; surrendered, 6 local and 6 branch unions. Strikes won, 11; compromised, 7; lost, 2; pending, 8. Number of persons involved in total strikes, 3,726. Cost of strikes, \$50,349. Donations to other unions, \$1,150.
- Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 6. Strikes won, 1; pending, 1. 13 agreements were secured without strike. No reductions in wages in past year. Death benefits, \$300.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**—No report.

- Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 14. Strikes won, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 80; benefited, 30. 20 members struck against reductions in wages, and were successful in preventing reduction. 10 members secured an advance of 15 per cent in wages; 115 an advance of 10 per cent; 15 an advance of 7 per cent, and 146 an advance of 5 per cent. 14 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes \$5,000. As result of organization, 40 per cent of members have increased wages on an average of 35 cents a day. Death benefits, \$700; sick benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$350.
- Brushmakers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 34. One strike lost; 2 pending. Number of persons involved, 35; number of persons involved in strikes pending, 22. 10 agreements were secured without strikes. Cost of strikes, \$300. As a result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from sixty to fifty-four per week. Donations to other unions, \$150.
- Carpenters.**—Charters issued, 162; surrendered, 222. Strikes won, 12; compromised, 2; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 16,200; benefited, 25,000. An average increase of 5 cents per hour was secured. A reduction in hours of labor from nine to eight hours per day was general where strikes occurred to reduce hours. Donations to other unions, \$2,620. The strike resulting in benefit to the greatest number occurred in Chicago, lasting three months, and established a minimum wage of 70 cents per hour. Cost of strikes, \$196,545. Death benefits, \$324,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$45,000.
- Carriage and Wagon Workers.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 250. 46 agreements were secured without strike. Death benefits, \$575.
- Carvers, Wood.**—Strikes won, 6; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 24; benefited, 18; balance secured work at other shops. Hours of labor were reduced for 6 members from fifty-nine to fifty-two per week. Cost of strikes, \$1,001.34. As result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from sixty to forty-four per week in architectural shops, and from sixty to fifty-four in most furniture factories, and wages raised from the scale of \$15 to \$20 to \$20 to \$35 per week. Death benefits, \$1,400. Tool insurance, \$139.85.
- Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 8. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; lost, 3; pending, 8. Number of persons involved, 925; benefited, 581. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 199; balance went to work in other shops. Four agreements were secured without strike. Wages were reduced in a few instances, other attempts were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$286,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$5,920; sick benefits, \$210,000; traveling benefits, \$58,000; unemployed benefits, \$100,000.
- Clerks, Retail.**—Charters issued, 42. Death benefits, \$11,035; sick benefits, \$17,270.
- Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.**—Strikes won, 29; lost, 9; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 600. Cost of strikes, \$55,000. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Sick benefits, \$2,823; unemployed benefits, \$7,099. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Commercial Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 1. 1 agreement was secured without strike, affecting 120 members; increases in wages and improved conditions aggregating \$3,000 per year. Cost of strikes, \$2,500. As a result of organization, in the press and broker service, wages range from 25 per cent to 40 per cent above those paid previous to organization. Organized commercial telegraphers are paid 30 per cent higher than those not organized. Unemployed benefits, \$500.
- Compressed Air Workers.**—No report.
- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 3; pending 1. Number of persons involved, 140; benefited, 120. Increase in wages of 2½ cents per hour for 120 members. 30 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$2,100. As a result of organization, the eight-hour day is almost generally enforced, whereas formerly twelve and fourteen hours constituted the workday, and the wage-scale has been nearly doubled at many points. Death benefits, \$5,400; sick benefits, \$200; traveling benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$280.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.**—Death benefits, \$400.
- Diamond Workers.**—No reductions in wages in past year. Death benefits, \$2,950; sick benefits, \$2,589; unemployed benefits, \$10,932.50. Donations to other unions, \$175.
- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 64; surrendered, 25; gain in membership, 2,760. Strikes won, 11; compromised, 3; lost, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 3,760; benefited, 2,080. Gains in wages averaging 25 cents a day. 147 agreements secured through negotiations with employers. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted.

- Elevator Constructors.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 130. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 55; benefited, 55. Gain in wages of 50 cents per member per day. 28 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$1,400. No reductions in wages.
- Engineers, Steam.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 8. Strikes won, 6; lost, 4; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 59; benefited, 12; 8 returned to work under same conditions; 37 persons involved in strikes pending. 82 agreements secured without strike, benefitting 6,229 members. Cost of strikes, \$5,436.
- Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 11; compromised, 3; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 864; benefited, 778. Hours of labor reduced from twelve to eight per day for 1,214 members with 25 per cent increase in wages. The six-day work week, in place of seven days, was secured for 2,060 members. 500 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$5,211. Death benefits, \$8,000; death benefits, members' wives, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$2,000.
- Foundry Employees.**—Charters surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 180; benefited, 180. Gain in wages of 10 cents per member per day. Death benefits, \$150; sick benefits, \$435. Donations to other unions, \$57.
- Fur Workers.**—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,000. Strikes won, 8. Number of persons involved, 10,000; all were benefited. Wages increased 10 to 20 per cent per day. Hours of labor reduced from fifty-three to forty-nine per week. An agreement also secured conceding ten legal holidays during the year with pay. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$5,000. Death benefits, \$400.
- Garment Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 65. Strikes won, 5; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 700. Cost of strikes, \$4,586. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 5,500. As result of strikes, the forty-eight-hour week was secured for the New York and Boston rain-coat workers, and for the Connecticut corset workers. New York, Boston and Chicago organizations have concluded agreements, providing a number of trade improvements, including increasing the earnings to a minimum of 70 cents per hour for operators, and \$27.50 per week for cutters.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.**—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Organization was successful through conference with manufacturers in preventing wage reduction. Death benefits, \$69,411.15; traveling benefits, \$9,000; unemployed benefits, \$55,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,460.
- Glass Workers, Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 2. 4 agreements were secured without strikes. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$150.
- Glass Workers, Flint.**—Strikes pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 589. Attempt to reduce wages was successfully resisted in conference with manufacturers; considerable improvement made in working rules and sanitary conditions in factories locally. Cost of strikes, \$185,291.14. Donations to other unions, \$300.
- Glove Workers.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 11. Strikes won, 1; 250 benefited. 1 strike pending. One strike of 1,500 glove cutters for a wage increase was lost, 8,000 glove workers affected; all returned to work under same conditions. 250 members reduced hours of labor one-half hour per day. 11 agreements were secured without strike, one providing for 20 per cent increase in wages, affecting 52 members. Resistance to wage reduction pending in one city. Cost of strikes, \$11,439.14. Death benefits, \$100.
- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 4 (jobs completed). Strikes won, 17; pending, 7. Number of persons involved, 5,000; benefited, 4,400. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 600. 5,000 members secured advance in wages of 75 cents per day. Regulation of use of unhealthy tools, elimination of some of them, and improved sanitary conditions, including installation of sanitary drinking-water devices, are among improvements secured. Cost of strikes, \$222,775.57. As a result of organization the eight-hour day has been established since 1900; in addition, now have half-day holiday on Saturday and members paid weekly in cash. Death benefits, \$29,713. Donations to other unions, \$6,340.
- Grinders and Finishers.**—1 charter surrendered. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Sick benefits, \$126. Donations to other unions, \$17.
- Hatters.**—Sanitary conditions have been greatly improved in many factories. All agreements with

union factories were secured without strike. Death benefits, \$36,014.25. Unemployed benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other unions, \$5,300.

Hodcarriers.—Charters issued, 56; surrendered, 50. Gain in membership, 1,250. Strikes won, 14; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,000; benefited, 1,520. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 480. From 1½ to 7½ cents per hour gains in wages, advances for the year aggregating \$1,685,491. Death benefits, \$9,000.

Horseshoers.—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 120. Strikes won, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 281; benefited, 241. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 40. Gain in wages of 25 cents per member per day. Saturday half-holiday secured in a number of cities. There has been a vast improvement in the sanitary conditions in shops in the last five years. No reductions in wages in past year. As result of organization, wages have been increased 25 cents per day with a general improvement in working conditions.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees.—Charters issued, 43; surrendered, 67. Strikes won, 62; compromised, 10; lost, 9; pending, 9. Number of persons involved, 2,090; benefited, 912. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 1,096; balance displaced or returned to work under same conditions. Six-day work week established in a number of cities, and where six-day work week was not attained, daily hours of labor were reduced. Vast improvement in sanitary conditions surrounding work. Local unions succeeded in securing many agreements covering one and two men jobs. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$61,436.45. As a result of organization over 60 per cent of members have had workday reduced from fourteen to ten hours per day, and the members average \$1.50 per week better wages. Death benefits, \$65,145.97; sick benefits, \$95,621.55. Donations to other unions, \$23,022.27.

Iron and Steel Workers.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 3; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 1,200; benefited, 700; 500 returned to work under same conditions. All agreements prevailing last year were renewed without strike. There were some instances of reductions in wages; other attempts were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$2,500. As a result of organization, members have been able to maintain wage standards and reduced working hours to a reasonable number with better conditions generally. Death benefits, \$7,900; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,550; sick benefits, \$16,440. Donations to other unions, \$600.

Lace Operatives.—2 strikes pending. Number of persons involved, 200; 100 returned to work under slightly improved conditions. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$16,592.80. Death benefits, \$3,326.75. Donations to other unions, \$750.

Lathers.—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 29. Strikes won, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,400; benefited, 1,400. Death benefits, \$6,683.

Laundry Workers.—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 950. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 4; lost, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 320; benefited, 267. 235 women members secured increase of 25 cents per day; 32 men secured 50 cents per day; 122 gained the nine-hour day; 57 members secured eight-hour day. 62 agreements were secured without strike, resulting in an increase in wages of at least 25 cents per day for 28 locals, and hours of labor reduced one or more per day for 34 locals. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$2,550. As result of organization, the practice of laundry workers having to room and board on the laundry premises has been abolished, the nine-hour day has been established and wages increased from 25 to 50 per cent. Death benefits, \$700; unemployed benefits, \$115. Donations to other unions, \$2,800.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods.—Gain in membership, 605. 2 strikes pending, 15 members involved. Cost of strikes, \$2,101. Death benefits, \$1,640; sick benefits, \$2,135.

Lithographers.—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 800. 1 strike lost; number of persons involved, 80. Cost of strikes, \$15,038. As result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced from fifty-three to forty-eight per week in 11 establishments. Death benefits, \$8,420.

Longshoremen.—Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 18. Strikes won, 12; compromised, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 6,000; number of persons benefited, 5,840; balance returned to work under same conditions. The eight-hour day has been procured for the marine workers on the Great Lakes. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted successfully, resulting in slight improvement in working conditions in some instances. Cost of strikes, \$800. Donations to other unions, \$500.

- Machine Printers.**—Gain in membership, 16. 3 strikes pending, 40 members involved. Secured agreements with 30 mills providing for improved shop conditions. Cost of strikes, \$1,500. Death benefits, \$2,400.
- Machinists.**—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 73. Strikes won, 43; compromised, 7; pending, 51. 11,500 members involved in strikes pending. Strikes secured increase in wages of 30 cents per day in some instances. 7,262 members secured reduction in working day from nine and ten to eight per day, as result of strikes; 8,780 secured the eight-hour day without strike. 86 agreements, secured without strike, were reported to headquarters. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$122,330.51. Death benefits, \$60,805.68.
- Maintenance of Way Employees.**—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 62. One strike lost. Secured agreement with one railroad providing for recognition of the union. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$700.
- Marble Workers.**—No report.
- Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 14. One strike lost, 343 persons involved. Returned to work under same conditions. 41 agreements were secured without strike. In some instances these agreements provide for a reduction in hours to nine per day; in others, for increases in wages. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$12,265.49. As a result of organization the members have reduced the number of hours 30 per cent, and increased wages 40 per cent. Death benefits, \$2,500; unemployed benefits, \$120. Donations to other unions, \$60.
- Metal Polishers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 30; compromised, 5; lost, 3; pending, 15. Number of persons involved, 720; number of persons benefited, 600. Hours of labor were reduced from fifty and fifty-two to forty-eight per week at the same scale of wages. 60 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$15,624. Death benefits, \$5,151; sick benefits, \$6,000; unemployed benefits, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Metal Workers, Sheet.**—Charters issued, 33; surrendered, 20. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 3; lost, 4; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 500; benefited, 300. Cost of strikes, \$17,300. Death benefits, \$10,700.
- Mine Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 89; surrendered, 74. Strike won in Ohio involving 13,000 members. Cost of strikes, \$1,738,500.
- Miners, Western Federation of.**—Charters issued, 13; surrendered, 16. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 7,000; benefited, 2,000; balance involved in strikes pending. Advances in wages of from 30 to 60 cents per day. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$7,576.25. Death benefits, \$29,700; sick benefits, \$59,500; unemployed benefits, \$10,500. Donations to other unions, \$4,750.
- Molders.**—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 13; strikes pending, 20. Number of persons involved, 1,091. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$162,384.72. Death benefits, \$79,063.40; sick benefits, \$144,338; unemployed benefits, \$46,960.
- Musicians.**—Charters issued, 37; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,500. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As result of organization, musicians enjoy higher wages, shorter hours, and vastly better conditions.
- Painters.**—Charters issued, 59; surrendered, 120. Death benefits, \$108,882.50; death benefits, members' wives, \$13,075; sick benefits, \$30,800.
- Paper Makers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 7. Strike in progress against 7 mills; 12,000 persons involved. 9 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$22,000. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$3,000.
- Patternmakers.**—Strikes won, 12; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 166; benefited, 150; number involved in strikes pending, 16. Strikes in most instances were to maintain existing conditions. One local union secured eight-hour day, and one local secured the nine-hour day; wage advances secured in many places without strikes. Wages were reduced in some instances; other attempts were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$5,139.13. Death benefits, \$6,700; sick benefits, \$8,034.81; tool insurance, \$1,965.43; unemployed benefits, \$15,789.50.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 5. Number involved, 250. Benefited, 200. 23 agreements were secured without strikes. No reduction in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$2,886.40. Death benefits, \$2,800; traveling benefits, \$1,275. Donations to other unions, \$35. As a result of organization, wages have been raised from the scale of \$3 to \$4 for a ten-hour day to the scale of \$4 to \$5 for an eight-hour day.

- Photo-Engravers.**—Charters surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 138. Strikes won, 1; 1 strike pending, 2 persons involved. 6 agreements secured without strikes. Cost of strikes, \$5,980.40. Death benefits, \$3,900; sick benefits, \$10,933.71.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 75. 3 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Death benefits, 2,100; death benefits, members' wives, \$800; sick benefits, \$1,500; unemployed benefits, \$1,250. Donations to other unions, \$3.
- Plasterers.**—Charters issued, 67; surrendered, 30. Gain in membership, 350. Demands for improved conditions won in 26 instances; 1 strike compromised. Number of persons benefited, 2,100. [As a result of conferences with employers 4 locals work 5 days per week, involving 1,386 members. Cost of strikes, \$525. Death benefits, \$35,600.
- Plate Printers.**—No reduction in wages in past year.
- Plumbers.**—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 17. Strikes won, 39; compromised, 6; pending, 13. Number of persons involved, 2,755; benefited, 2,630. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 125. An advance in wages of 50 cents per member per day. 200 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages have been resisted with success in all cases that have been settled; 5 strikes pending against wage reduction. Cost of strikes, \$26,691. Death benefits, \$21,200; sick benefits, \$68,903.
- Post-office Clerks.**—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 500. Reduction in wages in some instances; other attempts were successfully resisted. As a result of organization, the eight-hour and higher classification laws were secured, with wages 10 per cent higher. Sick benefits, \$1,400. Donations to other unions, \$600.
- Potters, Operative.**—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 685. Strikes pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 90. 1 agreement secured without strike providing an improvement in working conditions for the members affected. Cost of strikes, \$26,074.85. Death benefits, \$10,575.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters issued, 1; gain in membership, 26. 3 agreements were secured without strike providing for better wages under 2 of the agreements. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted with the result that higher wages were secured. As a result of organization the eight-hour day has been established with a fair wage-scale previous to organization the ten and twelve hour day prevailed.
- Print Cutters.**—Three-year agreements which expired August 31, 1915, were renewed for three years with some slight improvements. Death benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 4; gain in membership, 6,000. Strikes won, 1; number involved, 18; benefited, 15. 60 agreements secured through negotiations with employers. Cost of strikes, \$942.50. Death benefits, \$12,231.50.
- Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,189; 1 strike pending against reduction in wages, 650 involved. 4 agreements were secured as a result of negotiations with employers. Cost of strikes, \$1,800; death benefits, \$250; death benefits, members' wives, \$200; sick benefits, \$375. Donations to other unions, \$1,100.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 200. Strikes pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,600; number of persons benefited, 1,400; 200 still out. 1,100 members gained from 16 cents to 25 cents per day; 250 members increased minimum from an average of 29 cents per hour to 34 cents, and after one year to 37 ½ cents per hour. In some instances, payday and overtime have been regulated through agreements. 7 agreements were secured without strike, affecting 700 members and providing for increased wages, regulating payday, and better working conditions. Cost of strikes, \$53,000.50. Death benefits, \$1,372.
- Railroad Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 5. Gain in membership, 2,000. Death benefits, \$100,650.
- Railway Carmen.**—Charters issued, 70; surrendered, 53. Strikes won, 1. 40 members benefited. All existing contracts continued; no new demands made, on account of business depression. No reduction in wages in past year. As a result of organization wages formerly ranging from 12 ¼ cents to 16 cents have been raised to 28, 30 and as high as 37 cents an hour; car inspectors formerly on monthly salary of \$35 to \$40, now paid by the hour. Cost of strike, \$65.30.
- Railway Clerks.**—No report.
- Railway Employees, Street.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 5,000.

Strikes won, 10; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 20,980; benefited, 20,885; 50 persons involved in strikes pending; balance left employment of companies. 11,000 members were benefited by wage increases averaging from 1 to 4 cents per hour. 60 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, with the exception of one instance. Cost of strikes, \$1,060. Death benefits, \$310,866.34; sick benefits, \$56,877.62. Donations to other unions, \$400.

Railway Postal Clerks.—Charters issued, 18. Gain in membership, 892.

Roofers, Composition.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 2. 5 agreements secured without strike. As a result of organization hours have been reduced from nine and ten to eight per day, and wages increased 25 cents and 50 cents per day. Death benefits, \$1,600. Donations to other unions, \$50.

Sawmillhands.—No reduction in wages in past year. As a result of organization, wages have been advanced from the scale of 25 to 35 cents per hour to the scale of 40 to 50 cents per hour.

Seamen.—Charters issued, 4. One agreement secured without strike, providing for small increase in wages for 3,500 members. Burial and sick benefits, \$15,578.17; shipwreck benefits, \$10,183.50. Donations to other unions, \$2,775.60.

Signalmen.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 1.

Slate and Tile Roofers.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 4. Strikes pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 140. 3 agreements secured without strike. Death benefits, \$800.

Slate Workers.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 2. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$900; death benefits members' wives, \$100; traveling benefits, \$200.

Spinners.—Gain in membership, 50. Strikes won, 3. Number of persons involved, 150; benefited, 150. 2 agreements secured without strikes increasing prices paid to piece-workers, and regulating other working conditions. No reduction in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$5,000.

Stage Employes.—Charters issued, 47; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 60; compromised, 10; pending, 10. Number of persons involved, 550; benefited, 400. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 150. 50 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted, resulting in some instances in a 10 per cent increase. Cost of strikes, \$7,000. As a result of organization, wages have been increased 50 per cent. Unemployed benefits, \$2,000. Donations to other unions, \$5,000.

Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.—Charters issued, 7. No negotiations in regard to agreements as none expired this year. Death benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$50.

Steel Plate Transferrers.—Gain in membership, 4. Unemployed benefits, \$40.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers.—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 110. 32 agreements secured without strike. Death benefits, \$5,200.

Stonecutters.—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,222. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 100; benefited, 100. Gain in wages of 25 cents per day and hours of labor reduced 4 on Saturday. 4 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$355. Death benefits, \$10,065.

Stove Mounters.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 25; Strikes won, 2; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 90; benefited, 50. Gains in wages ranging from 25 cents to 50 cents per day. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$925. Death benefits, \$1,100. Donations to other unions, \$200.

Switchmen.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 5. Death benefits, \$119,399.25.

Tailors.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 4; compromised, 1; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 50; benefited, 15. Attempts to reduce wages are being resisted; settled satisfactorily in one instance, other cases are still pending. Cost of strikes, \$6,400. Death benefits, \$12,848.70; sick benefits, \$21,180.90.

Teamsters.—Charters issued, 106; surrendered, 42; gain in membership, 6,000. Strikes won, 24; compromised, 2. Number of persons involved, 3,600; benefited, 3,600. Gains in wages averaging 30 cents per day. Reductions in hours of labor averaging one-half hour per day. 228 agreements were secured as a result of negotiations with employers. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$17,000.

Textile Workers.—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 3,000. Strikes won, 10; compromised, 26; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 5,226; benefited, 5,110.

Gains in prices were secured averaging from 5 per cent to 15 per cent; most of the members are pieceworkers. Hours of labor reduced from fifty-five to fifty-two and one-half per week for 11,050, without reduction in pay. Among the improvements in sanitary conditions of factories was a general clean-up of the silk mills in Pennsylvania as a result of the campaign of the organization. Agreements were secured without strike, providing for increases in wages as follows: Woolen Yarn Workers, Philadelphia, increase of \$1 per week for 826 members; dyers, Philadelphia, 5 cents per hour for 200 members; Willimantic, Conn., \$2 per week increase for 245 members; Amsterdam, N. Y., \$1 per week; Maynard, Mass., from \$1 to \$4 per week for 800 members. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$30,000. Death benefits, \$3,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.

Tile Layers.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 250; benefited, 210; 40 displaced or returned to work under same conditions. Wages were increased 15 per cent for tile layers and 20 per cent for helpers. Established union shop agreements in several cities where no agreement had existed previously. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. As result of organization the average wage for tile layers has been increased from \$3 to \$4.50 per day, and for helpers from \$1.25 to \$2.25 per day. Donations to other unions, \$3,000.

Timber Workers.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 3. 55 lockouts involving entire membership were lost, resulting in wage reductions; however, average wages are still higher than those prevailing prior to organization. Cost of lockouts, \$4,000.

Tobacco Workers.—Gain in membership, 165. Hours have been reduced to nine, eight and one half, and eight hours per day in different factories, with increased pay. In 4 cases the forty-four-hour week was secured and in another case the forty-five-hour week. These improvements were secured through contractual relations maintained with employers and the influence of the union label. As result of organization, hours of labor range from forty-four to fifty-four instead of sixty per week with wages from 3 to 11 per cent higher, and greatly improved conditions in factories. Death benefits, \$1,450; sick benefits, \$6,248. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.

Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 4. Strikes won, 5. Number of persons involved, 300; benefited, 300. Wages raised from \$13 to \$15 per week. Hours reduced from ten to nine and one-half hours and nine hours per day. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$1,500. Death benefits, \$400. Donations to other unions, \$70.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors.—Charters issued, 2. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As a result of organization the eight-hour day has been established with a gain in wages of 23 cents per hour. Death benefits, \$2,880; traveling benefits, \$2,000; tool insurance, \$12.50. Donations to other unions, \$500.

Typographical Union (From June 1, 1914, to May 31, 1915).—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 1,034. Strikes won, 3; lost, 3; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 295; benefited, 85; 17 displaced or returned to work under same conditions. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 193. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Total yearly earnings of members were increased \$104,953. Cost of strikes, \$159,857.11. Death benefits, \$254,715.93; old-age pensions, \$302,651.55. Maintenance of Union Printers' Home for aged and sick members, \$107,662.02.

Upholsterers.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 5; lost, 2; pending 1. Number of persons involved, 225; benefited, 200. 15 per cent increase in wages secured. 12 agreements secured without strike. Wage reductions in two instances; three other attempts were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$2,351.

Weavers, Elastic Goring.—Death benefits, \$200; unemployed benefits, \$854.16. Donations to other unions, \$10.

Weavers, Wire.—Gain in membership, 4. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$200; sick benefits, \$68.

White Rats Actors.—No report.

A. F. OF L. LOCALS

The directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor report gains as follows:

- Bottle, Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers' Union No. 10875, Baltimore, Md.:** 1 agreement secured without strike under which the 8-hour day will be established on a sliding scale within eighteen months.
- Bottle Sorters' Union No. 14842, Detroit, Mich.:** Won 1 strike, benefiting 20 members. Agreement established union shop, and conceded an increase of \$1 per day to each member. This local union previously reduced hours from 10 to 9 per day.
- Clay Workers' Union No. 14778, Toronto, Ohio:** Won 1 strike and effected a compromise of another strike through which settlement 1,200 members were benefited with an increase of 12½ cents in wages.
- Curb Stone Cutters and Setters' Union No. 8373, Toledo, Ohio:** Secured Saturday half-holiday with a 20 per cent increase in the prices for piecework and 10 per cent in the wages of the day workers.
- Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.:** A three-year agreement secured without strike, under which hours of labor were reduced from 10 to 9, and the wages increased from 36 to 40 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union No. 8033, Edwardsville, Ill.:** Two strikes won by this local and 1 strike compromised, benefiting 50 members. Settlement reduced the hours 2 per day, and increased the wages of the members 3½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union No. 8217, Malden, Mass.:** Secured the Saturday half-holiday throughout the year.
- Federal Labor Union No. 11643, Madison, Me.:** Better conditions as to safeguards against accidents. In the past 5 years wages have been increased 15 per cent.
- Federal Labor Union No. 12552, Utica, N. Y.:** Wages of members increased from \$2 to \$3 per day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 12696, Sheridan, Wyo.:** New agreement secured increasing wages.
- Federal Labor Union No. 12916, Lincoln, Nebr.:** Wages of building laborers increased from \$1.75 for a 10-hour day to \$2.40 for an 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 13048, Millinocket, Me.:** Marked improvement in guarding all danger points in mill.
- Federal Labor Union No. 14538, Coalgate, Okla.:** This local reports former conditions as follows: Engineers, \$65 and \$80 per month, 12-hour day; Firemen, \$45, 12-hour day; Ice Pullers and Drivers, \$50 per month, 12-hour day. Present scale as follows: Engineers \$70 to \$80 per month; Firemen, \$65; Ice Pullers and Drivers, \$2.10 per day, with an 8-hour day established throughout the plant.
- Federal Labor Union No. 14646, Denver, Colo.:** Secured the Saturday half-holiday for 5 members; 8-hour day established.
- Federal Labor Union No. 14713, Harrisburg, Ill.:** Won 2 strikes, benefiting entire membership of 125. Wages increased from 40 to 80 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 1 hour per day for laundry workers. Secured agreements with 8 contractors and one for city work through negotiations. Men employed at common labor worked formerly 8 to 9 hours for \$1.50 to \$2 per day; union has established uniform 8-hour day at a scale of \$2.40 to \$2.80 per day.
- Federal Labor Union No. 14781, New Glasgow, N. S.:** 1,800 members of this local were benefited as a result of strike, with an average 25 per cent increase in wages per member per day. 500 men had their hours of labor reduced to 8 hours, from 11 hours for day workers and 13 hours for the night shift. Improvements in working rules and sanitary conditions in nearly every plant within the jurisdiction of the local.
- Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators, United No. 14569:** 100 members secured an increase in wages from 3 to 8 per cent as a result of strike. 14 agreements secured without strike. Furnishes following comparative statement relative to conditions prevailing before and after organization: "Low wages; no limit to working hours; home work; discharge in dull season; no heed to workers' grievances. 50 per cent increase in wages; 8-hour day; no home work; equal distribution of work in dull season; conferences held and grievances adjusted."
- Freight Handlers' Local Union No. 70, Boston and vicinity:** Wages of members increased from \$9 per week to \$13.80 and payment of time and one-half for overtime.
- Hair Spinners' Union No. 10399, Chicago, Ill.:** A two-year agreement secured without strike. Increased wages from \$4 to \$4.25 per day and time and one-half for overtime, with double

time for work on holidays. The wages of members of this local previous to organization were \$2.50 per day, with payment of straight time for overtime and holidays.

Hair Spinners' Protective Union No. 12353, Baltimore, Md.: Agreement secured without strike. Increased wages from \$2.64 per day of 9 hours, to \$2.88 per day, benefiting the full membership of 28. The former conditions of these members were \$10 and \$12 per week for 10 hour day.

Hair Spinners' Union No. 14543, East Chicago, Ind.: Wages increased 2½ cents per hour.

Hospital Nurses and Attendants' Union No. 14656, Dunning, Ill.: Agreement secured providing 1 day's rest in 7, equal pay for women for same class of work, wage-scale providing an automatic increase, and pay for time lost in case of sickness.

Janitors' Union, Municipal, No. 14782, Chicago, Ill.: Members secured a raise in wages from \$65 to \$67.50 per month and established a uniform 8-hour day.

Janitors' Protective Union No. 10367, San Francisco, Cal.: Previous to organization the members worked 9 and 10 hours a day at wages ranging from \$50 to \$65 per month. They now have the 8-hour day with wages ranging from \$70 to \$90 per month. \$3 per day paid the janitors employed at theaters.

Laborers, United, No. 14190, San Jose, Cal.: Improved conditions as follows: Formerly 9 to 12 hours per day at \$1.50 to \$2.50; at present the 8-hour day at \$2.50 per day with pay for overtime.

Marble, Mosaic, Terrazzo Workers' Union No. 10263, St. Louis, Mo.: Wages raised from 35 cents to 37½ cents an hour for an 8-hour day.

Meat, Food and Sanitary Science Inspectors' Association No. 12912, Chicago, Ill.: Minimum scale increased from \$1,080 to \$1,200 per annum, with automatic increase to \$1,440 per annum. This local is comprised of civil service employees of Chicago; members attribute increase mainly to their affiliation with organized labor.

Meter Workers' Union No. 14502, Dorchester, Mass.: Hours of labor reduced 1 per day without any reduction in wages. Members receive one-half pay when ill.

Mineral Water Bottlers' Union No. 11317, Newark, N. J.: Wages range from \$17 to \$19 against \$12 per week formerly.

Neckwear Workers' Union No. 14350, St. Louis, Mo.: Hours of labor for members have been reduced 1 hour per day, and prices increased a few cents on each style of neckwear. Saturday half-holiday during July and August.

Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased from \$3.50 to \$4.80 per day. Members of this organization are civil service employees of the city of Chicago, and attribute their success in securing increase in wages as a direct result of organization.

Railroad Freight Handlers' Union No. 84, New Orleans, La.: Wages of members increased from \$1.50 to \$1.90 per day.

Railroad Shop Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 14486, Thurmond, W. Va.: Secured an agreement by which members receive pay for overtime at the rate of time and one-half.

Sugar Workers' Union No. 10519, San Francisco, Cal.: Wage-scale formerly ranged from 19 cents to 25 cents per hour; since organizing increased to 25 to 27½ cents per hour.

Teachers, Women, High School, Federation of, No. 14658, Chicago, Ill.: Succeeded in preventing a threatened cut of 7½ per cent in salary; 7,000 Chicago school teachers affected.

Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Union No. 10943, Granite City, Ill.: Agreement secured without strike providing for 15 cents per day increase for one department benefiting 30 members. A reduction of 1 hour per day in hours of labor secured for women workers.

Tobacco Strippers' Union, Grl. No. 14847, Wheeling, W. Va.: Members now work 8 hours at the same wages, which they formerly received for 10 hours.

Water Pipe Caulkers' Union No. 10830, Newark, N. J.: Established a scale of \$4 a day for 8 hours. Yeast Workers' Union No. 14639, Washington, D. C.: Agreement secured reducing hours of labor from 10 to 8 per day with a 15 per cent increase in wages.

LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On September 30th of this year we had 489 local trade and federal labor unions with a membership of 23,763 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$97,887.83 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout. Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the unions.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1915:

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund **\$14,257 98**

EXPENSES.

	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Horse Nail Workers, No. 6170, Hartford, Conn.....	57+	13	\$2,976 00
Umbrella Makers, No. 14493, New York, N. Y.....	100	6	2,400 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 7087, Belleville, Ill.....	61+	5	1,222 90
Bottle Caners, No. 10635, San Francisco, Cal.....	29+	6	704 00
Flour and Cereal Mill Employees, No. 14520, Kansas City, Mo.....	40	2	320 00
Cooks and Waiters, No. 10968, Tampa, Fla.....	15	4	240 00
Horse Hair Dressers, No. 12889, Philadelphia, Pa.....	6	6	144 00
Suspender Makers, No. 9560, New York, N. Y.....	8	3	96 00
Agricultural Workers, No. 11978, Anasco, P. R.....	16	1	64 00
Axe Workers, No. 14228, Glassport, Pa.....	6	1	24 00

Total of strike benefits paid..... **\$8,190 90**

Refund of over-payment of per capita tax received in defense fund..... **\$32 67**
 *From the defense fund of local trade and federal labor unions, on account of \$50,000 office building loan..... **40,500 00**
\$40,532 67

Paid out of defense fund..... **\$48,723 57**

RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand in defense fund September 30, 1914..... **\$91,853 42**
 Received in defense fund..... **14,257 98**
\$106,111 40
 Paid out of defense fund..... **48,723 57**

Cash balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions..... **\$57,387 83**
 *On account of amount advanced on Office Building loan from the defense fund..... **40,500 00**

Balance on hand in defense fund September 30, 1915, including amount advanced on Office Building loan..... **\$97,887 83**

The following table will show that since the defense fund was inaugurated in 1902 up to and including the fiscal year there has been received into the fund \$275,892.24 and paid out \$218,504.41:

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Cash balance on hand.
1902.....	\$20,423 00		\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,663 40	\$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904.....	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	3,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,893 78	103,078 89
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	105,282 09
1909.....	11,383 05	788 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911.....	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
1912.....	19,336 26	67,455 33	85,663 27
1913.....	18,214 70	18,953 15	84,924 82
1914.....	16,316 60	9,388 00	91,853 42
*1915.....	14,257 98	*48,723 57	57,387 83
Total.....	\$275,892 24	\$218,504 41	

RECAPITULATION.

Total Receipts..... **\$275,892 24**
 Total Expenses..... **218,504 41**

Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915..... **\$57,387 83**
 *On account of amount advanced on Office Building Loan from the defense fund..... **40,500 00**

Balance on hand September 30, 1915, including amount advanced on Office Building Loan..... **\$97,887 83**

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$72,342.90. Of this amount, \$876.20 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, for organizing central bodies and local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly to the American Federation of Labor.

NAMES OF ORGANIZERS.	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount Received.
*1. Hugh Frayne.....	New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia, Connecticut.....	\$6,282 13
2. J. L. Lewis.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois, District of Columbia.....	4,018 91
3. J. E. Roach.....	New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, District of Columbia, Connecticut.....	3,557 95
4. C. O. Young.....	Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho.....	3,538 75
5. E. T. Flood.....	Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri.....	3,466 68
6. C. P. Taylor.....	Washington.....	3,389 69
7. T. H. Flynn.....	West Virginia, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Missouri.....	3,318 58
8. Cal Wyatt.....	Pennsylvania, New York, District of Columbia, Ohio, Indiana, Connecticut, Rhode Island.....	3,187 94
9. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, Vermont.....	3,186 74
10. J. J. Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois.....	3,049 08
11. J. A. Flett.....	New York, Ontario, Quebec, Canada.....	3,022 29
12. Henry Streifer.....	New York, Connecticut, Ohio.....	2,980 13
13. H. L. Eichelberger.....	Maryland, District of Columbia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey.....	2,769 56
14. P. F. Duffy.....	New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	2,568 36
15. Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico.....	2,277 71
16. C. J. Folsom.....	Washington, Oregon.....	2,269 69
17. Joseph Richie.....	Pennsylvania, New Jersey.....	1,561 05
18. J. D. Chubbuck.....	Wisconsin, Minnesota.....	1,536 97
19. H. T. Keating.....	Ohio.....	1,447 92
20. O. A. Cone.....	South Carolina, Georgia.....	1,348 72
21. J. B. Dale.....	California.....	1,291 80
22. Grant Hamilton.....	Colorado, Nebraska, Missouri, District of Columbia, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana.....	1,197 80
23. Joseph Tylkoff.....	New York, Illinois, New Jersey.....	1,245 10
24. P. J. Smith.....	Illinois.....	1,036 73
25. John Tafelski.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, District of Columbia.....	1,005 03
26. A. Rayner.....	Washington.....	959 73
27. William Collins.....	New York, New Jersey.....	952 05
28. G. R. Brunet.....	Canada.....	951 95
29. Sol Sontheimer.....	Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York.....	919 65
30. J. A. Short.....	Illinois.....	479 03
31. Michael Sotak.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia.....	424 94
32. W. R. Boyer.....	New York, Wisconsin, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Colorado, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Iowa.....	350 50
33. George Selepets.....	Pennsylvania.....	272 31
34. J. G. Brown.....	Washington, Oregon.....	249 93
35. J. Brown.....	Virginia.....	224 66
36. L. Tarcia.....	Pennsylvania.....	159 30
37. J. Barafalda.....	Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio.....	136 95
38. David Kreyling.....	Illinois, Missouri.....	129 18
39. Jerome Jones.....	Georgia, South Carolina.....	111 23
40. F. A. Fitzgerald.....	Louisiana.....	102 83
41. William Wycis.....	Pennsylvania.....	98 96
42. J. E. Toone.....	District of Columbia.....	90 00
43. A. Rosenthal.....	New York.....	87 76
44. C. Aviles.....	Porto Rico.....	80 00
45. F. C. Thorne.....	New York, New Jersey.....	63 21
46. Fred Reilly.....	Pennsylvania.....	58 22
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	876 20
	Total.....	\$72,342 90

*This amount includes \$2,491.03 paid out by Organizer Frayne for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer and interpreter, and other organizers.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1915, are \$36,731.27, the total expenses are \$35,294.06, which makes an excess of receipts over expenditures of \$1,437.21

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1915:

RECEIPTS.	
Receipts.....	\$36,731 27
EXPENSES.	
Commission on advertising contracts.....	\$10,952 48
Contributions.....	26 00
R. G. Dun & Company.....	100 00
Postage pound rate.....	1,253 65
Printing regular edition <i>American Federationist</i>	8,345 47
Printing additional copies for local unions, <i>American Federationist</i>	12,833 78
Refunds.....	32 68
Salaries.....	1,750 00
Total.....	\$35,294 06
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$36,731 27
Expenses.....	35,294 06
Excess of receipts over expenses.....	\$1,437 21

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts Exceed Expenses.	Expenses Exceed Receipts.
1893-94.....	\$2,418 30	\$2,684 66		\$266 36
1894-95.....	3,184 21	2,675 98	\$508 23	
1895-96.....	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97.....	3,408 39	3,094 87	313 52	
1897-98.....	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99.....	3,171 00	4,033 19		862 19
1899-00.....	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01.....	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02.....	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03.....	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04.....	32,639 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05.....	25,726 57	24,929 86	796 71	
1905-06.....	25,912 87	26,868 12		955 25
1906-07.....	25,310 56	23,560 70	1,749 86	
1907-08.....	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09.....	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10.....	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	
1910-11.....	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58
1911-12.....	17,240 19	18,731 77		1,491 58
1912-13.....	16,730 14	19,914 94		3,184 80
1913-14.....	28,040 26	33,507 21		5,466 95
1914-15.....	36,731 27	35,294 06	1,437 21	

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1915 INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds for affiliated organizations:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenses
1902-3.....	\$529 00	\$309 60	1908-9.....	\$1,692 35	\$1,226 03
1903-4.....	398 75	402 60	1909-10.....	2,874 75	2,392 75
1904-5.....	406 75	285 65	1910-11.....	2,988 55	1,448 38
1905-6.....	736 35	591 16	1911-12.....	2,710 07	2,089 15
1906-7.....	1,128 79	817 76	1912-13.....	3,225 55	3,863 18
1907-8.....	1,261 51	1,021 96	1913-14.....	3,221 75	1,898 55
			1914-15.....	5,190 74	5,052 66
Totals.....				\$26,364 91	\$21,399 43
RECAPITULATION.					
Total receipts.....	\$26,364 91				
Total expenses.....	21,399 43				
Excess.....	\$4,965 48				

APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL AID

Under date of December 3, 1914, an appeal was issued by the Executive Council for financial assistance for the International Glove Workers' Union of America, the United Textile Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners, as follows: to assist Glove Workers on strike in Gloversville and Johnstown, New York; to assist the textile Workers on strike at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Company of Atlanta, Ga.; to assist the Western Federation of Miners to defend thirty-nine members of their organization under indictment in Calumet, Michigan. The following is a statement of the amounts received and forwarded:

Receipts.....	\$6,371 91
Forwarded:	
International Glove Workers' Union of America.....	\$2,126 25
United Textile Workers of America.....	2,084 90
Western Federation of Miners.....	2,137 76
Refunded.....	23 00
	\$6,371 91

HEADQUARTERS

The following comparative statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1915, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 4,739 letters, circular letters, and packages per day and 343,100 *American Federationist* and 805,900 *A. F. of L. News Letters*, as follows:

	1914.	1915.
Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	2,509	5,230
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	49,708	110,890
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	68,001	99,364
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	80,176	90,402
<i>American Federation of Labor News Letters</i>	1,420,000	805,900
<i>American Federationist</i>	369,400	343,100
Total.....	1,889,794	1,454,88

VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1915 INCLUSIVE

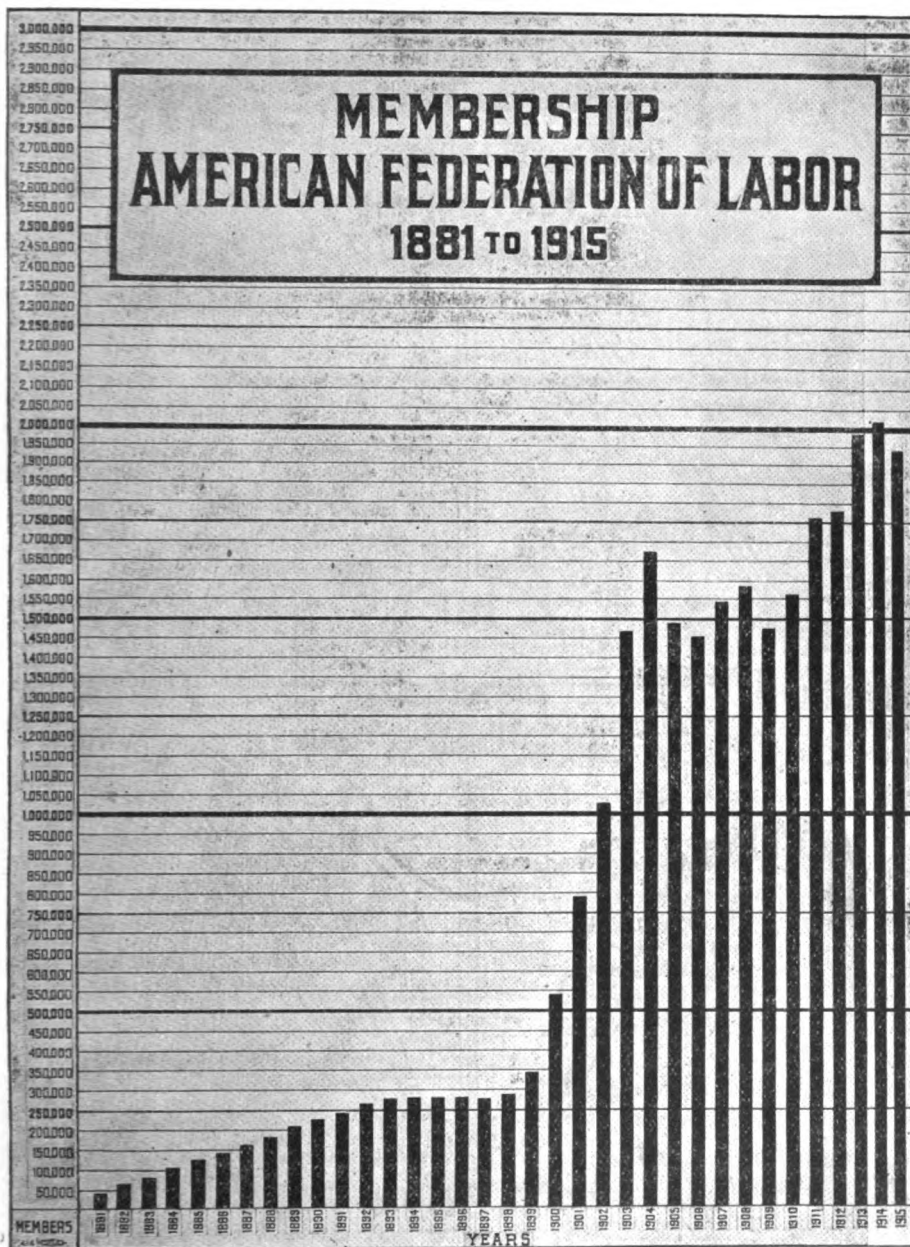
Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.
1897.....	2,747	1902.....	10,705	1907.....	18,425	1912.....	18,499
1898.....	2,881	1903.....	15,238	1908.....	18,892	1913.....	20,976
1899.....	3,632	1904.....	17,363	1909.....	15,880	1914.....	21,185
1900.....	5,737	1905.....	16,838	1910.....	16,737	1915.....	20,433
1901.....	8,240	1906.....	15,621	1911.....	18,693		

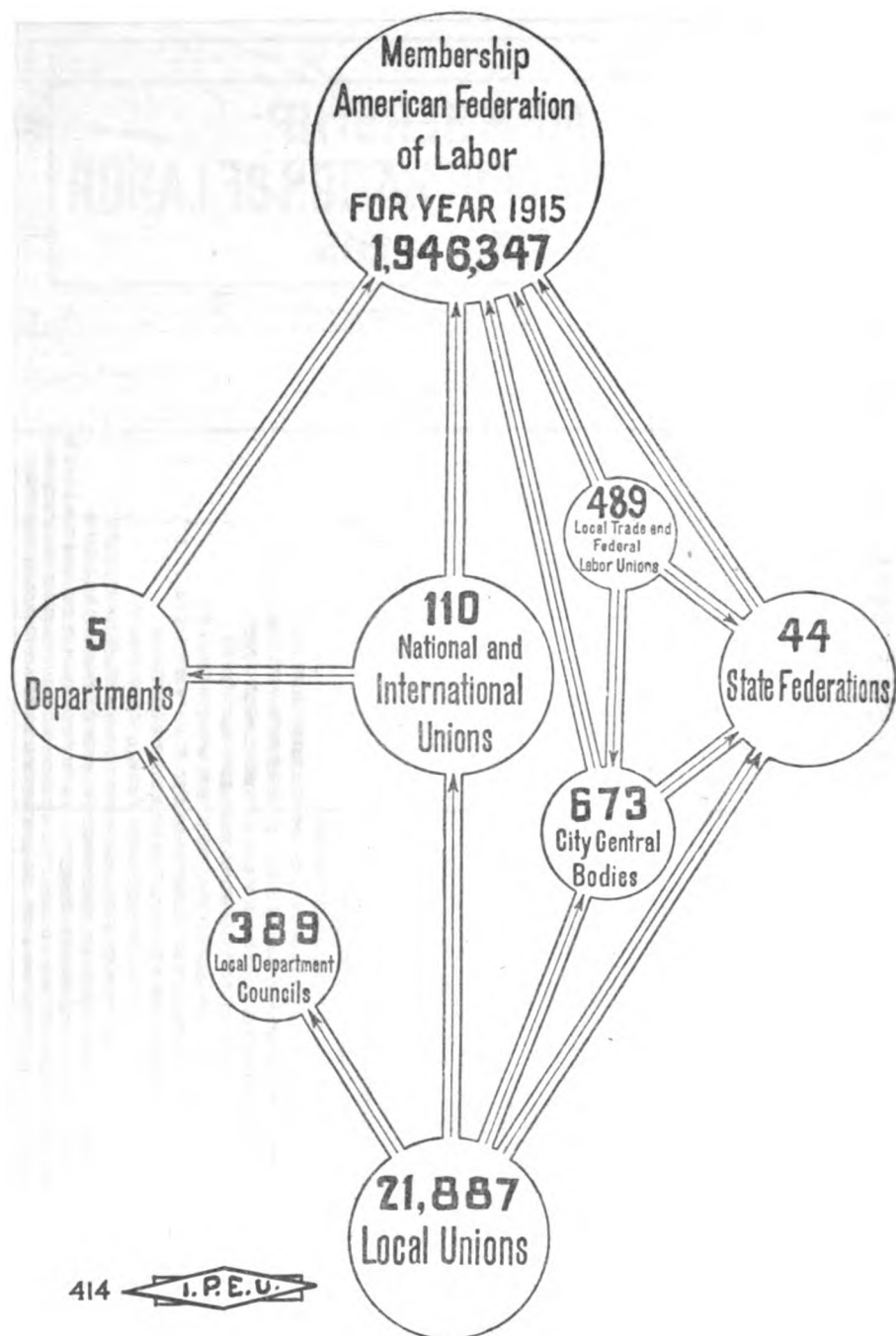
MEMBERSHIP

The average paid up and reported membership for the year is 1,946,347, a decrease of 74,324 members, the first decrease there has been in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor since 1908. While the average membership for the year shows a decrease of 74,424, the September membership of this year is 1,994,111—a decrease of only 26,560. National and international organizations are required to pay per capita tax only upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the 1,946,347 membership reported does not include the members involved in strikes and lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received. Forty-three national and international unions of the 1,010, show an increase in their average membership over last year of 46,772 members, which is an encouraging growth. Thirty-three organizations show no increase. Thirty-four organizations show a decrease of 118,019 members. The directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions show a decrease of 3,077 members. The decrease in the membership of the directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions is contained in the nine local unions that joined international unions and the local unions suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. A number of the suspended unions will be reinstated during the coming year.

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1907.....	1,538,970
1898.....	278,016	1908.....	1,586,885
1899.....	349,422	1909.....	1,482,872
1900.....	548,321	1910.....	1,562,112
1901.....	787,537	1911.....	1,761,835
1902.....	1,024,399	1912.....	1,770,145
1903.....	1,465,800	1913.....	1,996,004
1904.....	1,676,200	1914.....	2,020,671
1905.....	1,494,300	1915.....	1,946,347
1906.....	1,454,200		

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the steady growth in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1915—thirty-five years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart will show that there are 21,837 local unions in the 1,010 national and international unions and 489 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 1,946,347 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1915.





CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

I herewith fraternally submit my annual report as Treasurer, and trust that my services have been of some value to the Trade Unions, Members of the Federation of Labor, and through the Federation to all men and women wage-workers.

Financial statement, October 1, 1914, to September 30, 1915:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1914.		1914.	
October 31.....	\$21,281 80	October 31.....	\$22,373 13
November 30.....	15,192 88	November 30.....	23,192 88
December 31.....	27,193 65	December 31.....	27,811 40
1915.		1915.	
January 31.....	23,816 66	January 31.....	21,152 86
February 28.....	20,886 34	February 28.....	20,690 78
March 31.....	21,205 50	March 31.....	20,749 57
April 30.....	18,492 79	April 30.....	18,266 77
May 31.....	20,507 85	May 31.....	19,641 26
June 30.....	21,963 56	June 30.....	22,038 88
July 31.....	16,884 05	July 31.....	18,244 07
August 31.....	17,335 21	August 31.....	18,333 46
September 30.....	46,865 24	September 30.....	71,490 89
Total income for year.....	\$271,625 53	Total expenses for year.....	\$303,985 95
Add balance on hand Sept. 30, 1914.....	100,492 81		
Makes total funds.....	\$372,118 34		

(NOTE: In the expenses as given above is included in July \$3,000.00, in September \$37,500.00, a total of \$40,500.00 paid on Headquarters Building at Washington, D. C.)

RECAPITULATION.

Total funds (balance and income).....	\$372,118 34
Deduct total expenses.....	303,985 95
Leaves in hands of Treasurer.....	\$68,132 39
Leaves in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance September 30, 1915.....	\$70,132 39
Treasurer's balance, where deposited:	
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., subject to check.....	\$18,132 39
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., interest bearing certificates.....	50,000 00
Treasurer's balance.....	\$68,132 39
Treasurer's deposits guaranteed by American Surety Company:	
Interest collected during year.....	\$2,340 00
Total funds handled during twenty-six years as Treasurer.....	\$3,377,438 49

JOHN B. LENNON,

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

Bloomington, ILL., September 30, 1915.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND WAR

When the Executive Council made its report to the Philadelphia Convention, the European war had been in progress for several months. The horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery, seemed so horrible as to be well-nigh impossible.

But the months that have passed have revealed the tenacity of purpose involved in the war, the grim determination to fight the struggle to some definite decision, yet every day and every month of the war have demanded their toll of human blood and human life and the suffering of those left at home.

The purpose and the method of war are a direct reversal of the purpose and the ideals of peace. Human beings are merely the agencies for carrying on war—they are the centers about which activities for peace revolve and for whom all of civilization and all of progress exist. With the beginning of hostilities, civilized life has been completely revolutionized and the affairs of life have been put upon a war basis. Those things which do not help in the destruction of the enemy or for their own protection and defense are, for the time being, neglected by the warring nations. All of science, literature, music, and art that do not have some direct bearing upon the war or conduct of war seem to have disappeared completely from the thoughts of those who are intent upon destroying the armies of the enemy. Out of all this grim and deadly hostility there have grown an intensity of feeling, racial prejudice and bitterness that make all efforts at peace impractical and futile for the present. America has maintained a policy of isolation from entangling alliances and has kept free from the diplomatic jugglery that has involved so many European countries in wars. Our situation and physiography have aided this purpose. It has been our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation. Through such a policy we hope to be in a position to use our national power and influence to take advantage of any opportunity to secure peace and to establish conditions of equity and justice between nations.

However, the economic ties that bind together the nations of modern civilization are so strong, so numerous and so interwoven, that the life and the affairs of any one country necessarily affect all other countries, and it is impossible for any nation to maintain isolation. The countries of the world have intimate international relations. Finances have international centers. There are common storehouses and common factories in all the nations. These ties can not be severed wholly or partially without bringing well-nigh incredible suffering upon the peoples of the countries concerned. The outbreak of the war interfered with many of the industries and occupations of Europe. These peoples became increasingly dependent upon the stores and resources of the United States and other countries. As a result, our foreign commerce was completely changed in character. The products that we sent abroad had to be adjusted to meet new demands and new needs. This necessitated change and readjustment in the industries of the United States. We found that we were unable to obtain many things for which we had depended upon European countries.

This period of readjustment in the winter of 1914 meant to the wage-earners of the United States unemployment for many and all of the evil consequences of unemployment. But with the readjustment there came to many industries great opportunities for the sale of their products abroad, opportunities to produce the things that were necessary to supply the needs of the warring nations. As our country had maintained a policy of political neutrality, it was necessary also to maintain a policy of commercial neutrality and the products of our factories and our fields were open to purchase by the buyers of any nation. The fortunes of war made commercial intercourse with our country easier for some nations than for others. The nature, the extent and the direction of our commerce have almost completely changed during the months that the war has been in progress.

It was necessary for the protection of American citizens to continue our foreign commerce. There has developed in this country and in some other countries a conscience that is extremely sensitive to the effects of our foreign commerce. According to this concept, commerce that supplies nations with certain products becomes, in some degree at least, responsible for the war itself and for the loss of life. Those who have this conviction feel

that an embargo should be put upon such products, and that all trade should be forbidden in these things which enable Europe to continue the struggle.

But these persons do not consider fully the disastrous effect upon the workers of our country as well as upon all of the citizens that would come from such a restriction and discrimination of trade which would result in closing so many industries and would quickly reduce thousands of men, women and children of our country to starvation. There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. Cotton, automobile trucks, horses, mules, are normal and necessary agencies for the cultivation of peace—they are also necessary agencies in carrying on war. Should we make any attempt to differentiate we would be involved in an interminable dispute over the possible purpose to which materials can be put. All nations are now turning to America as the great producer of food, clothing, and the necessities of existence.

Although it is recognized that these supplies from America do in a sense enable the foreign countries to carry on the war, yet it is also recognized that we have no right as a nation to interfere with the right of any other nation to determine in what manner it shall uphold its demands for justice. So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they seem best the things which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free they can not be forced or coerced by other nations, even in the matter of peace.

There are evils and horrors which result from war, but there are also evils and horrors that result from a despotism that denies people and nations freedom to work out their own best welfare according to their own highest ideals. We respect neither an individual nor a nation who forgets his or its rights merely for the sake of maintaining peace. Individuals or nations who consciously permit a right to be denied establish a precedent of injustice that affects all others. We do not condemn individuals or nations that have fought nobly for ideals and for rights. On the contrary, we glory in their courage and in their convictions and in the noble fight they have made. Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist. So now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for America's citizens as well as our desire to restore peace.

Peace can not be restored until the European nations are willing. There have been in the last year sentiments and movements for peace that have been powerful to the ultimate realization of that purpose. Some of these movements have been genuine, others have been created by individuals and interests that were really unneutral. These movements have taken various forms; some have tried to influence the policies of the state and governmental authorities of our country; others have tried to work upon public opinion and still others have sought to use the good name of our labor movement to further the interests of some foreign country. But all of these efforts have thus far been futile. The citizens of our country, including all of the workingmen, are too genuinely patriotic, liberty-loving and humane to permit themselves to be used by any such agency. The efforts to use the workingmen of our country have been of two kinds: one to get through them the endorsement of the foreign policy to place an embargo upon so-called "munitions of war;" the other has been to stir up industrial contentions and disputes and thus interfere with the actual process of production so that products to be sent abroad may be stopped. Foreign agencies have been trying to reach corruptly some of the organizations of the workers but they have not succeeded. There is nothing touching the industrial and commercial life of America that is not of interest to the warring nations. They have sought all angles of control but everywhere they have found a spirit of faithfulness in America, a spirit of unity and solidarity among the workers that impelled them indignantly and decisively to reject such offers after their real nature was made clear.

Labor's Proposed Peace Congress

The Philadelphia Convention adopted a resolution favoring the holding of a labor conference at the same time and place that a general congress should be held at the close of the present European war in order to determine conditions and terms of peace. The resolution instructed the E. C. to hold itself in readiness to call to such a meeting representatives of the organized labor movements of the various nations. It was thought that such a conference would have great weight in urging and presenting the welfare of humanity and in determining the nature of the decisions of the world congress.

This proposal was submitted to the various organized labor movements of other countries and they were asked to communicate their opinions in regard to the plan. So far we have had replies expressing approval from the French national movement, from the secretary of the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne and from the South African Industrial Federation; from Germany came an opinion that such a plan was impracticable. Of course it is impossible to know whether the communication containing the section of the E. C. report upon international war and peace and the resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Convention ever reached many of the labor headquarters. Attention is here called to the correspondence published in the current issue of the *American Federationist*, and upon which we amplify under the caption, "International Federation of Trade Unions." That correspondence must also be considered in connection with the subject now under consideration.

Previous peace congresses of this nature have been more concerned with political schemes and the aggrandizement of individual nations, the maintenance of spheres of influences, than they have been with human welfare, democracy and the rights of the people. The organized labor movement of the world represents the cause of humanity. There is no agency more capable or more fit to present and urge the claims of the people than the organized labor movements of the various countries. Ordinarily representatives in these great political congresses are not chosen by the people or as representative of the interest of the people, but they are chosen from among statesmen, politicians and those who represent great material interests. There is no assurance that the members of this next congress that must be held will be chosen in any different manner. Therefore, the holding of a Labor congress becomes necessary in order to infuse the spirit of humanity and democracy into this political conference.

The congress will afford a tremendous opportunity, for many nations are involved in the war, practically all of the eastern hemisphere. There may be presented an opportunity tending to democratize the countries and the institutions of Europe politically, and to determine the spirit and the kind of relations that are to prevail between the peoples thereof in the future. This is an opportunity for which America is peculiarly fitted. Our country stands as the land of freedom, the land of democracy. Our ideals have been an inspiration to the people of all lands and have induced many to make the struggle for freedom. Freedom is our ideal because we value human life, because we have the conception of the possibilities into which men and women may grow. The people of all countries have turned to our shores for inspiration and for hope. Millions have sought refuge here; others sought opportunity. This congress may enable our country to make our ideals the ideals of the whole world. To be sure, we have not been able to realize our ideals fully, but the great value of America has been that she has given the world a tremendous inspiration. It may be in this congress we can come nearer to making that ideal a reality in the lives of the people of the whole world. It is because of this great opportunity we have been especially desirous that America and her citizens shall avoid any relations that may in the future interfere with our effectiveness in acting as a disinterested mediator and conciliator.

The war is so tremendous, the struggle so intense, the chances so uncertain, that it is impossible to tell at what time peace may come and peace proceedings be inaugurated. For that reason it was felt that the E. C. ought to agree upon some tentative plan for the rapid assemblage of a labor conference. This is particularly necessary inasmuch as the organized labor movements of the fighting countries are necessarily somewhat demoralized through the war; their finances are depleted and they have not the means nor the facilities to obtain immediate and authentic information in regard to the political movements of the various countries. For these reasons, it is necessary that some general agreed upon plan shall be made public in these various countries. Of course, there will be bitterness engendered from the experiences and the results of the war, but the workers everywhere will have to lay aside their personal prejudices and even emotions that are closely related with their ideals, in order to co-operate for the mutual welfare and common betterment of humanity. As members of a great world society all of the interests of our lives are very closely entwined, and we can not, even if we desire, maintain our interests isolated. Either we must be united for our common advancement and our common protection or we will be defenseless against the plans and manipulations of the agents and representatives of the great interests, for it may be depended upon that these interests will co-operate for their own aggrandizement; that they will not allow individual feelings to interfere with their ultimate purposes.

Purposes of Labor's Peace Congress

A conference such as we proposed must be approached by representatives of Labor of the world with full consciousness of common interest and all methods necessary to attain those interests. There must be so keen an appreciation of the great things and the important things that the ephemeral and the personal may not interfere with the co-operation necessary to establish greater ideals.

The nations engaged in the war have the right to determine their own policies, and the American labor movement does not propose any interference with this right of each nation. The war was caused by conditions and influences for which we are not responsible and the beginning of which it is not now our mission to discuss. Any effort on the part of our country to intervene now would be interpreted as partisan and hence a violation of neutrality. Only by holding aloof from all movements, however well intentioned, until the right time to influence our government to interfere, can the labor movement be in a position to be most helpful in the constructive work of preparing regulations for international adjustments. The matters with which we are mainly concerned and which it is our duty to help determine, are those things which have to do with reorganization at the close of the war and the establishment of agencies to maintain international justice and therefore permanent peace between nations.

During the previous history of the world, international relations have been left as the field for professional diplomats and politicians. As a result this field has not been organized and there are few permanent agencies for dealing justly, comprehensively and humanely with international questions and rights. There exists, however, what may constitute a nucleus for developing permanent institutions. This nucleus consists of The Hague Tribunal and that indefinite mass of international customs known as international law.

Suggestions have been made to these embryonic institutions to further develop into a more comprehensive provision for influencing international relations.

However, there has been no effort to democratize these institutions and to make them directly responsible to the peoples of the various nations concerned.

The demand for democratic control and democratic organization of international agencies and international methods must come from the people, for it is hardly probable that diplomats and statesmen will voluntarily propose to share their power and authority with the masses of the people; and yet it is the masses of the people who suffer most grievously from wars and who must bear the brunt of war both during the time of fighting and in the period of readjustment that follows cessation of warfare.

Not only has there been little or no effort to democratize international relations, but very little consideration has been given to democratizing the foreign policies of countries. The latter problem must be worked out by each nation, but would follow naturally from the establishment of the rule of the people in international affairs. The matters that will be considered by any general Peace Congress called at the end of the present European war will be of vast importance in determining future policies and the directions of development for decades, aye, perhaps for all time.

At all previous congresses of this type the matters considered have been purely political and have been determined from the viewpoint of professional diplomacy which is concerned with statescraft rather than with the larger problems of national statesmanship and the general welfare of the masses of the people. Since the welfare of the wage-earners of all nations is largely affected by international regulations, in all justice it should be given primary consideration in the deliberations of a World Peace Congress.

Just as the wage-workers of each country have by insistent demands forced their political agents to consider matters affecting their welfare, and have forced national recognition of the principle that the well-being of the people that constitute the nation is a matter of fundamental importance to the nation, so the wage-workers of the various nations must insist that there shall be established as an international principle that the welfare of human beings is of the greatest importance in international relations and intercourse. In whatever provisions are made for international political agencies, the labor movements must present the demands of the people that these agents must be responsible to them.

No doubt propositions concerned with international industrial and commercial undertakings will be considered by the Peace Congress. It will devolve upon the representatives of the wage-earners to present and to demand recognition for the human element concerned in such agreements. It has been altogether too common for such problems

to be considered only from the purely commercial and private profit standpoint. Consideration of the human side will result only from the self-interest and the altruism of the wage-earners themselves. Any effective effort along this line will necessitate a more thorough international organization of the labor movements of the various countries. Experience has demonstrated that the success of the labor movement of each country has been directly proportionate to its success in economic organization, so success in maintaining the interests of the wage-earners and international relations will depend upon the kind and nature of our international organization.

It is impossible to plan in advance for all questions that may come up for consideration. The delegates must use discretion and judgment guided by the fundamental principle that human welfare must have the greatest consideration.

Suggested Plan for the Congress

There are various difficulties that arise in making a plan to convene the proposed conference. Not all the organized labor movements of the world belong to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and not all countries have national centers or federated labor movements, consequently any regulation for representation in such a congress must have considerable flexibility.

This perhaps would be a workable plan:

Let every national center affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions send not more than two delegates to the conference.

The labor movement of any country, even though not affiliated, could send one delegate.

If there is no one general labor movement in a country, let the representatives of the organizations of that country agree to send one delegate. It happens that many of the European countries consist of several nations, which have their separate national labor organizations.

The wage-earners of many countries have not yet effected national organization. It would be extremely difficult to get in touch with the responsible officials of these labor movements as quickly as might be necessary in order for them to send representatives to the proposed labor conference. It is necessary then to make provisions for the representation of such countries in some other than purely formal methods.

It is suggested that, in addition to the formal invitations sent to labor centers, that publicity be given to these invitations through the press, and that the notice of the time and place of holding the conference shall constitute in itself an invitation to participate in that conference through authorized representatives. In the meantime until then if there be time the E. C. of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to extend formal invitations and issue the call in the name of the A. F. of L., and at the earliest possible moment after action has been taken by this convention.

In view of the fact that peace when it comes will probably come very quickly and there will be comparatively little time for making provisions for the labor conference and for circulating information in regard to that conference, it might be well to prepare in advance a circular to be sent to national centers, national labor movements and to be circulated by the labor press of the world generally in order that a more complete representation may be obtained. Then it should also be understood that representatives to this congress must be either officials or duly accredited representatives of economic organizations of wage-earners. No representations of political organizations, of philanthropic associations, or any other sort of an organization except a bona fide labor organization, shall be admitted as members of the conference.

The delegates to this international conference before leaving their home countries should make provisions for publicity through the labor press of their countries for the deliberations and the decisions of the labor conference so that the wage-earners of the whole world would be in possession of the truth in regard to what transpires.

In order that the position of the workers of the United States in regard to international peace and war may be fully representative and carry with it the weight of the unanimous voice of Labor of the country, we recommend that all International Trade Unions be urged to give their endorsement and pledge their co-operation to the program and plan outlined by this convention for the holding of a World's Labor Conference.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

As a result of war conditions, the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been virtually suspended. The international conflict disrupted the interests and occupations of peaceful civilization and has instituted a war regime. All life and industry have been forced to readjust to war conditions. The ideals and the purposes of peace have been replaced by institutions and organizations to serve the purposes and furtherance of war. As the war has cut asunder many of the ties that bound nation to nation, so it has rendered impossible the fraternal relations existing between the national labor movements of the belligerent countries. Since the headquarters of the National Federation of Trade Unions is in Berlin, the capital of a country virtually surrounded by armed forces, it has been difficult for this international organization to continue its work or to keep in touch through correspondence with the trade union centers of other countries.

In November, of 1914, President Legien of the International Federation announced that under the conditions the regular work of the organization would be discontinued and the funds be used only for the purpose of maintaining the organization, and not for the purpose of propaganda. This was necessary in order to preserve the neutrality of the labor organizations. He also announced that the President of the Dutch Trade Union Center, Mr. J. Oudegeest, would be the intermediary through whom he would communicate with the various national trade union centers. It was also decided that the Congress of the international federation which the Zurich Congress decided should be held at San Francisco, 1915, would be indefinitely postponed. But the progress of the war intensified feeling and made communication increasingly difficult. The rigid censorship in many countries renders it practically impossible to secure adequate and comprehensive information in order to keep in touch with labor conditions in the various countries and to discuss any common interest.

In February a conference of some labor representatives of France and England was held in London. Both the British Federation of Trade Unions and the Confederation du Travail of France disavowed any responsibility for the holding of this conference, or any of the views expressed therein. The French trade union movement had been invited to participate in that meeting, but not the British as an organization. The delegates from the French organization were instructed to confer during their stay in London with the British Federation in regard to plans for the future of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

As a result of long and serious conferences, W. A. Appleton and L. Jouhaux jointly wrote to President Gompers. In their letter they asserted that, while there was no personal animosity toward the people of Germany, yet that all present in the conference agreed that the national and racial bitterness engendered by the war would nullify the usefulness of the international trade union movement if headquarters were continued within a belligerent country. They stated that it was obvious that many years must elapse before the British, Belgian and the French workers could proceed to Berlin with the same freedom and confidence that existed prior to the outbreak of war. They felt that some change was necessary in order to prevent the disintegration of the international trade union movement, and they suggested that the international office should be moved, at least for the time, to some country whose neutrality was guaranteed by treaty and physiography. America was considered ideal in all respects except that it was too widely separated by distance. Switzerland was the only other country that seemed to have all desirable characteristics, and Berne was designated as the most satisfactory location.

Inasmuch as Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux appreciated fully the gravity of the situation and the desirability of avoiding dismemberment of the international trade union movement, they requested President Gompers to present this matter to Mr. Legien. They most earnestly and emphatically asserted that their request was not due to any personal feeling against President Legien, but because of their deep anxiety to maintain the solidarity of the international trade union movement. In accord with this request, President Gompers wrote to Mr. Legien and laid the matter fully before him.

The course which President Gompers pursued was endorsed by us in our official capacity as the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We proposed also that a plan be adopted which, in case of future wars, would automatically remove the headquarters of the international federation from a belligerent country to a neutral one.

As before referred to, the war has made regular correspondence extremely difficult.

Mr. Legien wrote in connection with this matter, but his original letter was lost. His first impression was that the proposition was a matter that ought not to be decided by vote through correspondence, but only after a thorough and personal conference in which the whole question could be discussed. He felt that to change headquarters of the International Secretariat at that time, under the existing conditions, would be an expression of lack of confidence that would, in the future, have a harmful effect upon the whole movement. He expressed uncertainty as to whether or not the request of the French and British representatives was in the form of a regular motion that was to be submitted to the members of the international federation, or whether the affiliated organizations that did not participate in the London conference should have a separate conference.

However, in the interim, before his letter was received, the representatives of the British and French movements issued a circular to the affiliated organizations presenting this proposition for neutralization of the offices and officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

In the official journal of the British General Federation of Trade Unions, the correspondence which that office had between Messrs. Appleton, Jouhaux, Legien, Oudegeest and Gompers was published. Later, Mr. Oudegeest of Holland, upon request of Mr. Legien, issued a circular publishing a fuller version of the correspondence.

In the November, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist*, President Gompers published the entire correspondence between him as the representative of the A. F. of L., and the officers of the trade union movements of other countries; and between the officers of various countries. This correspondence is published under the title, "Labor's International Relations—As a Result of the European War. Labor's Book of All Colors." That correspondence should be considered in connection with our report.

Mr. Legien's proposal to hold a conference in Amsterdam did not meet with general approval. Mr. Appleton in writing to Mr. Oudegeest upon the subject stated that Mr. Legien did not appreciate the bitterness that the war had engendered in Great Britain and France, and that it would be useless to ask the people to agree to a conference.

We have endeavored as best we could to maintain friendly relations with the labor movements of all countries and to avoid any action that would in the slightest degree interfere with our usefulness and our influence in promoting the best interests of the organized labor movement the world over. We have been able to hold ourselves in readiness to be helpful at such a time when an opportunity for constructive work shall be presented and in order that our influence may be unimpaired and may be powerful for the cause of human rights and democracy. We have been very careful to avoid anything that might be construed as unneutral or in any way hostile to the interests of any group of workers.

In December, 1914, Mr. Oudegeest of Holland wrote a circular letter to the various trade union national centers presenting the terrible conditions that existed in Belgium and the want and dire necessity that had befallen the Belgian people. They had no work and no way to maintain themselves. The peril of starvation was imminent. Mr. Oudegeest asked in behalf of these Belgian workers contributions from the trade union movement of the other nations. A personal representative of the Belgium people brought President Gompers information which substantiated the statements already received.

This appeal for help for the Belgian workers the E. C. of the A. F. of L. directed to be published in the *American Federationist* with the direction to send all contributions to Mr. Oudegeest who was entrusted with their distribution.

As already stated the regular congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions was to have been held at San Francisco concurrent with this convention. That was to have been the first meeting this organization ever held outside of Europe. For that reason it was expected that this meeting would have a far-reaching influence and consequence in extending the spirit and relationship of fraternalism, and in strengthening and increasing the tie of unionism that binds together the working people of all countries. However, 1915 finds such conditions existing in the civilized world as have made impossible the holding of this labor congress from which so much was expected that would be of infinite value in promoting human welfare and in establishing agencies whereby the workers could secure for themselves ever increasing benefits and opportunities.

In discussing the subject of the next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, President Gompers has urged upon the officers of the labor movement of other countries that the spirit of the Zurich declaration should be observed and that when

the official congress shall be held after the close of the war, it should be held in the United States, and at some time approximately near the time of the holding of the convention of the A. F. of L.

BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

There is not a country, and there is scarcely a relation in the common life, that does not show some effect of the terrible war that is now being waged in Europe. From our present viewpoint these effects are primarily destructive. Whatever of constructive value shall come out of it all, will depend upon the wisdom, the ability and the statesmanship, the real statesmanship of the nations. But at present we see customs, institutions, and relationships that are the result of years of struggle and persistent effort to realize ideals, swept away by the great tide of destruction and lost in the clash of arms, the smoke of the battlefield, and in the terrors of naval warfare.

It has been the custom of the American Federation of Labor since 1894 to exchange fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress. This practice has done much to establish a feeling of fraternity and to unify the labor movement of the English speaking peoples. Yearly these personal representatives of the labor organizations of the two countries have visited each other, and by word of mouth have brought greetings and messages of the struggle for freedom in their respective countries. Only through the exchange of personal representatives and through personal interviews and discussions can there be maintained that intimate knowledge of events and purposes that is necessary in order to plan most wisely the work of the labor movements of the various countries. It is evident even in the present war that has demonstrated the depth of national feeling and the imperishable quality of love of country that the workingmen of one country feel that they have the greatest claim for sympathy, for understanding and for aid upon the working men and the labor movements of other countries. There is an intimate tie connecting those of one country who are engaged in a struggle for freedom, whether industrial or political, upon those of other countries who have like purposes and problems.

That the war last year interrupted this long established custom of exchanging fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress, was a matter of great concern and mutual regret. As was stated in the Executive Council report to the Philadelphia Convention, it was found impossible to have the annual meeting of the British Congress in September, 1914. But the Congress contemplated holding two sessions during the year. The Seattle Convention elected W. D. Mahon and Matthew Woll as fraternal delegates to the congress which was abandoned; the Philadelphia Convention, therefore, decided that these two delegates should represent the A. F. of L. at one of the meetings of the British Trades Union Congress.

When definite information came that that Congress was to hold its meeting at Bristol, September 6, 1915, Messrs. Mahon and Woll were communicated with, and authorized to represent the A. F. of L. As the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America convened in Rochester, N. Y., September 13, and the annual convention of the International Photo-Engravers of North America was held in San Francisco, Cal., August 16, 1915, it was impossible for Mr. Mahon and Mr. Woll, who are presidents of their respective international unions, to attend the Congress on September 6. These facts developed too late to be communicated to the members of the E. C. in time for the selection of other delegates. Therefore, it was found necessary, regrettable as this course was, to delay the exchange of fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress and to reestablish this channel for fraternal intercourse.

However, the Congress, during its sessions held at Bristol, September, 1915, elected two British fraternal delegates. They are Mr. C. G. Ammon and Mr. E. Bevin. This expression of good will is appreciated as an expression of genuine fraternal feeling, and we entertain the hope that cordial fraternal relations between the trade union movements of the whole world will be resumed at the earliest opportunity.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS' RIGHTS

As a result of the developments during the months that the European war has been in progress, it is plain that under present conditions protection for the American citizens is inadequate, and not what any sovereign world power ought to give to its citizens. Native-born citizens of alien parentage and naturalized citizens have been forced by foreign countries into the military service for the present European war. In this way naturalized citizens have been forced to participate in war in defiance of their rights as citizens of the United States.

We therefore recommend that this convention in the name of the citizenship of our country urge upon the government of the United States to enter into negotiations with foreign countries for the formulation of treaties that shall guarantee protection of American citizens whether native born or naturalized, and specifically recognize the fact that no country on the face of the globe has any right to claim any act of allegiance of any native born or naturalized citizen; that no country or government ought to have, and can have any legal claim upon them for their service.

We hold that an American citizen whether native-born or naturalized is a citizen of the United States, owes no allegiance to any foreign country, yet as the result of the developments during the European war, now in progress, it is plain that the assertion of this principle has been questioned and controverted. In other words, native born citizens of the United States of alien parentage, and naturalized citizens of the United States have been forced into the military service of foreign countries against their will, and compelled to engage actively in the present European war. We hold that no country or government other than the United States is to be permitted to lay claim upon American citizens or for their services, military or otherwise.

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR RELATIONS

Since the opening of the Panama Canal, there has been a growing realization that there ought to exist closer political, industrial and commercial relations between the peoples of the western hemisphere. The Panama Canal opened up new trade routes, new markets, and, therefore, new industrial and commercial opportunities, and with them the necessity for a closer political alliance. This has been augmented by the fact that the present European war has closed old trade routes and destroyed many of the markets to which the Pan-American Republics formerly carried the greater amount of their export merchandise.

During the past year the Congress of the United States authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to call a Pan-American Congress Conference for the purpose of considering better financial, industrial and commercial relations and the development of the natural resources of the countries of the western hemisphere. Accordingly the conference of representatives from the South American countries, Central America and Mexico, met with the representatives of the United States in Washington, May 24-29, 1915. These delegates represented all the great financial, industrial, and commercial interests of the Latin-American countries—the steamship companies, the mines, the banks, railroads, telephones, and all the great corporations. This conference was to deal with matters and policies that were to be of a far-reaching consequence, not only in international relations between various countries, but in the internal development of the countries.

All these industrial enterprises depend upon human agencies which ought to be most carefully protected and conserved. Those who participated in this conference are to decide policies and to outline plans that will affect the lives of millions of people for years to come.

It is conceded that the chiefs of industry, finance and commerce, have their own interests foremost in mind—in fact, some who are recognized as world powers have recently stated that they knew nothing of industrial relations with employes and that they considered labor conditions irrelevant to their concern.

If as a nation we have a true conception of the value of human life, we ought to make human relations of chief concern in all our plans. We ought to improve our conception by providing representation. There is but one organization that stands for human welfare and human rights and nothing else. It is an organization that has concern not only for its membership, but for all those who do the work of the nation—a strong, militant organization that fights the battles of the weak and clears the path for progress that all the toilers

may join the forward movement toward freedom and larger opportunity and welfare. This is the organization that ought to be represented in all of the councils of the nation—it expresses the burdens, the heartaches, the yearnings and the ideals of the masses of the nation.

Although these matters were of such tremendous significance, not only for the interests concerned, but ultimately an alliance of the peoples of these various nations, including our own, there was not a representative who stood either directly or indirectly for the cause of the toilers—for the cause of human rights, human liberty and ideals of democracy and greater freedom. Although it is recognized that material civilization, wealth, and all problems are to serve ultimately the needs of the people, yet the representatives to this Congress were of a type that would consider the development and the management of these interests purely from the standpoint of profits, with little or no regard for the human beings concerned, either as producers or consumers—as men, women or children. The tremendous matters that were to be considered by this Congress were not generally understood, nor the far-reaching consequence of its decision, yet these representatives of financial interests, of commerce and of industry, apparently were representatives of their national governments and were authorized to make provisions for the future.

It requires no great imagination or discernment to understand that these able representatives of the interests would so plan and manipulate conditions and events, that the great corporate interests of the various countries would be in a position to control, not only the industries and commerce within their own countries, but international regulations for commerce and industry. In other words, this conference plainly would enable the corporate interests to entrench themselves in a powerful position that would require years of struggle to enable the people of the nations, the masses of the wage-earners, to secure for themselves protection and a right to opportunities in accord with their importance. This conference would determine the tone of international relations, the standards and ideals that would dictate policies and would thus establish a whole line of intangible powerful influence that would make doubly difficult the age-long struggle for freedom that the workers everywhere have waged.

It was because he felt that it was necessary for the wage-earners to be represented in the first meetings where policies were to be formulated and standards were to be set, that President Gompers entered a protest with Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo against the policy that excluded from representation in this conference representatives of human rights and of the masses of the people.

The inauguration of these Pan-American conferences makes it evident that the employing interests of all the countries feel an identity of interest and that there is foreshadowed closer association, if not organization, of the employers of both the North and South American countries. If the employers of all these countries are to unite for the promotion of their common interests, it becomes all the more evident that the wage-earners of these countries must also unite for their common protection and betterment. With the Pan-American organization of employers it is clearly evident that organization on a national scale will not be adequate for the protection of the workers in international relations where it is probable that policies will be decided which will be the determining factors in all national policies. Therefore, we deem it wise to urge at this present time the inauguration of a special effort and policy to draw together more closely in fraternal relationship the workers of the North and South American continents. There have been made conditions that have hitherto hindered intercourse and close relationship, but now that the countries are to be bound closely together by industrial, commercial and financial ties, the workers must plan for the future. Of course conditions of life and standards of living, educational opportunities, language—all differ vitally as between the various American countries, but despite all of these differences, there is that tie of common economic, political and social interest that will make for closer relationship and unity of action. From time to time, we have had correspondence with the organized labor movements of some of the countries of South America and Mexico, but this has been intermittent and without permanent association for mutual advancement. But the time has come when it is necessary to plan for our mutual protection.

We recommend, therefore, that the Executive Council be authorized to consider this matter during the coming year, and to enter into correspondence with representatives of organized labor movements of these various countries for the purpose of promoting a better understanding and closer relationship, to the end that all the workers

of the various countries may be prepared to act concertedly for their mutual advancement and protection. We recommend also that some plan be devised for the exchange of fraternal representatives and delegates in some capacity, probably to visit the South American countries and Mexico, in order to carry personal greetings, and to bring back first-hand reports of conditions existing there. Of course, a representative for work of this character must have some knowledge of the Spanish language.

During the past year, a beginning has been made that ought to have an effect in promoting closer relationship and better understanding. The country just to the south of us has been passing through a period of terrible turmoil and distress. After many years of nominal freedom, yet actual despotic control, when the policies of the whole government were in the interests of employers and the exploiters, there came a rebellion for the purpose of securing greater freedom for the people, and the establishment of democratic policies and practices. Under the Madero government considerable progress was made, yet the effect of the past year's work plainly shows the lack of self-control and the failure to understand the workings of a government by the people and for the people. Madero was an idealist who had in mind the interests and welfare of the people. He gave them many rights that had been previously denied them. Among these was the right of free assembly and the right of free speech. The working people were given the right to organize into labor unions. Then there developed first of all the labor movement of Mexico. But the Madero government was not of long duration. Madero was succeeded by a despot who ruled without regard to constitutional rights. The people of Mexico who were struggling for liberty united in what was known as the "Constitutionalist" party, with Carranza as their leader. After a period of fighting they drove Huerta from power, and then there began a struggle between various leaders of the army for control and power. Gradually it became evident that Carranza represented the majority of the people of Mexico and that he stood for the purpose of constitutional rights, the principles of justice and equity to all citizens of the country. Many of his policies revealed a rare humanitarian spirit that is fully appreciative of the value of human lives, whether of humble position or of more influential. Carranza entered into a contract with the organized workers of Mexico known as the "La Casa del Obrero Mundial," which represented the trades and callings of Mexico's workers. This body is a federated body of unions, and its name has been translated by one of its adherents as "The Federation of Industrial Workers." The agreements which Carranza made with the people were circulated in the form of manifestos and posted on streets and dwellings of the Mexican cities. Their purpose was clearly that of the immediate advancement of the working people, their full right to organize, in order that they might be given opportunities to exercise normal activities for their protection. The Carranza government gave the labor organizations not only the right to hold meetings, but furnished them with buildings for that purpose.

He inaugurated the policy of either taking over land that had been secured by illegal or sharp practices, or buying up large estates and dividing these out into small farms for the people. This was a practical method of meeting one of the chief difficulties in Mexico, a difficulty arising out of the large estates in the hands of comparatively few people. The labor movement in Mexico has sprung up since the time of Madero. The federated movement consists of unions of stone masons, wood cutters, printers, carpenters, shoemakers, musicians, and the usual skilled artisans. Of course, the federated movement of Mexico found itself hampered by lack of funds, for not only are the workers of Mexico poorly paid in times of peace, but they had been under even worse conditions during the protracted civil war.

It had been the intention of the "La Casa del Obrero Mundial" to send two representatives to the American Federation of Labor, but lack of funds prevented the execution of this plan. However, the officers of that movement have communicated with the headquarters of the A. F. of L., from time to time, both through letters, telegrams and finally through a personal representative. This personal representative stated that the Mexican working people had chosen General Carranza as their leader in the struggle for freedom and that they were willing to support their choice with their lives. They felt that Mexico was working out her own problems in accord with her ideals and was in a position to establish the democratic government which they desired. The labor movement of Mexico protested vigorously against any action on the part of the United States which should interfere with the right of that nation to settle its own internal difficulties. The workers of Mexico felt that the people and the officials of the United States had been misinformed

by those who had their own personal interests to serve through deception and misinformation. Any action on the part of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico would be interpreted by them as in conflict with the ideals of free government, and in the interests of great corporations that had money invested in their country. They felt that they were entitled to the sympathy of the Americans who stood for an ideal of freedom and they urged that the Carranza army is made up of free men willing to sacrifice their lives for freedom and that the American nation bear with them yet a little while longer for they thought they saw in sight the goal for which they yearned.

The rank and file of the Carranza army is made up of the workmen of Mexico, industrial lodges and trades unions. Many of these labor organizations have joined the army as a body and serve in the regiments with the officers of their unions acting as the officers of the regiment. A representative of the wage-earners of Mexico was sent to this country with a request from them to President Gompers that he do everything within his power to see to it that the effort of the Mexicans to secure greater freedom was given a fair opportunity. President Gompers has written several times to President Wilson in regard to this matter. He urged upon the President the plea of the Mexicans for time to accomplish whatever they desired and for the patience and indulgence of the United States in their efforts. This matter was considered by us at our September meeting and we decided to authorize President Gompers to write to the President urging upon him the recognition of the Mexican government with General Carranza as its head, upon the ground that that government was the representation of democratic ideals in Mexico.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR EXHIBIT

The Philadelphia Convention decided that the American Federation of Labor be represented at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The Executive Council instructed President Gompers to make preparations for the exhibit, and in accord with this direction a booth was constructed in the Palace of Education and Social Economy.

The booth has been the subject of many favorable comments, particularly the frieze on the interior of the booth. This frieze represents the workers of the various trades. It is exquisite in conception and execution. The A. F. of L. booth is dignified and in harmony with the cause which the exhibit represents. The central idea of the exhibit itself is the labor movement as an agency for securing greater freedom and greater opportunities for the workers. This idea is expressed in a central text—"The Labor of a Human Being Is Not a Commodity or Article of Commerce," and in the charts showing the high standards that have been secured for America's workers and the better conditions of work.

The efforts for a shorter workday are made very prominent in the exhibit. There is a central illuminated text entitled, "Golden Hours and Opportunities," which reads: "A reduction of one hour per day in the labor of the workers of America afford twenty million golden opportunities for thought, for action, for human betterment every day."

Supplemental charts show the success of various organizations in securing a shorter or eight-hour workday for the wage-earners.

Other charts show the structure of the A. F. of L., its growth and membership from 1881 to 1914, a list of publications issued, and efforts for prevention of tuberculosis.

Charts furnished by different national and international organizations deal specifically with the activities of the respective organizations.

Pictures represent the progress of the worker from the time he was merely a human drudge until the present, when he is a free man.

Other pictures of historical interest are: a photograph of the first Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; a photograph of the E. C. of 1914; a picture of the first Secretary of Labor—William B. Wilson—a workingman who represents the cause of Labor in the cabinet of the President. Grouped about the picture of Secretary Wilson are charts showing national legislation that has been secured through the organized political activity of the workers of the country.

A legislative enactment that ranks only second in significance to the labor sections of the Clayton Act is the Seamen's Act, which is represented in this exhibit by the following inscription: "The soil of the United States is sanctified by liberty; the seamen, the last of the bondmen, are free. The Seamen's Act became a law March 4, 1915."

In order that the A. F. of L. exhibit may be put to the greatest possible educational use,

labor literature in great abundance has been supplied for distribution. All the publications of the A. F. of L., and the official journals of the various internationals have been distributed. Many visitors have availed themselves of this opportunity for securing special and general information in regard to the labor movement. Men and women not only from all states of the union, but from various foreign countries, have sought the representative of the A. F. of L. in charge of the booth for the purpose of securing information. This exhibit has rendered a genuine educational service in arousing a greater sympathy and understanding of the aims and purposes of the A. F. of L., as well as a better and more comprehensive knowledge of its methods and ideals.

The exhibit in every detail constitutes a forceful demonstration of what the organized labor movement has done to promote the well-being of the workers and to co-operate in the general progress of the whole nation.

CITY CENTRAL BODIES—STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

At the Philadelphia Convention the committee on state organization made recommendations which were approved by the convention to bring about better support and relations of affiliated local unions to the different central bodies and state federation of labor. These recommendations were to the effect that each international convention should be visited by a representative of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that the convention take some action to bring about the affiliation of locals with state federations, city centrals, and building trades councils, that the Executive Council should secure for the information of this convention the names of local unions that are not affiliated to city central bodies and state federations, and that the E. C. shall recommend to this convention the appointment of a special committee whose duty it should be to inquire of the international officers the reason for the non-affiliation of their locals.

The provision of the convention that a representative of the A. F. of L. visit each international convention was carried into effect as far as possible.

In accordance with the action of the last convention we recommend that a special committee be appointed to confer with the international officers present at this convention upon the subject of the non-affiliation of their locals, with a view to giving the subject the consideration which its importance merits, looking to submitting such recommendations as the best judgment of the conferees may suggest to the end of bringing about the representation of all local unions in the central bodies and state branches.

A list of the local unions that are not affiliated with their central bodies and state branches has been compiled from reports furnished by these organizations. On account of its length it would be impracticable to incorporate the list in detail in this report; it will, however, be placed in the hands of the committee to which this subject will be referred.

The list indicates that there is a very large number of local unions that are not complying with their obligation of being represented in central bodies and state branches, thereby hampering the activities of these organizations and depriving the labor movement of a large measure of assistance which could otherwise be derived from the co-operation of these bodies.

In view of the fact that the Philadelphia Convention directed that special consideration be given to promoting the efficiency of state branches and central bodies, it is well to review briefly the power and resources which organized labor has within itself to further the cause of Labor and which can be utilized by a central body.

A central body brings the most active and interested members of organized labor in the same community in touch with each other. By mutual advice and assistance they are enabled to make the efforts in behalf of their respective trades more effective. Their combined interest and activity infuse life into the movement and open up avenues of activity through which the local members may co-operate for the furtherance of the cause of Labor. Organization committees of central bodies of various localities were performing splendid service and this could be generally the fact if all local unions maintained active and energetic representation in central bodies.

The cause of Labor will progress exactly in the same degree as we make headway in organizing the unorganized and educating the rank and file of the membership as to their duties and obligations as union members. Every member should realize that the labor movement needs workers, men and women who will extend every aid they can render in accordance with their opportunity. Because of the limited funds of the international

organizations and the A. F. of L., it is impossible to provide organizers to push the work of organization to the fullest extent. For this reason it is absolutely essential that local means should be established in order that the work of organization may make greater progress in each community. Many appeals for organizers received at headquarters depict the local movement as falling backward and in danger of complete extermination if an organizer is not sent to the rescue. What is needed in these cases is not so much the assistance of an organizer as that the local members should themselves exert greater effort to increase the strength and efficiency of their unions, and to assist the effort to organize the unorganized, and demonstrate their faith in the labor movement by doing more active work in its behalf.

The work of organization in the respective communities can be effectively advanced by local members. As a matter of fact every victory that has ever been won and every advance made has been because of the activity, zeal, loyalty and devotion of the rank and file of organized labor, and the earnest manner in which they have rallied to the defense of the labor movement in an emergency or to assist in some crisis. The influence of organized labor and the potency of its strength when thoroughly aroused have been demonstrated in the advances secured not only in material improvement upon the economic field, but also the successes in electing members and friends to legislative halls and our legislative victories. If the rank and file of organized labor would bring to the routine work of the union the active support in every matter in which they could be of assistance, the cause of Labor would make much greater progress. Members must realize that not only are they needed on the firing line when some crisis is at hand, but they must be vigilant at all times to develop every possible source of progress that is at Labor's command; their help is needed not only to resist and overcome the antagonism of our enemies, but to develop all resources within our own unions to make our movement more effective. A good live organization committee should be maintained in each district, in which all the members of the various local unions can give alternate service, thus not making the burden of the work too heavy for a limited number, which is too often the case, but giving all an opportunity to render aid and thus to carry on the work progressively and effectively.

The purchasing power of the members and friends of organized labor could be much more effective in advancing the interests of Labor than it is at present. It is to be regretted that members are often unmindful of their duty in this particular and of the large measure of assistance they could give the efforts of their fellow-workers to secure greater justice, by urging the friends of organized labor to demand the union label upon the commodities which they purchase. A central body can be the means of agitation and education along this line through active committees.

Another important influence which can be wielded by a central body, working under a charter and acting in conformity to the laws of the A. F. of L., is to discourage secession and dual movements among members of organized labor. The constitution of the A. F. of L. prohibits any chartered central body from recognizing a seceding, independent or dual organization, and if men of Labor are practical in their faith in the trade union movement, the censure and repudiation can be made so effective that members of organized labor will realize that in the interests of the members of a trade, and the cause of Labor generally, they must settle their differences as a united body. Secession movements have too frequently proved the worst enemy of our organizations of labor, and our movement can not condemn and frown down such tactics too severely.

Although our American continent is broad and expansive, our people numerous and widely scattered, there is not room enough for dual labor organizations. Our work and our progress make unity and solidarity essential.

Not only in the general interests of Labor should local unions be urged to join the central bodies of their districts, but in the interests of their own particular trades that they should fortify the local movement by an effective central body—one that will work in harmony with the laws of the A. F. of L., and thus defend our movement from every source of impairment. Without general co-operative thoroughness and vigilance on the part of all Labor as regards our own shortcomings, as well as the tactics of our enemies, our efforts will not be so effective either in holding the ground we have gained or in making further progress.

There have been instances where central bodies have acted in violation of the laws of the A. F. of L., by assuming powers that encroached upon the rights and jurisdiction of local unions. This policy has created dissatisfaction and caused the withdrawal of some local unions. While in some instances these unions have had just grievances, their duty

nevertheless in such circumstances is to remain within the central bodies and to endeavor to rectify whatever is mistaken in the policies of these organizations. Only by the freest and fullest discussion and agitation of such matters can central bodies come to realize all their opportunities and attain the best development of which they are capable.

Our state federations of labor, as we all know, serve as the sentinels of Labor at the state legislatures to advise organized labor of their respective states in regard to proposed legislation so that they may see to it that their representatives respect their rights and welfare by supporting legislation drafted in the interests of Labor, and opposing inimical legislation. We can not underestimate the tremendous importance of the work which these organizations are performing, and it is the duty of every member of organized labor to assist in making their efforts as effective as possible.

We realize the immense responsibilities with which international organizations are burdened and the difficult task presented in protecting and promoting the welfare of their trades and callings. For this reason the laws of the A. F. of L. protect these organizations from incurring any risks or complications in the affiliation of their local unions with central bodies, which will interfere with their control over their own members. The necessity of conserving the resources of our organizations and of preventing complications that might arise through enforcing compulsory representation of local unions in central bodies, has no doubt to some extent deterred these organizations from incorporating such clauses in their constitutions. In any event compulsory representation would not produce the results that come from voluntary activity and co-operation of members of organized labor. Nevertheless, the duty of local unions to support these organizations can not be too earnestly urged upon them, and the international organizations should undertake to have their local unions represented in central bodies.

We further urge that all delegates to this convention, as well as the executive officers of the national and international organizations, shall exert their best influence to enhance the effectiveness of the central bodies and state branches of their respective communities, and for the organization of such bodies where none now exist.

HISTORY OF THE A. F. OF L. DEPARTMENTS

The Seattle Convention directed that the various Departments affiliated to the American Federation of Labor be asked to prepare historical data showing the causes which resulted in the formation of the Departments and to furnish the President of the A. F. of L. with a brief history of the Departments. These histories have been prepared and submitted by the secretaries of the various Departments. They are too long to be included in this report and we recommend that the convention authorize and direct the publication of these histories in the *American Federationist* during the coming year. The history constitutes very valuable documents necessary to an understanding of the work of the A. F. of L. and of infinite value to students and historians.

ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS

Two years ago the American Federation of Labor directed that a special assessment of 1 cent should be levied to furnish funds for a special campaign for the organization of women wage-earners. It is now a recognized fact that the work of women is a part of the industries of our country. This does not mean that women are doing more work than formerly, or work of altogether a different nature; merely that they are working in different places and under different conditions. They have followed various industries as they have been taken from home workshops into the factories and made part of the factory system of the age. Women are now gainfully employed, whereas formerly their work was merely a part of the productions of the collective efforts of the family for which they received no compensation in the form of wages. The head of a family received and handled all of the wages in return for the work.

Under modern industrial conditions women are recognized as distinctive workers, and their labors are compensated individually. This new condition has contributed to developing a spirit of independence, self-assertion, and resourcefulness on their part. There are often many criticisms advanced that women do not understand the spirit, and the methods of collective action of organization in trade unions, and that therefore they can not protect themselves through economic organizations. Again and again this assertion

has been proved false. Women can be organized, they can and do understand the principles of trade unionism, and they are able and willing to fight for the cause. Of course there have been elements associated with the lives of women that make for dependence both personal and economic. But these conditions are being modified, and in many places replaced by economic independence of women and by granting them full equality with men—industrial, political and otherwise.

The whole tendency of the modern age is to break down old prejudices and old ideas based upon the concept that the lives of women are essentially different from those of men, and hence their development and progress must be worked out along different policies and upon different principles. Women now work side by side with men doing the same kind of work, and often an equal amount. Where women are not organized, too often it is found they do not receive equal pay for equal work.

Various expedients and palliatives have been tried to remedy the manifest wrongs and injustice that women encounter in the industrial world. Many of these efforts were in the nature of philanthropy, vacation clubs, welfare associations and organizations, uplift work and other kinds of efforts of those who wish to help women. However, the working women have found that their industrial problems are in nowise different from the industrial problems that confront men. Industrial welfare can not be worked out on a sex basis. Industrial welfare, or rather the welfare of wage-earners in industrial work, must be based upon fundamental principles which conserve human welfare and protect and develop all. These principles in nowise differ as between men and women. It is the consensus of opinion that the one unfailing agency for the protection of men wage-earners in industry is the trade union organization. What has been demonstrated to be necessary in the case of men is also necessary in the case of women.

Women wage-earners ask and demand only the opportunity to secure justice for themselves. They do not want charity; they do not want uplift work; they do not want social clubs and social centers as a substitute for trade union organization. They want an agency that will enable them to secure wages admitting of decent standards of life and a satisfaction of their many human wants.

In states that withhold from women the right of the ballot, women are still looked upon as wards of the state, although they are expected to do the work of intelligent, responsible persons. Though they are given equal opportunities for education in the common schools of the state, and in most states in the universities also, yet they are denied the right to express an intelligent opinion upon political questions which affect their rights and their future welfare.

The organized labor movement has long been on record as endorsing the right of the ballot for all intelligent members of society, regardless of sex. Wherever this idea and this regulation have been established by law, there is swept away one of the great distinctions between the problems of men and women. In those localities there can no longer be an industrial policy based upon the theory that women are wards of the state. No policy affecting their industrial welfare can be justly established which does not equally apply to men.

The trade union movement has opposed the regulation of working conditions, hours of work, and wages for men in private industry by law or by political agents. Where equality between men and women is established, the endorsement of this principle for women becomes also a very serious menace to the liberty of the men wage-earners. Any legislation that bestows upon political agents the right to control industrial relations in private industries becomes a serious menace and infringement upon the rights of free workers. There are only two theories advanced for securing industrial betterment. One is by securing for the wage-earners the right of organization and maintaining for those organizations the full right to such activities as are necessary in order to secure their legitimate objects. The other is to bestow upon the state the right to control and regulate industrial relations. It is plain that this latter policy would establish a sort of political paternalism that might secure sole advantages for the wage-earners, but would deprive them of their real freedom.

The first policy is the one that is in accord with trade union history and philosophy, and in line with the theory of our Republic. There can be no question, but that the policy tending towards paternalism is subversive to free ideals and democratic government. It could result only in bureaucracy with all the evils that are inseparable from that institution, and all of the weaknesses that it fosters and develops in those that it is supposed to benefit.

Since men and women now work on equality in industry, it is becoming daily more apparent that the paternalistic policy can not be adopted in the case of women without danger to men. The trade union movement, which has ever been foremost in the age-long struggle for freedom, was among the first to point out the danger of regulating industrial relations for women by law, and to formulate the policy that women workers, aided by men, must organize and work out their own salvation, develop their own ideas, and be responsible for their realization. Women must become equally resourceful and independent as men, or else progress is retarded. It is because they recognize the importance of these truths that American trade unionists have endorsed equal organization of wage-earning women and have levied special assessments to maintain a campaign for that purpose.

In connection with the discussion of a minimum wage by law, attention should be called to a proposition advanced by President Gompers by which the desired result could be achieved without doing violence to any inherent right of freedom. While a member of the New York Factory Investigation Commission, he proposed as a substitute for a minimum wage law for all women workers this suggestion. That minimum wage for all workers under 21 years of age shall be established by state agencies, and for the purpose of that law all wage-workers, male or female, under the age of 21 years, shall be regarded as coming under the operation of the minimum wage law. Thus equality before the law will be established, wage-workers who are minors under 21 years of age will have lost no right they now have, and each will be accorded the full status of equality and rights after reaching the age of 21 years with all other workers and citizens of the state.

We are in accord with the opinion as expressed by President Gompers, that if such a provision were enacted into law no fear need be apprehended that workers, both men and women, after they have reached the age of 21 years, would receive less than the minimum, but, on the contrary, they would work for the attainment of the general standards of wages, hours and conditions of labor as prevail in the trade or vocation in which they are engaged. The plan suggested makes no distinction in policies for securing industrial betterment based upon purely sex distinction.

It is submitted for your most careful consideration and action.

Like all the rest of the organizing work during the past year, our plans have been hampered by lack of funds. The workers of this country have felt the serious depression that followed the European war. During the last winter they suffered because of a very serious unemployment that generally prevailed. Since the period of readjustment and the increased activity, because of new needs and demands, many of the workers are now more generally employed and their organizations sharing in the advantages that have come. In many of these localities the workers have sought to profit by advantageous conditions to organize and to present and procure demands securing for them better conditions. Where these movements exist, the women who were employed in industries have also caught the spirit of organization and have, therefore, improved their conditions. In some of these localities great progress has been made in organizing women. During the past year two women organizers have been maintained in the field giving their services principally to this particular work.

The Philadelphia Convention authorized the levying of a 1 per cent assessment for the purpose of organizing women wage-earners. We did not deem it wise to levy that assessment during the past year and continue this work as best we could with the funds that remained from the assessment of the previous year, together with what was left from the funds of the Hatters' case. During the year there were seventeen organizers engaged in the special campaign to organize women and \$9,192.62 was expended for this work. Among the trades in which these organizers have endeavored to build up organizations are the garment workers, the textile workers, manufacturers of electrical supplies, silk workers, cotton mills, and others. Perhaps the textile workers have secured larger gains than any other trade.

AFFILIATION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONS

We particularly urge upon all unaffiliated national and international unions the duty of affiliating with the American Federation of Labor. They now share in part the beneficent results of the efforts of the united trade union organizations, as do all of the workers of the country, organized or unorganized. Participation in the benefits carries with it an

obligation and duty to participate in the support and the activities of the trade union movement. The failure of any national or international organization to affiliate with the general labor movement not only limits the relative proportion of benefits that the workers of the unaffiliated organizations receive from the labor movement, but it limits the effectiveness and the influence of the general movement.

There are an infinite number of ways by which closer relations and better understanding can benefit all organizations united together. The greater the solidarity of the labor movement the more each and every individual has to gain from the association. There are many sympathies, interests, and purposes that all of the wage-earners have in common for support and co-operation in attaining their purposes. They can rely only upon their fellow-workers. All of the wage-earners ought to express and maintain this relation and mutual dependence in some organized form for the purpose of securing the best results and their ideals.

The national and international unions can only gain from affiliation to the A. F. of L. They lose nothing in the way of control over their organizations. It is one of the fundamentals that autonomy is assured to every national and international affiliated to the A. F. of L. The relation that exists between the trade union organizations is purely voluntary based upon mutual interests and purposes. The voluntary nature of the relation increases its strength and its flexibility. We recommend that the efforts to secure the affiliation of all unaffiliated organizations be continued during the coming year.

LABOR FORWARD MOVEMENT

The labor forward movement has become an established agency in the extension of the trade union movement and has grown increasingly in favor. Reports have come from many localities during the past year that labor forward movements have been inaugurated with gratifying results. Perhaps one of the most valuable characteristics of many of these movements is that the plans for carrying on activities begun by labor forward movements have become a permanent part of the work. This indicates the realization of the fact that some outlet must be provided for the enthusiasm and spirit aroused by the labor forward movement. This special kind of work affords an opportunity for activity on the part of all members of the labor movement.

Since it has the effect of developing the ability and the desire for work on the part of the individual members, it adds permanent strength and aggressiveness to the organizations. When these movements are carried on in the warmer weather, there are particularly good opportunities for informal meetings, street meetings and open air talks that enable the trade unionists to reach a group of workers that could not be reached by formal meetings within buildings. This particular kind of labor forward meeting provides for a greater amount of work, for a greater number of people, and hence develops those who already belong to the trade union movement and gives them the very necessary feeling that they are an important part of the labor movement, and that upon them will devolve responsibility for the success of this particular effort. The educational value can not be overlooked in estimating the labor forward movement.

As the members of the labor movement become speakers and orators for Labor, they also become defenders of the cause of trade unionism, and they feel a more intimate concern for the success of the cause. The experience equips them for larger and wider activities and greater usefulness in carrying on the work of the movement. Labor forward movements generate an enthusiasm and open up greater opportunities for future work. The nature of this kind of a campaign makes for closer association between members of the same and different trades and industries, and hence develops the feeling of fraternity and federation. During the past year many labor forward campaigns have been inaugurated, a few of which were at Alton, Ill.; Youngstown, Ohio; Fargo, N. Dak.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; Everett, Mass.; Canton, Ohio; New Orleans, La.; Tacoma, Wash.; Toledo, Ohio; Springfield, Mass.; Meriden, Conn.; and Jamestown, N. Y. The state labor movement of Arkansas planned to make Labor Day the beginning of a labor forward campaign on a state-wide scale in order to give a practical outlet to the support of Labor Day. Wherever it was possible organizers of the American Federation of Labor, or some representative, have participated in these labor forward campaigns. President Gompers delivered addresses at the inauguration of two of them—Springfield, Mass., and Meriden, Conn. We feel that the labor forward movements of the country are a means for renewing devotion to the cause of Labor, which is the

cause of humanity, and for arousing enthusiasm and creating new ideals for our age-long struggle for liberty and better life.

We make one suggestion in regard to these labor forward campaigns, which we think will be of value in conducting that sort of work. If every local organization that conducts a campaign of this character would send to the A. F. of L. an account of the results of the movement, together with a statement of how the campaign was conducted, information about any method that has proved itself valuable in one locality can be given to other workers who are attempting similar work, and hence the experience will become of service to others. In conducting these campaigns it is well to have in mind that anything which is vitally and intimately associated with the lives of the people must touch emotions very closely.

The labor movement can not afford to abandon sentiment and idealism. One of the most common and primitive means for the expression of sentiment is through music. It is regrettable that there are so few labor songs now in common use. However, if each organization throughout the country will do something to help to supply this deficiency, out of the whole effort there no doubt will come shortly a collection of labor songs and labor music that will be of assistance in developing and directing the sentiment of our movement.

While the effort of the trade union movement to secure better wages, shorter hours, and better conditions is the basis of this activity, yet it reaches its highest effectiveness when associated with that which is capable of stirring the very depths of human nature. Our labor movement must not be too busy to take time for sentiment with special labor forward campaigns, but in connection with the regular meetings of all organizations there should be at least a little time devoted to the idealism that gives the labor movement purpose and direction.

ORGANIZERS

It was not so many years ago that an organizer for the labor movement was regarded as a dangerous man in a community. He was a marked man, blacklisted, denied opportunities for any kind of work, starved and persecuted, but since the labor movement has grown in power, and has been recognized as a movement for humanity, it now is regarded as a great constructive agency of the community. In industrial clashes and in periods of industrial unrest, labor organizers are recognized as representatives of a movement that stands for justice and for the general human welfare. In many cases during late years employers and the community have welcomed the appearance of an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, for they know that these representatives stand for constructive practical policies. Formerly one of the indispensable qualities of an organizer was ability for physical self-defense and protection. While the organizer of the present day does not lack physical power or courage, he must possess, he must have, sincerity and devotion to the rights and interests of the workers whom he represents and in addition power of leadership and ability to educate. This change marks the tremendous forward progress of the trade union movement since the organization of the A. F. of L.

To be sure, that progress is not uniform. There are still localities where the forces of property and private gain are so powerful that the workers are denied the right to organize, and where attempt to exercise that right is contested by violence and by warfare. But in those sections of the country where the greatest industrial progress has been made and where the broadest ideals of human liberty prevail, organization is recognized as an essential element of industry. Where industrial statesmanship has been developed to a degree that co-operation with the organized labor movement is sought, there the work of the organizers of the labor movement becomes largely administrative and educational. Recognition of this fact has led during the past year to increased efforts to render necessary assistance and information to the organizers of the A. F. of L. This has been referred to in another section of this report.

The labor movement can be no greater than the people that compose the labor movement. It can make progress no faster nor no more definitely than the wisdom and the experience of the members of the labor movement direct. This emphasizes the importance of educational ability among the organizers, because it emphasizes the necessity for giving to the rank and file of the labor movement information that will prevent them from making mistakes in directing their course, and enable them to decide upon the wisest plans.

The organizers of the A. F. of L. are in daily contact with the wage-earners. They

have, through conferences, conversations, public addresses, as well as in all of their activities of an official character, innumerable opportunities to disseminate information, and to make suggestions that will give form and direction to opinion in the labor movement, and will be of infinite power in determining its ultimate destiny. The success of all efforts depends in a large degree upon those to whom is entrusted administration. The duties of organizers and members of unions may often seem commonplace and unimportant, but this seemingly routine or obscure work that has been necessary, has brought the labor movement to its present high degree of power and effectiveness.

There are, in the labor movement of America, many organizers who serve without pay, who give to the labor movement whatever of time and of energy they have left when the day's work is done. The work of these faithful men and women has been one of the instrumentalities that has brought the trade union movement beyond the two million mark, and is steadily urging it up to the three million. Though their services may never receive full recognition, yet the value of their services will be felt throughout all of the ages as the labor movement brings greater freedom and greater opportunity to all.

Because many of these unpaid organizers contribute not only their time and energy, but often do so at an expense to themselves, during the past year a special offer has been made to reimburse them for their activities by paying a certain sum for every new organization added to the A. F. of L. through their efforts. A great measure of credit and appreciation is due to the organizers of national and international unions, to business agents of local unions, and organizing committees of central bodies for the growth and progress of the labor movement during the past year.

As a result of the financial depression of the past year, which affected the labor movement as well as all other organizations connected with industry, we have been hampered in our work of organization. It has been necessary to discontinue some paid organizers and thereby curtail many plans that have been made. This condition made the work of unpaid organizers of even greater importance in determining the growth of the A. F. of L.

It is our sincere hope that we shall soon be able to increase the number of paid workers in the field. There have been during the past year 1,754 organizers of the A. F. of L.

THE SHORTER WORKDAY

Resolutions Nos. 30, 144, and 149 dealt with the problem of securing a shorter workday.

It is an accepted principle that the shorter workday is a fundamental step in the betterment of the workers. The shorter workday affects the length of life, the health, the standards of life, and, in fact, every phase of the lives of the workers. The wage-earner whose hours of labor are decreased goes to work and comes from work at a different time than before, and consequently comes in contact with people whose habits of living are different. From contact with these people of greater leisure, he establishes new ideals. He has a greater number of hours in which to rest, revive his energies and devote to recreation or the development of his mind. Thus the shorter workday makes of the worker a different person, a person of greater physical endurance, greater vitality, higher ideals, and consequently a person who will not be satisfied with the old standards of the long hours of work.

The improved methods of production which always follow a reduction in the hours of labor increase the productive power of the worker and consequently he is in a position to demand and receive higher wages. Invariably every decrease in the hours of work per day is accompanied or followed by an increase in wages. The shorter workday movement is to secure to the workers greater material advantages. It is an important movement in conserving national vigor and health and in guarding against those tendencies that undermine true national power. From this is evident the importance of the action of the Philadelphia Convention, in adopting the following:

The American Federation of Labor, as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals; and employment by federal, state or municipal government.

During the year, President Gompers has repeatedly called attention, through the pages of the *American Federationist*, to the shorter workday, the principles involved in obtaining the shorter workday, and to the necessity for securing it as a fundamental step in every movement to improve the lives of the workers. In these articles he dealt with the position of the A. F. of L. upon this principle as it has continued since the organization of the federation, and has defended that position against the objections and arguments of those who would secure a change in the policy of the Federation. These articles have been given a very wide circulation and have been generally copied by the labor press and the official journals of many internationals and nationals. They have resulted in a healthy discussion and have been instrumental in arousing the workers of the country to the importance of persistent and continued efforts to decrease the length of the workday and to inaugurate a definite campaign for that purpose. They have directed the thought and policies of the various organizations.

When the period of depression following the beginning of the European war had given way to a period of industrial stimulation resulting from the adjustment of our industries to meet the changed demands arising through war conditions, the workers in many industries, affected particularly by war orders, found that an opportunity was presented for urging and securing recognition of many of their demands. Business, particularly in many factories, was in such a condition that employers were making big profits, and were under the necessity of filling their orders without delay.

The machinists led in the eight-hour movement that was inaugurated to take advantage of these peculiar opportunities. As they were generally successful their example was followed by other workers. From the towns where the munition factories were located the impetus and contagion were extended to the workers of other industries.

There followed an eight-hour movement that was characterized by tremendous enthusiasm and irresistible determination. Connecticut was the center of this movement. The women wage-earners in these towns joined in the movement and were able to gain as much as their fellow workers. They secured recognition for their unions, higher wages, and the eight-hour workday. Extension of organization accompanied the spread of the eight-hour movement. The A. F. of L., together with the internationals concerned, put themselves back of this eight-hour movement to give it assistance and guidance. The various local bodies, as well as the State Federation of Labor of Connecticut, rendered invaluable and kindly assistance. The movement spread from Connecticut to other states. Workers in industries which were not directly affected by war conditions, also found that the time was opportune for making demands for the shorter workday. It is safe to say that greater progress has been made for the eight-hour workday during the past few months than in any previous time of equal length.

Anthracite miners have also conducted during the past year a campaign for increased membership. This campaign was preparatory to the expiration of their present contract with the anthracite coal operators. The anthracite miners reasoned that they would be in a position to gain better terms when their organization approximates 100 per cent of the miners from the anthracite fields.

The economic strength of the organization determines the bargaining power of that organization. One of the objective points which the anthracite miners included in their demands for the new 1916 contract is the eight-hour workday. They have wisely planned their campaign in advance and have measured their forces, so that they will be in the best position possible to enforce their demands. It is very significant that the gains that have been made in shortening the workday in private industries throughout the country have been fundamentally due to the influence of the economic power in the trade organizations, and have been secured through economic action. Also significant in connection with this is the recommendation of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations: "The regulation by legal enactment of hours of work of adult workmen is not generally practicable or desirable except for public employes." It can not be over-emphasized that the wage-earners must depend upon their economic organizations for securing a shorter workday. This method is not only effective in securing for the workers this fundamental step in their betterment, but it enables them at the same time to maintain their independence and their resourcefulness, together with the right to determine those things which affect the conditions of work under which they must toil.

To secure the shorter workday by any other method makes it necessary for the wage-earners to delegate to other authorities other things which vitally affect them, and which

constitute a limitation upon their activities and their rights, and thus finally lessen their freedom.

The eight-hour workday prevails generally in the following trades:

- Carpenters and Joiners.
- Miners, Coal.
- Printers, Typographical.
- Cigarmakers.
- Granite Cutters.
- Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.
- Plasterers.
- Plumbers and Steamfitters.
- Lathers.
- Tile Layers.
- Roofers, Composition.
- Railroad Telegraphers.
- Stone Cutters.
- Marble Workers.
- Sheet Metal Workers.
- Elevator Constructors.
- Bookbinders.
- Hodcarriers and Building Laborers.
- Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers.
- Cement Workers.
- Compressed Air Workers.
- Steam Engineers (in Building Construction).
- Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.
- Paving Cutters.
- Plate Printers.
- Printing Pressmen.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.
- Asbestos Workers.
- Quarry Workers.
- Miners, Metal.
- Flint Glass Workers.
- Roofers, Slate and Tile.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.
- Stationary Firemen.
- Papermakers.
- Photo-Engravers.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.
- Bricklayers.

Because of the far-reaching importance and effect of the shorter workday upon the material, physical and mental conditions of the working people, we can not too strongly impress upon all wage-earners the necessity to concentrate their chief effort to secure the shorter workday—the general application of at least the eight-hour day.

We, therefore, recommend that all wage-earners—all the toilers of America, unite and make common cause for the attainment of this economic, social, political and moral boon at the earliest possible day. No proposition more sound economically, sociologically and humanely can be adopted than the enforcement of the general eight-hour workday for all the workers engaged upon any field of human endeavor.

LABOR DAY

Labor Day, the one day of the year dedicated to the workers, has become our greatest national holiday. Since the custom was first inaugurated in 1882, Labor Day has grown increasingly in favor until now it is by law a legal holiday in thirty-two states, and by a

federal law. The spirit that characterizes the celebration of this day is one which will maintain it as one of the sacred days of the year. It is a spirit which recognizes the sacredness of life and the infinite value of any instrumentality that brings hope and cheer and opportunity into the lives of all the people. The labor movement of necessity is a movement of those who are not wealthy, of the working people, who, as individuals, have little power or influence in the community, but through organization these workers have been able to press home upon the minds of the community the value of the services they render to civilization and to the upholding of society, and have been able to secure an appreciation of their services manifested in general co-operation for the celebration of Labor Day.

During the past year, the celebration of the day was often more general than before, and was of the most gratifying character. Many of the local labor organizations made that day an opportunity to arouse the spirit of organization and to inaugurate a somewhat extended movement for organization, and in some cases for labor forward campaigns.

The trade union movement has never been willing to give over to other associations or organizations all of the sentiment and the emotions that lift life above the commonplace. The trade union movement, its purposes and its efforts are as broad and as deep and as wide as human life and hope itself. Labor Day has always been mindful of the necessity of stimulating and arousing the emotions that are necessary to the cause. There ought to be opportunity to give outlet to these emotions. Such an opportunity comes in connection with a labor parade, a physical demonstration that expresses the spirit of the workers. There is something deep and vital in that spirit that comes from the steady forward swing of the line of the parade as the workers march on shoulder to shoulder following the line that typifies the banner of humanity.

We sincerely hope and urge that the labor organizations of the country shall strive in every way to maintain the fineness and the strength of the feelings and emotions that are now associated with the labor movement. For this purpose it is necessary to maintain the character of Labor Day celebrations and each year to plan something that shall be even better than the year before.

In connection with this we urge that when Labor Day plans are under consideration, each year the committee shall turn again to the appeal issued by the Executive Council in 1914, that Labor Day celebrations shall never be allowed to deteriorate. There are many who know little about the labor movement except what they may see on Labor Day. It is indeed a wise policy that takes advantage of every opportunity to urge the value, the importance and the power of the organized labor movement.

Of late years the practice has grown to observe the day preceding Labor Day as Labor Sunday with appropriate exercises in the churches of the various communities. This custom affords another opportunity to present the cause of Labor to audiences that may not at other times have an opportunity to learn of the ideals and purposes of Labor.

COLORADO MINE WORKERS

In the Executive Council report to the 1914 convention, the causes and conditions underlying the strike of the Mine Workers in Colorado were given very fully, and have been fully discussed in articles and editorials published in the *American Federationist*, a list of which is given below.* The conditions that existed in Colorado were the same as those existing in other mining districts where miners, through their organization, have not succeeded in freeing themselves from the feudal con-

*The following articles, published in the *American Federationist*, deal with the Colorado situation:

Human Rights Must Be Maintained, March, 1914, page 228.
 Hail Rockefeller, Industrial Imperator, May, 1914, page 396.
 Rockefeller, Industrial Dictator by Divine Right, June, 1914, page 477.
 Organizing Despite the Grim Spectre, June, 1914, page 478.
 Executive Council on Colorado Outrages, June, 1914, page 489.
 Colorado—A Call to Duty, July, 1914, page 559.
 A Protest Against Tyranny, August, 1914, page 636.
 Again Imperator Rockefeller, November, 1914, page 987.
 The Rockefellers Condemned and Doomed by Themselves, January, 1915, page 42.
 Rockefeller Responsible, April, 1915, page 280.
 Lawson a Convict—Rockefeller a Saint, June, 1915, page 413.
 Lawson's Trial—The Infamy of It, July, 1915, page 507.
 The Crime Against Lawson, August, 1915, page 603.
 Rockefeller Organizes and Recognizes "A Union," November, 1915, page 975.

ditions that mine operators maintained through the power of immense contiguous tracts of land. The chief principle for which the Colorado miners contended was recognition of their organization. This demand was determinedly opposed by the mine operators. The principle which the chief and the most powerful of the mine operators enunciated as the position from which he would not recede, was refusal to meet with the representatives of the organized miners. That representative, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., stated his position in the form of his desire to protect the right of his employees to work as they desired and for whomever they desired. Mr. Rockefeller's idea for the welfare of his employees was the right of each man alone and unassociated to maintain and protect his interest in dealing with a mining corporation highly organized, and whose responsible officers are scattered throughout the United States.

Twice during the year of 1914, Mr. Rockefeller gave public testimony of his relations and his position in connection with the Colorado miners' strike; once before the congressional committee and the second time before the Commission on Industrial Relations. In both these hearings he steadfastly declared that his relations with the Colorado mines were purely impersonal; that the officers there had full charge of all policies and operations and merely reported to him finished results. He affirmed that he had implicit confidence in the men selected for these positions, and that in these officers were placed full responsibility and authority in connection with the operation of the mines.

After his hearing in New York before the Commission on Industrial Relations, the correspondence in his office with the Colorado mining officials was turned over to that Commission. This correspondence convinced some of the Commissioners that Mr. Rockefeller's relations to the operation of the Colorado mines had not been impersonal, but that he had been aware of every move made, had participated in the determination of all of the policies of the mine operators, and had kept in touch with all the developments in the mining district. In the correspondence and in the testimony given before the Commission, there was manifest an all prevailing air of fealty toward the chief. Mr. Rockefeller's attitude was that these men were absolutely free and independent to do what they deemed best under the circumstances, but everywhere it was evident that this freedom existed only so long as they were carrying out the purposes of the industrial chief.

At the Washington hearing, the officials of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and others who had direct and intimate knowledge of the situation in the mining regions of Colorado, gave their testimony. The facts produced were startling. The officials gave testimony that showed that the Colorado miners were living under conditions that denied them any genuine freedom and even the rights of American citizens. Perhaps no man in the employ of Mr. Rockefeller shocked sensibilities of justice so much as did Mackenzie King when he frankly stated that there was no force more potent for the establishment of justice in Colorado than the will and the conscience of young Mr. Rockefeller. This statement of a confidential employe cut through the fiction of impersonal relations which Mr. Rockefeller had so carefully attempted to establish. The testimony of the publicity agent of the Rockefellers was equally alarming to those who comprehended the importance of and control over informational agencies in the community. It was evident, as this publicity agent stated, that his work was to get the people to believe in the policies and purposes of the Rockefellers, and his methods revealed that he intended to secure this belief regardless of the truths in the case or the welfare of the people concerned.

The testimony of Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., was of a baffling nature, non-committal, evasive, like the replies of a skilful lawyer who seeks to turn attention from the real issues through consideration of technicalities and insisting upon nice distinctions in regard to trivial and unimportant details. Mr. Rockefeller absolutely refused to recognize the responsibility for personal relations with employes over whose lives he exercised control through the power of his great wealth.

Early in the year 1915 the Colorado miners were forced through hunger and necessity to return to work in the mines upon conditions granted them by the mine operators. The strike had already accomplished some of its purposes for the mine operators were careful not to violate the state laws openly. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company refused to recognize the organizations of the United Mine Workers, but it did agree to the formation of associations of its miners for the purpose of presenting grievances and other matters to the mine operators. This concession, however, was purely nominal and of little value because unions of this nature could not be independent and could not really serve the welfare of the miners. Isolated and denied affiliation with the national organization, they must

necessarily be under the control and domination of the local officials of the company. Until the miners of Colorado have organizations that have equal power with the organizations of their employers, they will not be able to maintain the rights of the miners and secure justice for these workers. Strikes will not cease in Colorado until the miners have recognition for their bona fide trade union organizations and are able to establish and maintain industrial justice.

But this strike of the Colorado miners has not been in vain. It has already put fear into the hearts of the mine operators. With or without the consent of the coal operators of Colorado, the miners will organize.

The unrelenting spirit of the operators and their determination to hold the miners subservient and helpless is manifested in the campaign of persecution that has been inaugurated against the miners who were leaders in the late strike in Colorado. Many of the miners who were prominent in the strike have been arrested on the charge of responsibility for violence and loss of life during the strike, yet not a mine operator has been indicted, although the mine operators assumed the initiative in all violence; although they invoked and controlled the organized force that is supposedly at the service of state authorities for the purpose of maintaining peace, justice, and the laws of the state; although they fortified their mines and brought into the state armed troops to use against the strikers; and they made war upon them.

The courts and the agencies of justice of Colorado have not once recognized or taken official action against violence on the part of the mine operators. On the other hand, more than fifty miners have been indicted because of charges of violence and responsibility for loss of life. That this course against the miners is of the nature of persecution rather than a desire to maintain justice is proven by the preparation of a special tribunal to try these miners.

The legislature of Colorado at its last session appointed an additional judge for the third judicial district, although it was common knowledge that there was not sufficient work in that district to require all of the time of the judge then appointed for the district. The man selected for this additional judgeship was a former employe of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and had been interested in preparing cases against striking miners. Several cases have been tried. The one which attracted the widest attention was the trial of John R. Lawson, who was very prominent during the strike. Judge Granby C. Hillyer refused Lawson a change of venue. The jury which tried Mr. Lawson was chosen according to the vicious system of open venire. Granby C. Hillyer was known to be hostile to organized labor, and it is charged that he openly denounced organized labor and the striking miners, and declared that the strikers were outlaws who should be held in jail incommunicado and denied the writ of habeas corpus.

The miners charged that he had been employed by prosecuting attorney Northcutt to help prepare strike cases which were afterwards brought into his court for trial. The witnesses against John R. Lawson included Lieut. K. E. Linderfeldt, the man who killed Louis Tikas, and was found guilty by a court-martial of unsoldierly conduct, and reprimanded, mine guards, one a Mexican boy, another a Wyoming cowboy and a fugitive from justice, and others who declared that they had been paid to act as bodyguards for the officers of the United Mine Workers.

The jury was under the charge and the supervision of Baliff Frank Gooden, also an ex-mine guard. It was before this "tribunal of justice" that Lawson was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment for life in connection with the death of John Nimmo. No effort was made to show that Lawson was present when Nimmo was killed or had any personal connection with the death of that man. It was merely established that a strike existed and that Lawson was one of the leaders of the strike. The mine operators endeavored to establish the principle that a strike leader can be held responsible for all acts of violence arising in connection with the strike, whether committed in his presence or in his absence, with or without his knowledge or sanction.

A storm of protest has gone up from American workers and from all citizens who have regard for justice and for institutions of freedom. The maintenance of the principle affirmed in the trial of John R. Lawson would render many efforts of workers to resist industrial injustice and to protect themselves, a peril to their very existence and liberty. American citizens can not afford to allow this decision to stand as a precedent in American law. It is a principle subversive to industrial justice and freedom. Organized workers, under the leadership of the A. F. of L. and the United Mine Workers of America, have conducted a protest campaign against the Lawson decision.

Public protest meetings and various other demonstrations have been held in practically all of the large cities and the mining communities of the country. These meetings have adopted resolutions of protest, which have been forwarded to those officially responsible for the condition of affairs in Colorado and to those in a position to influence the situation there. There are similar charges against other miners of Colorado upon which they will be tried.

The trials of four miners have already taken place. These are Louis Zancanelli, David Robb, Ben Richardson, and John R. Lawson. After two trials Louis Zancanelli was convicted. An appeal was taken in his case, and a stay of execution of his sentence has been granted until the court acts upon a petition for a new trial. The attention of the Supreme Court of Colorado was called to the prejudice and manifest bias of Judge Granby Hillyer, and the court has summoned Judge Hillyer to appear before it, and to show why he should not be prohibited from hearing the cases against the Colorado miners. The court barred Judge Hillyer from sitting in any of these cases. When this matter was pending, when John R. Lawson asked for a new trial, Judge Hillyer, instead of referring the matter to a judge whose judicial attitude was not under consideration or else deferring decision upon Lawson's appeal until the Supreme Court of Colorado had acted, immediately denied Lawson another trial, although the reasons presented for Lawson's petition were numerous and of a very serious character. Pending the disposition of his appeal, Lawson is out on bail.

HATTERS' CASE

On January 5, 1915, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its decision in the case of *Lawler vs. Loewe*, thereby terminating an action that had been pending in the federal courts for more than eleven years. The decision of the Supreme Court reaffirms the principle embodied in all of its other rulings upon this case, the principle that the labor power of employees is a commodity in which employers have a property right. By applying this principle to the Danbury Hatters' case, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust law included associations of human workers organized for their mutual benefit and protection. Since the Sherman Antitrust law was intended to deal only with restraints of commerce, that is, with the commodities in which trade and commerce deal, only by holding labor power to be a commodity, could organizations of workers be deemed in any way a restraint of commerce.

The only power which an organization of workers has, comes through their physical and mental powers—their creative ability. Since these powers are a part of the individual and inseparable from the living body, they can not constitute a commodity or articles of commerce. Yet, in its decision, the Supreme Court of the United States held that a combination or conspiracy existed within the meaning of the Sherman Antitrust law. As proof of this conspiracy of the United Hatters, the court briefly pointed out the efforts of the United Hatters' organization to secure union standards and conditions in the hat-making industry and asserted that the defendants and the other members of the United Hatters caused the American Federation of Labor to declare a boycott against Loewe and Company, and against all hats manufactured by this company wherever they might be for sale. This statement of the Supreme Court is directly contradictory to the facts and the testimony given by the officers of the A. F. of L. in this case. The A. F. of L. did not endorse and did not declare a boycott against D. E. Loewe and Company. That firm was never published in the "We Don't Patronize List" of the *American Federationist*.

The Supreme Court for the first time applied to associations of workers the rule of law set forth in the *Eastern States Retail Lumber Dealers' Association vs. United States*, 234 U. S., 600. It declared that—

"irrespective of compulsion or even agreements to observe its intimation, 'the circulation of a list of unfair dealers,' manifestly intended to put the ban upon those whose names appear therein, among an important body of possible customers combined with a view to joint action and in anticipation of such reports, is within the prohibitions of the Sherman Act if it is intended to restrain and restrains commerce among the states."

In this decision the Supreme Court again emphasizes the principle underlying its determination of this case, that the labor power of a human being is identical with the thing

that he produces, that it is a commodity or article of commerce. It is a principle that is revolting to and totally at variance with humanitarian ideals. However miserable or inefficient a worker may be, yet the creative force of his brain, muscles and nerves is something of a totally different character from the wood and coal and stone upon which he works. It is the difference between the inanimate thing, the dead thing, and the living human personality. However lowly, there is something sacred and infinitely wonderful about human life.

The Supreme Court cites as further evidence of conspiracy on the part of the United Hatters certain purposes avowed in their constitution, namely, "the directors are to use all the means in their power to bring shops not under our jurisdiction into the trade. The by-laws provide separate funds to be kept for strikes, lockouts and agitation for the union label. Members are forbidden to sell non-union hats." Here again, as in the ruling of 1908, the Supreme Court holds that the effectiveness of trade unions in establishing union standards and union conditions constitutes proof of a conspiracy in restraint of trade. In other words, the Supreme Court held that effective strong associations of workers successful in carrying out their purposes, constitute in themselves an illegal conspiracy and could be proceeded against under the Sherman Antitrust law.

In its decision, as stated above, the Supreme Court said, "members are forbidden to sell non-union hats." Just how the Supreme Court reached that determination is unknown, for there was not a particle of evidence in the testimony given in this case, or in any of the records of the organization, or elsewhere, to show that the members of the Hatters' Union were forbidden to sell non-union hats, or sell any other kind of hats. Members of the United Hatters' organization are engaged in the production of hats, and have absolutely nothing to do with the selling. This misstatement is of the same character as the assertion that the A. F. of L. had been using its organization for the purpose of conducting a campaign to boycott the Loewe hats. The suit against the Danbury Hatters gave such wide publicity to the refusal of D. E. Loewe and Company to establish union conditions in their factories, that the whole organized labor movement throughout the country was well aware of the attitude of D. E. Loewe and Company and naturally did not wish to expend their wages in such a way as to benefit the enemies of organized labor. The Loewe suit acted as a self-instituted boycott.

The Supreme Court held that those members of local unions who paid their dues and delegated authority to their officers were personally responsible for the actions of those officers, even though they might not be aware of the specific measures which they took. Even the members who were not in the habit of attending union meetings were held jointly liable for the damage resulting to D. E. Loewe and Company. The Supreme Court ruled that there was no error in the admission of evidence in the trial, and that it was proper to include in the award the losses accruing since the action had begun where such damages were the consequences of acts performed prior to the commencement of the suit. By this decision of the highest judicial tribunal of the land, the Danbury Hatters were to pay D. E. Loewe and Company \$252,000 in damages because Loewe had not been able to sell his hats. This sum, together with the interest accruing, amounted to something over \$300,000. When the case was instituted the bank deposits and the homes of the Danbury Hatters were attached.

After the decision of the Supreme Court, D. E. Loewe and Company instituted proceedings to take over the bank deposits and the little homes of the Danbury Hatters. Some of these men were too old to work. Several had died during the course of the trial; others had suffered loss and hardships because their property was tied up pending the decision of the court in the case. The attorneys for D. E. Loewe and Company at once took steps to press payment of award.

The matter was brought before the Executive Council at our January meeting. After discussing the matter very fully with the attorneys in the case and the officers of the United Hatters, we reached the following decision:

"The E. C., while feeling that a great injustice has been done the Hatters, finds that despite that feeling, the A. F. of L. has neither the means nor authority to pay the award of the damages in whole or in part. The suit was brought by the Loewe Company against the Hatters; later when the United Hatters of North America were financially unable to bear the expense of defending the case in the courts up to and including the appeals to the highest courts of our land, the A. F.

of L. pledged itself to aid financially in the legal procedure. This pledge, contained in the resolution adopted by the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L., has been fully performed. In addition to bearing the legal expenses of the trials and appeals in this case, amounting to \$98,756.02, the A. F. of L. by its activities growing out of the necessity as developed in the Hatters' case, has secured the enactment of the labor provisions of the Clayton Antitrust law October 15, 1914. This law precludes the possibility of any similar suit being maintained in the federal courts for the exercise of normal activities as performed by the Hatters when such activities have been performed since the enactment of the law, and thus the A. F. of L. has performed its full duties to the Hatters and to all Labor in the premises."

Inasmuch as it is common knowledge that the framers of the Sherman Antitrust Act never intended that that law should apply to organizations of workers, we felt that the last decision of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case was a most serious injustice. We felt that the Danbury Hatters were the innocent victims of the government; that this injustice was brought about because the members of the United States Congress had been unable to write a law that clearly expressed their purposes, or else because the federal judiciary had consciously or unconsciously interpreted a law of the United States to mean something different from what the lawmakers had intended. Whether the fault lay with Congress, or with the judiciary, the consequences of the mistake ought not to fall on the Danbury Hatters. This position was further strengthened by the action of Congress in enacting the labor sections of the Clayton Act, declaring that antitrust legislation does not apply to wage-earners. It was, therefore, deemed a serious injustice to impose upon the Danbury Hatters threefold damages because either Congress or the federal judiciary had erred. For this reason the Danbury Hatters presented a petition to Congress asking that the award against them should be met by a special appropriation by Congress, and thus the federal government should assume the consequence for the mistake made by either Congress or the judiciary. This petition was presented to the five congressmen from Connecticut who separately presented it to the House of Representatives.

The petition was referred to the House Committee on Appropriations. The petition recited the history of the proceedings against the Danbury Hatters and presented the reasons why the Danbury Hatters ought not to be made to pay the award against them, and further argued that since the Congress of the United States had, by legislative enactment, already endeavored to correct the injustice that had arisen in connection with the application of the Sherman Antitrust law to organizations of wage-earners, and had passed the Clayton Act which specifically repudiated the principle underlying the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case, and had enacted in a declaratory form the principle that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, that it was clearly the purpose of Congress to remedy such injustice, and to limit the application of trust legislation to combinations of persons in dealing in articles and commodities and to capitalistic monopolies.

On February 20, 1915, President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, Judge Alton B. Parker, President Scully, and Secretary Lawlor of the United Hatters, and some of the oldest members of the Danbury Union had a hearing before the House Appropriation Committee in which they argued in behalf of the petition they had presented to Congress. However, either because they were too pressed with work to consider the petition, or for some other reason, the House Appropriation Committee failed to report the appropriation. When this effort failed, the interests that had been foremost in prosecuting the Danbury Hatters' case begun a campaign of publicity for the purpose of discrediting the position of the A. F. of L. in order to create the impression that the trade union movement had repudiated its pledges and failed to stand back of the union membership. Its real purpose was to accomplish, through creating a public sentiment, something that it could not accomplish legally; that is, to get at the union treasury.

Since the trade unions are not incorporated, the Antiboycott Association could not legally levy upon the union funds. Then too the impression was general that by seizing the bank deposits of the Danbury Hatters, and by selling their little homes, D. E. Loewe would not be able to realize the full amount of damages awarded. However, this campaign of misrepresentation of the Antiboycott Association was not successful. D. E. Loewe and Company, although bankrupt, was not anxious to claim the Shylock award. After

several weeks, the bank deposits of the Hatters were taken over and their houses advertised for sale.

This last decision of the Supreme Court in the Hatters' case was additional confirmation of the necessity for securing Labor's demands for the repeal or the amendment of the Sherman Antitrust Act. It completely justified Labor's contentions and its political campaign for a remedial legislation. It proved again that, according to the interpretation of the United States Supreme Court as placed upon the Sherman Antitrust Act, the very existence of organizations of workers was in danger. However, in the meanwhile, the workers had been successful in their efforts to secure a change in trust legislation by the enactment of the Clayton Antitrust law.

The organizations of workers are exempt from the application of trust legislation and the principle is specifically recognized that the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. This principle forbids the classification of association of workers organized for their mutual welfare and controlling nothing but their labor power under the same category as organizations organized for the purpose of controlling and manipulating products and commodities. Under other sections of the Clayton Act, activities necessary to perform the work of trade unions are recognized as lawful, and courts are forbidden to hold them to be violations of any law of the United States. In the opinion of former Attorney General George W. Wickersham, had the Clayton Act been then in force, it seems clear that the acts of the Hatters would not have been illegal. Although some workers have suffered great injustice through the Danbury Hatters' case, that case has resulted in the enactment of a law that contains the most far-reaching principle that has ever been endorsed by any law-making body of the world.

At the September meeting of the E. C., President John W. Scully and Secretary Martin Lawlor appeared before us and stated that they had received an order from the District court of the United States to appear on or before the 20th day of October, 1915, in regard to the payment of the award against the United Hatters or the homes of the Hatters would be taken over. They further stated that their attorneys advised them that the time could possibly be extended until the last of January or the first of February of next year. The officers of the Hatters stated that the following action had been adopted at their last convention:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States did enact certain legislation, commonly known as the Sherman Antitrust law, which was intended to apply to combinations of capital, and not to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, It was not known until the question had been submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States whether or not said law did apply to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, Said Supreme Court has held said law applicable to labor unions, and in consequence thereof certain of the members of this organization have been held legally liable under said law, and a judgment has been recovered against them by D. E. Loewe and Co., which will probably result in the loss of the savings of years, and in many cases, in the loss of homes; and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of this organization, said members, though held legally wrong, were guilty of no moral wrong, and it is reasonable and proper that this organization should relieve in as far as possible, the distress of the members affected by said judgment, and make comfortable their declining years; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this organization denies the statement oft repeated by D. E. Loewe and Co., and the attorney for the Antiboycott Society, that this organization has agreed with any one to pay the judgment in this case, and hereby declares it to be our purpose not to apply any of the funds of this organization, or any funds we may receive for the relief of our members, to the payment or satisfaction of this judgment; but that this organization pledges its assistance to the members affected by said judgment, and

Resolved, Further, that an assessment of 1 per centum on the dollar of the weekly earnings of the members of this organization be, and the same is hereby, assessed and levied, and 25 cents per month be levied on members working outside of the hatting industry, to be collected, as other assessments are collected on and after the first day in July, and that the money realized therefrom shall constitute a fund to be used and employed by the officers of this organization in such

manner as they may deem best for the relief and benefit of said members affected by said judgment; and

Resolved, further, that the officers and directors of this organization be, and they are hereby, authorized, empowered and directed to appeal to the A. F. of L., and to labor and other organizations, for assistance and contributions to said fund for the purpose aforesaid.

It is not within our power to say what action of a voluntary character the American labor movement may take, but we affirm that the A. F. of L. has performed its full duty to the Hatters in this case, and performed a most important service to the workers of our time and for all time, in obtaining the enactment of the labor provisions of the Clayton Antitrust law.

DETECTIVE AGENCIES AND PSEUDO EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Patience is a virtue. But wrongs, injustice and denial of rights deserve neither patience nor tolerance.

The working people of the United States—organized and unorganized—are wonderfully patient; they have been blacklisted, jailed, robbed, and killed. Unscrupulous employers have mistreated them in every way ingenuity can devise. The lust for more profit and power has ruined mentally, physically, and morally many men, who unfortunately for themselves and others are known as employers of labor. Large employers of labor and many small employers have during recent years delegated part of their own legitimate functions to other concerns. They have surrendered the actual management of their affairs to outside parties. They have been deceived and robbed through impositions upon their credulity by scheming agencies labeled "information bureaus," "secret service companies," "detective agencies," "auditors and inspection companies," and other concerns representing themselves as employment agencies.

At the thirty-fourth annual convention delegate Griffin of the International Seamen's Union introduced Resolution No. 7; Delegate McPherson of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union introduced Resolution No. 68. The purpose of both those resolutions was to secure the enactment of state and national legislation, limiting the activities of detective agencies to the tracing of crime and criminals and preventing them from furnishing strike-breakers and armed guards to employers during labor disputes. The Committee on Resolutions in its report offered the following as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 7 and 68, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, instructed to appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to prepare and submit to the Executive Council a report upon the activities of private detective agencies whose services are secured by employers to prevent trade union organization, destroy it where it exists, if possible, and serve as mercenaries during industrial disputes, and that upon receipt of this report the Executive Council shall cause to be prepared a measure or measures to be introduced in Congress and in state legislatures, which will prevent the granting of federal or state licenses to any private detective agency whose employers can be secured in any effort to disrupt or prevent trade union growth, or serve in any capacity as strike-breaking agencies.

The committee appointed by President Gompers submits this report.

Through the *American Federationist*, publicity has been given to the machinations of several detective associations, including the close relations of the National Manufacturers' Association and other employers' organizations with such detective concerns. The following are some of the articles which have appeared:

"Pinkertonism and Organized Labor"—"Bergoff Detective Bureau" (Pages 673 to 675 American Federationist, September, 1907).

In the *American Federationist* for January, 1909, under the caption "Labor Secrets Exposed," page 49, I showed the close alliance between the "Manufacturers' Information Bureau" of Cleveland, Ohio, with the late President of the

National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. J. W. Van Cleave. This same subject was continued in the March, 1909, issue of the *American Federationist*, page 230, entitled "Turner, Van Cleave's Detective, Exposed;" and again, on page 429 of the May, 1909, issue, I furnished replicas of President Van Cleave's correspondence with the Manufacturers' Information Bureau. (This concern being more generally known as the Turner Detective Agency.)

During numerous hearings before the House and Senate Committees on the Judiciary, the President of the A. F. of L. has several times offered as evidence material which showed the character of the private detective agencies fostered and supported by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Founders' Association, the National Metal Trades Association, the National Erectors' Association, and other similar organizations of employers. The President of the International Molders' Union, the editor of the *Iron Molders' Journal*, and the President of the A. F. of L. on August 13, 1912, before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, offered incriminating evidence, compiled from court records, showing the lawless methods of employers connected with the Founders' Association. On January 6 and 10, 1913, at another hearing before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, the President of the A. F. of L. introduced official evidence from the United States Department of Justice, showing the close alliance between the Burns Detective Agency and the employers, and incorporated in his statement copies of the original letters from the Bergoff Detective Agency to railroad officials, and the personal correspondence which passed between J. K. Turner of the Manufacturers' Information Bureau, Cleveland, Ohio, and Mr. James W. Van Cleave, late president of the National Association of Manufacturers. Similar material also had been placed in the hands of Senators and Representatives for use when making speeches on labor measures in which this material would be appropriate.

On January 22, 1915, before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations in New York City, President Gompers submitted detailed testimony concerning activities of the employment and detective agencies. Particular attention was called to the R. J. Coach Secret Service Company of Cleveland, Ohio, and many passages were read into the record from an advance copy of the booklet issued by that secret service concern.

A survey in brief of some of the momentous struggles of Labor in which the notorious strike-breaking detective agencies have taxed the patience of the workers to the most extreme limits is now presented.

Chicago, Ill.—Packing house and Harvester Company employes, eight-hour strike, 1886.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Waterbury, Conn.

St. Louis, Mo.

Detroit, Mich.

Chicago, Ill.

Philadelphia, Pa.

New York City.

San Francisco, Cal.

Indianapolis, Ind., and many others.

} Various street car strikes, dating from 1890 to 1914.

Chicago, Ill.—Building trades strike and lockout, 1890 and 1892.

Homestead, Penn.—Iron and Steel Workers' strike, 1892.

Chicago, Ill., and many other western cities—Pullman and A. R. U. strikes, 1894.

West Virginia.—Coal miners' strike, 1897.

Coeur D'Alene, Idaho.—Metal miners' strike, 1899.

Pennsylvania Anthracite coal miners' strikes, 1900 and 1902.

New York City.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Rochester, N. Y.

Baltimore, Md.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Chicago, Ill.

} Garment Workers' efforts to improve conditions, dating from 1900 to 1914.

Machinists' general strike, 1901, to secure nine-hour day.

Leadville and Cripple Creek Metal Miners' strikes, 1880, 1894, 1896, 1899, 1901.

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| Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad. | } | Efforts of Order of Railway Telegraphers to improve conditions for telegraphers, dating from 1902 to 1911. |
| Santa Fe Railroad. | | |
| Great Northern Railroad. | | |
| Northern Pacific Railroad and others. | | |
| Union Pacific Railroad. | } | Various strikes and lockouts of railroad shop employes, dating from 1902 to 1914. |
| Santa Fe Railroad. | | |
| Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. | | |
| Illinois Central Railroad. | | |
| The Harriman Railroad Lines. | | |
| Pennsylvania Railroad and others. | | |
| Colorado metal miners' strike to enforce state eight-hour law, 1903 and 1904. | | |
| Los Angeles, Cal.—Continued obstacles by detective agencies to work of organizers sent to that city, dating from 1903 to 1914. | | |
| Colorado coal miners' strike, 1904. | | |
| Colorado coal miners' strike for right to organize, 1914. | | |
| Chicago.—Packing houses and teamsters' strikes, 1905. | | |
| Printers' general strike, 1906, to secure eight-hour day. | | |
| Molders' general strike, 1906, to secure nine-hour day. | | |
| Alabama coal miners' strike, 1907-8. | | |
| Chicago and other lake ports; difficulties of seamen to maintain their organization, 1908. | | |
| Ellwood, Ind. | } | Sheet and Tin Millmen's strike to retain organization in the United States steel companies plants, 1909. |
| New Castle, Pa. | | |
| New Kensington, Pa. | | |
| Monessen, Pa. | | |
| Morgantown, W. Va. | | |
| Wheeling, W. Va. | | |
| Bridgeport, Ohio, and other localities. | | |
| Muscataine, Iowa.—Button Workers' strike for the right to organize, 1911 and 1912. | | |
| Hopedale, Mass.—Jute Workers' strike, 1911. | | |
| Kalamazoo, Mich.—Corset Workers' strike for right to organize, 1912. | | |
| Black Hills, S. Dak., lockout of Metal Miners to disrupt organization, 1912. | | |
| Lawrence, Mass.—Textile Workers' strike, 1912. | | |
| Akron, Ohio.—Rubber Workers' strike for right to organize, 1913. | | |
| Paterson, N. J.—Silk Workers' strike against increased work without increased pay, 1913. | | |
| Michigan.—Copper Miners' strikes for better working conditions, 1913. | | |
| West Virginia.—Coal Miners' strike for better conditions, 1913. | | |
| Stockton, Cal.—General strike to resist aggressions of employers, 1914. | | |
| De Pew, N. Y.—Strike of employes in Gould's Coupler Works in 1914. | | |
| Roosevelt, N. J.—Strike of Chemical Works employes against reduction of wages 1915. | | |

The above survey is by no means a complete list of the struggles of the workers to obtain better working conditions, but will serve in this report to concentrate thought upon some of the most stirring epochs of Labor's struggles, in which the workers had to face the treachery, cruelty of spies, informers, sluggers and gunmen in the employ of the following so-called detective agencies, but which should be more properly termed "organized strike-breaking organizations." These organizations were mischiefmakers who aroused hostility and incited to violence.

Strike-Breaking Detective Agencies

- Waddell-Mahon, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
- Bergoff Brothers, 1451 Broadway, New York City.
- The Ascher Detective Agency, No. 1345 Broadway, New York City.
- The Lawrence Secret Service Agency, No. 1232 Twenty-third Street, New York City.
- The Universal Secret Service Bureau, 80 Wall Street, New York City.
- The Drummond's Detective Agency, New York City and Chicago, Ill.
- The Burns Detective Agency, New York and Chicago.
- Pinkerton Detective Agency, New York and Chicago.

The Standard Secret Service Agency, No. 697 Canton Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
 The B. and N. Secret Service Company, Manager W. J. McMichael, 403 Chamber of Commerce Building, Detroit, Mich.
 The National Detective Agency, No. 54 LaFayette Building, Detroit, Mich.
 The Toronto Detective Agency, No. 62 McGraw Building, Detroit, Mich.
 The Murphy-McDonnell Secret Service Company, 320 Free Press Building, Detroit, Mich.
 Western Construction Company, Monadnock Block, Chicago, Ill.
 Seagrove Christianson Company, Chicago, Ill.
 The International Secret Service Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.
 The Thiele Detective Service Company, Chicago, Ill.
 Mooney & Boland, D. A., Chicago, Ill.
 Burton Detective Agency, Cleveland, Ohio.
 The R. J. Coach Agency, of Cleveland, Ohio. (This is sometimes printed as "Coats," and sometimes as "Koch.")
 The Secret Service Company, Columbia Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Consolidated Manufacturing Company, Geo. Schoenbach, Manager, Cleveland, Ohio.
 The Manufacturers Information Bureau Company, J. K. Turner, President, Cleveland, Ohio, known as the Turner Agency.
 The Sherman Detective Agency, 16 State Street, Boston, Mass.
 The Bradford Detective Service, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.
 The Railroad Auditors and Inspection Company of Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hamilton Detective Agency, Pittsburg, Pa.
 Baldwin-Feltz, Indianapolis, Ind.
 National Founders' Association.
 National Metal Trades Association.
 National Erectors' Association.
 National Association of Manufacturers.

At the Norfolk, Va., Convention of 1907, the President of the A. F. of L. made a special report concerning the efforts made by the agents of former President James Van Cleave, of the National Association of Manufacturers, to corrupt or destroy him personally. That statement was afterwards corroborated during the Mulhall investigation by committees of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, in 1913.

Men have been sent by these agencies to watch every movement of the President of the A. F. of L. at conventions, and while attending to other special duties of the Federation, in the same way in which they have harassed the activities of officers and other representatives of affiliated organizations.

Subtle efforts have been made by men who have represented that they were discharged employes of certain detective agencies and certain manufacturers' associations, hoping that by exposing the machinations of such organizations to be able to secure employment with the A. F. of L. or some of its affiliated organizations.

Methods Employed by Agencies

Organized strike-breaking aggregations are quite resourceful, but most of them follow similar methods. Appealing letters and craftily worded circulars are addressed to employers. The fear of employers is touched in an effort to convince them that they are being cheated and robbed by all their employes, including even their most trusted foremen, superintendents and general managers. These detective agencies prey upon the weakness inherent to human nature. They play especially upon the "terrors of the unknown" latent suspicions, trade jealousies, and personal envy. They endeavor to persuade employers that their "expert detective agencies" can discover leaks in business—waste of material—inefficient management—irregular personal conduct and habits of trusted employes. They vouch for the infallibility of the eagle-eyed agents they persuade employers to engage—for a price. They adroitly phrase appeals to engage their service so as to arouse the fear that awful possibilities will follow the alliance of their employes with the labor organizations. They undertake to ferret out the active spirits in the shops and factories who show an independent trend of mind, or who in an unguarded moment, might talk too freely concerning the rights of a citizen. Of course, such men are instantly spotted for discharge. Employers on many occasions have been

credulous and thoughtless in discharging some of the most expert help in their employ after receiving reports from the spies and spotters placed in their establishments by the detective agencies. Of course, in very few of these instances of discharge is there any opportunity for the outraged employee to obtain a hearing. It is useless for him to appeal. The spotter's word is taken for granted without question.

In their circulars they always picture the organizations of labor in the vilest language, and attribute to them the most outrageous lawless conduct. If the employer would use the common sense with which the ordinary human being is endowed, he would know that the employes whom he had in his service would not instantly change from decent civil citizens to become property destroyers after they had shown a disposition to organize.

The detective agencies play a double game. They work upon the sensibilities of many innocent, honest workmen whose services they secure. They keep constant but ambiguous advertisements in the cosmopolitan newspapers. When they are in need of men for service in special trades they specify the occupation. Frequently they will boldly advertise for men and include "none but union men need apply." When applicants answer they are given the address of an office where they are met, ushered into a private office before a superintendent or a general manager, who questions them in various ways, almost always to impress upon such applicants the idea of taking advantage of the "exceptional opportunity" to advance their position in life, or, a great honor it is for them to be selected to be entrusted with such responsible duties, and how prospective employers will give the applicant special personal attention. Every flattering appeal is made to the weakness or necessity of the person seeking the advertised job.

These agencies have by this means secured the services of many innocent men and, not infrequently, men who have records of faithfulness and honor among their associates. After they secured control over these poor fellows, they made their lives miserable by insisting upon daily reports from the shop in which they are sent to work among fellow workers and, of course, all such reports must contain statements showing the alertness of the now victim agent in his ability to see errors of management, of conduct, of workers, and other supposed "irregularities" in the place where he is employed.

The members of unions they succeed in engaging are urged to become boisterous and radical in expression; they urge them to hold office in the local unions, so as to be able to get access to the complete records, and the financial accounts of the unions, as well as to the finances themselves. They instill into them a fault-finding spirit so that they can harass and annoy the honest, earnest worker in the union who is trying to make progress steadily and rationally. They exert their agents to provoke and incite strikes. During such strikes they play the part of *agents provocateurs*, that is, to advocate loudly that the men on strike use force and resort to unlawful conduct; and secretly offer to lead in any such efforts. The mere fact that such a course has been "talked" at strikers' meetings, though it be by the detective agent alone, is enough for his secret report to the agency and the employers. By such means they open up another opportunity to have "more detectives" employed as sluggers and gunmen in case a strike ensues. It is, therefore, patent to any ordinary observer, that these mischief-making, strike-breaking agencies take the meanest advantages of employers and workers. They arouse fears and incite unnecessary troubles—all for the purpose of obtaining money from the employers themselves, as well as to create confusion among, and hardships for, the workers.

Political Activities of Strike-Breaking Agencies

In many cities where industrial troubles have arisen these detective agencies have apparently made in advance some satisfactory arrangements with mayors, sheriffs, chiefs of police, and city attorneys. It has been the experience of Labor's representatives and members that they could not secure fair, impartial treatment or protection from the city officials.

Sluggers and gunmen have freely carried their weapons of assault without let or hindrance by city and sometimes by state officials; whereas, striking employes or associates and sympathetic neighbors are immediately hauled into court and subjected to penalties if they carried any instrument for self-protection. These matters are well known. Everybody seems to know that these conditions prevail, but it has been impossible to have any proper exposure through the public press, unless, perchance, some poor union man should

in a moment of extreme provocation defend himself, and then the newspapers team with appeals for "law and order," which in their vernacular mean nothing but brutal suppression of a strike no matter how lawfully it may be conducted. Well known resident labor men have been frequently arrested in many cities without warrants, but thugs and sluggers may go to cities as absolute strangers and are permitted to roam at will, armed to the teeth, and when residents of the cities insist upon such men being disarmed or arrested the officers often refuse even to search such disreputable characters.

Remedies

The time has arrived when this wrong to working people can no longer be endured. We must secure remedies to abate, abolish or regulate the detective nuisance by effective state and national legislation.

Before presenting any propositions, attention should be called to the fact that nine states and one territory have enacted laws restraining the hiring of armed guards by employers. Those states are: Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Massachusetts, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Washington, Wisconsin, and the Territory of Alaska. These laws are generally similar in character.

The first state to enact such a law was Illinois. The whole law is herewith reproduced, the section relating to armed guards being section 51:

Labor Laws of Illinois—Hurd's Revised Statutes—1906

Chapter 48.—Employment of Labor—False representations, etc.

False Statements by Employers, etc.

Section 49. It shall be unlawful for any person, persons, company, corporation, society, association, or organization of any kind doing business in this state, by himself, themselves, his, its or their agents or attorneys, to induce, influence, persuade or engage workmen to change from one place to another in this state, or to bring workmen of any class or calling into this state to work in any of the departments of labor in this state, through or by means of false or deceptive representations, false advertising or false pretenses concerning the kind and character of the work to be done, or amount and character of the compensation to be paid for such work, or the sanitary or other conditions of the employment or as to the existence or nonexistence of a strike, or other trouble, pending between employer and employees, at the time of or prior to such engagement.

Notice of Strike

Failure to state in any advertisement, proposal or contract for the employment of workmen that there is a strike, lockout or other labor troubles at the place of the proposed employment, when in fact such strike, lockout or other labor trouble then actually exists at such place, shall be deemed as false advertisement and misrepresentation for the purposes of this act.

Penalty

Section 50. Any person or persons, company, corporation, society, association or organization of any kind doing business in this state, as well as his, their or its agents, attorneys, servants or associates found guilty of violating section 1 (49) of this act, or any part thereof, shall be fined not exceeding \$2,000 or confined in the county jail not exceeding one year, or both where the defendant or defendants is or are a natural person or persons

Hiring Armed Guards

Section 51. Any person or persons who shall, in this or another state, hire, aid, abet or assist in hiring, through agencies or otherwise, persons to guard with arms or deadly weapons of any kind other persons or property in this state, or

any person or persons who shall come into this state armed with deadly weapons of any kind for any such purpose, without a permit in writing from the governor of this state, shall be guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not less than one year nor more than five years: Provided, That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to interfere with the right of any person, persons or company, corporation, society, association or organization in guarding or protecting their private property or private interests as is now provided by law; but this act shall be construed only to apply in cases where workmen are brought into this state or induced to go from one place to another in this state, by any false pretenses, false advertising or deceptive representations, or brought into this state under arms or removed from one place to another in this state under arms.

Recovery of Damages

Section 52. Any workman of this state, or any workman of another state, who has, or shall be influenced, induced or persuaded to engage with any persons mentioned in section 1 (49) of this act, through or by means of any of the things therein prohibited, each of such workmen shall have a right of action for recovery of all damages that each (of) such workmen has sustained in consequence of the false or deceptive representations, false advertising and false pretenses used to induce him to change his place of employment, against any person or persons, corporations, companies or associations, directly or indirectly, causing such damages; and, in addition to all actual damages such workmen may have sustained, shall be entitled to recover such reasonable attorney's fees as the court shall fix to be taxed as costs in any judgment recovered.

Court Decision

The provision requiring notice of strike and providing penalty and damages in case of failure is unconstitutional. 94 N. E., 945.

Representative Baltz of Illinois introduced bill H. R. 13002 in the House of Representatives on February 5, 1914. It was referred to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, but no action was taken by that Committee on the proposed measure. The bill follows:

"A bill to prevent the transportation by interstate carriers of certain persons and articles for the alleged prevention of so-called labor troubles."

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That on and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any railway, steamship company, or any other common carrier engaged in interstate business to carry or transport into any state or territory any men hired or engaged, or seeking to be so hired or engaged, as strike-breakers, so called, for the purpose of assisting in or interfering with any labor trouble or strikes.

"Sec. 2 That it shall also be unlawful for any railroad, steamship or other company engaged in interstate business to transport, handle, or carry any arms or ammunition into any state or territory for the purpose of arming or assisting in arming or equipping such so-called strike-breakers.

"Sec. 3. That a violation of this act by any railroad, steamship, or other company engaged in interstate business as a common carrier shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$1,000 and imprisonment not to exceed one year. Said fine and imprisonment to be imposed on the president, manager, and other officers of the said interstate carrier, individually, who may be found guilty of a violation hereof.

"Sec. 4. That this act shall not apply to the organized militia of any state or territory, the officers or men of the United States Army, or to any duly organized and uniformed police force having jurisdiction of the territory embraced within such labor strike or trouble.

"Sec. 5. That all laws or parts of laws inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed."

Senator Martine of New Jersey, July 14, 1913, introduced in the Senate bill S. 2741 which was shorter than the Baltz measure, and is as follows:

"A bill making it unlawful for individuals, corporations, or associations to employ armed men or bodies of armed men on their premises for any purpose.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any individual, corporation, or association of any kind or character whatsoever to employ, or cause to be employed, armed men or bodies of armed men on their premises for any purposes whatsoever: Provided, That for every violation of the provisions of this act the party or parties responsible for such violation shall be liable to a fine of not less than \$5,000 or imprisonment for one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court."

During the consideration of the Alaska Coal Land bill in the United States Senate, Senator Martine of New Jersey, offered the following amendment to that act:

"No lessee of any coal or other lands in Alaska shall employ, hire or permit on their premises or lands so leased, armed bodies of men commonly known as 'mine guards,' under penalty of \$5,000 and two years imprisonment in jail."

Senator Martine defended his proposition with great vigor, but the Senate rejected it.

During the 52nd Congress (after the Homestead strike in which the Pinkertons were notoriously active) a select committee of seven Senators was appointed on August 3, 1892, to investigate and report upon "what legislation, if any, is necessary to prevent further unlawful use or employment of such armed bodies of men or other similar armed bodies for private purposes." That committee consisting of Senators Gallinger, Peffer, Hansbrough, Felton, Sanders, White, and Hill, reported to the Senate on February 10, 1893. Among other things, it stated that "there were at that time in the city of Chicago at least fifteen different detective agencies and firms. Some of them confine their operations to detective business, others furnish partolmen to protect private property during the night while a few of them add to that kind of work the business of supplying armed men on occasions of strikes on railroads, in mines and in manufacturing establishments."

Detective Robert A. Pinkerton testified that his agency did not ask the right to send armed men from their offices in New York or Chicago to the scene of a strike, because it "would be illegal at common law to send armed bodies of men through any particular state, or from one state to another because of the tendency of such armed bodies to terrorize the community." Further, during his testimony he contended that it was, however, entirely legal and proper to send arms and ammunition ahead, as was done at Homestead, arm the men at their destination, put them in control of the property which they are to guard, subject to the orders of the men in command.

By this method openly admitted by Pinkerton in 1892, the detective agencies have taken their cue. The Senate Committee making this investigation stated that "it becomes a nice question whether they (the detective agencies) can legally accomplish by indirection what they can not directly do; whether the transportation of arms in one car and the men in another is less violative of the spirit of the law than the transportation of the men with the arms at their side."

The committee reached conclusions on nine points upon the general subject of their investigation. The conclusions dealing with the questions of private armed bodies were as follows:

"Whether assumedly legal or not, the employment of armed bodies of men for private purposes, either by employers or employes, is to be deprecated and should not be resorted to. Such use of private armed men is an assumption of the state's authority by private citizens. If the state is incapable of protecting its citizens in their rights of person and property then anarchy is the result, and the original law of force should neither be approved, encouraged, nor tolerated until all known legal processes have failed.

"As to the matter of legislation. The states have undoubted authority to legislate against the employment of armed bodies of men for private purposes, as many of them are doing. As to the power of Congress to legislate, that is not so clear,

though it would seem that Congress ought not to be powerless to prevent the movement of bodies of private citizens from one state to another state for the purpose of taking part, with arms in their hands, in the settlement of disputes between employers and their workmen. The probabilities are that all of the states will soon enact statutes on the subject, in which event action by Congress, even if constitutional, will be unnecessary."

It will be noted that the committee said:

"It would seem that Congress ought not to be powerless to prevent the movement of bodies of private citizens from one state to another state for the purpose of taking part, with arms in their hands, in the settlement of disputes between employers and their workmen."

Then it added, that, "the probabilities are that all of the states will soon enact statutes on the subject, in which event, action by Congress, even if constitutional, will be unnecessary."

Twenty-two years have passed since that report was made. Congress has given no serious attention to the Homestead committee's investigation and report. Nine of the states, as has been already reported, have made some efforts to correct the evils connected with the dual service of detective agencies. We have no desire or intent to interfere with the legitimate occupation of detective agencies, namely, that of searching for criminals and detecting crime, but, the later and more disreputable method of using detective agencies for the purpose of breaking strikes and interfering with legitimate industrial activities of employer and employe must be stopped.

The Illinois law could be used as a general model for state legislation of this character after some appropriate changes had been made in it to suit the present industrial conditions, and by the addition of suitable amendments governing the granting of state licenses to all detective agencies and all private employment offices, with centralized state authority to see that such laws are properly enforced.

The best features of the Baltz bill above referred to can be incorporated into law by Congress if our organizations make it an issue.

Last, but not least, it is the duty of organized labor to commence a determined and vigorous campaign in municipalities and in the states for the purpose of electing tried and true trade unionists to positions of authority, requiring proper enforcement of law and order. We should go further and see to it that sheriffs of counties, chiefs of police of cities and all other officials of counties and municipalities should be carefully selected for the prime and righteous purpose of having the laws rigidly and impartially enforced. The wage-earners have been wronged by the misdeeds of strike-breaking agencies. If they undertake to grapple seriously with this problem and its attendant evils, many good citizens in other walks of life will undoubtedly co-operate with us in behalf of a proper, wholesome regime of law and order, equally and impartially administered and enforced.

Administrative Power and Responsibility

Attention is called to one of the necessary functions of democratic forms of government that is frequently either ignored or misapplied. Americans with their free and easy going way of doing things through political officeholders, have frequently fallen into grave errors of sometimes dividing responsibility and sometimes permitting political schemers to usurp power not vouchsafed to them by any legal tenet. We recommend that now, through the A. F. of L., a fundamental principle should be urged and established which is essential for good management and good government. Responsibility and power should always go together. Responsibility without power can never be justly enforced. Power without responsibility can never be properly controlled. Every public officer and every public agent should have clear, definite authority to do the acts required of him; a clear and definite limitation should also be put upon the extent of his authority. Finally, the people themselves must hold responsible the highest elected officers for the work of their offices and insist that they perform their full duty to the people, and nothing but their duty. State alliances of executive officials with strike-breaking, gun-toting detective agencies must cease, if these United States are to be free in spirit as well as in letter.

If the above line of reasoning is correct—and we believe it is—it is imperative that we suit the action to the word. We believe that police power and responsibility for the maintenance of peace within the borders of a state should be properly and specifically granted to the governor of the state. He should be vested with authority necessary to preserve life and property. No other power (industrial or political) in the state or beyond its borders should be permitted to interfere with his full responsibility. He should be clothed with full authority, answerable only to the legislature—to the people. The governor must be made in fact as well as fiction the chief peace officer of the state. We propose therefore that the following easily understood law be urged for enactment in all states by our members, friends and sympathizers:

Employment Offices and Detective Agencies

Be it enacted, etc.

No person or persons, company or corporation shall conduct temporarily or otherwise, any employment or detective agency in this state without procuring a license from the governor who shall be vested with full authority to grant such licenses during his term of office under such rules, regulations, fees and penalties as may be prescribed by the legislature to safeguard the rights and welfare of the people: Provided, That no license shall be granted to any person or persons, agency, company or corporation to conduct the business of an employment office or detective agency within this state unless bonds are furnished in the penal sum of not less than ten thousand (\$10,000) dollars to be approved by the governor and specifically stipulating that such bonds shall be forfeited to the state if such person, persons, agency, company or corporation furnishes supplies or attempts to furnish or supply arms, ammunition, or armed guards to any person or persons, employer, firm, company, or corporation under any circumstances whatsoever. It is further provided, that the governor is hereby vested with full authority and the duty to judge in times of disturbance, whether armed forces are required to maintain the peace, and when in his judgment such an emergency exists he and he alone shall personally order any part or parts of state militia to the scene of the disturbance, and he shall personally direct the operation of such state troops.

All acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

REPORT ON THE DICK MILITARY LAW

Among the several resolutions introduced at the Philadelphia Convention, was one by the delegate from the Trades and Labor Council of Hamilton, Ohio, calling for the repeal of the Dick Military law by the United States Congress. The Committee on International Relations, to which this resolution was referred, reported in part as follows:

"We declare in emphatic terms against militarism, yet we believe that the A. F. of L. should have fuller information than is now available before declaring for the repeal of the law alleged to be of such far-reaching consequence.

"We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be authorized and instructed to make an investigation of the so-called Dick Military Law, being 'An Act to promote the efficiency of the militia and for other purposes,' approved January 21, 1903, and make a report and recommendation thereon to the next convention of the A. F. of L."

Investigation reveals that a variety of opinions exist in the public mind relative to the Dick Military Law. Some of these opinions are grounded upon fears and suspicions. Some of our people are impressed with the idea that the law in question was enacted for the main purpose of fostering militarism in the United States, with all its baneful consequences. Others have seen the spectre of a military force created by the United States, aided and abetted by the several states, wholly and solely as a weapon to be placed in the hands of employers on call, to coerce and intimidate the lawful aspirations of the workers. Others profess to see hidden within the lines of this law a huge profit-making scheme for manufacturers, dealers and speculators in ordnance and ammunition supplies. It may be possible that all or more of such undesirable consequences lurk somewhere within the purview of this statute. The law has been in existence since January 21, 1903; it was

amended in 1908, and again in 1910. During that time, covering a period of twelve years, it has not been apparent to us from our investigation of the subject, that the law has been wrongly applied.

We find, after careful inquiry, that the enactment of the Dick Military law was deemed necessary as a result of the experiences growing out of the Spanish War. When the people of the United States by practically unanimous vote, demanded intervention in behalf of liberty and justice for the oppressed Cubans, it was speedily discovered that the military provisions of the United States were not adequate for either defensive or offensive service. As a nation, we possessed little or no military skill, practically no ammunition, inadequate equipment, and the hospital and commissary service of the United States Army was inefficient and incapable of performing their functions. Some measure of reform was manifestly imperative.

Our American traditions are wholesomely positive against the maintenance of a large standing army. We think it can be safely and emphatically stated that only a very small percentage of the American people favor the maintenance of a large standing army. It is our opinion that this small percentage will never be able to have their schemes adopted in the United States. The Dick Military law was therefore offered, considered and finally enacted, to render our nation better prepared to do exactly what the title of the act describes, namely, "to promote the efficiency of the militia." This means, in short, the practical application of the theory underlying the traditional military policy of the United States; the intention being that the army, such as we have, shall be adequately and properly equipped and its personnel shall be of the highest possible efficiency—our American concept being the maintenance of a skeleton army to which men, properly developed, mentally and physically, may be quickly added when the country may be endangered. For the maintenance of such an army for conquest we would not pay one penny, but for defense we would gladly give our all.

We again express our belief in the need of a small standing army to be supplemented by a citizen soldiery, democratically organized and controlled, so as to prevent either the small standing army or the larger supplements and its units to be used for or by any special privileged class, either at home or abroad.

The American labor movement is thoroughly justified in feeling proud of its efforts in the past, in its proclamations for peace and against autocratically controlled military forces. We think we would be short-sighted did we agree with that part of the resolution (No. 89) which recommended the repeal of the Dick Military law.

The second "whereas" of the preamble contains the kernel of the whole resolution, and may be a well merited and justifiable warning. It reads:

"Whereas, the existence of the Dick Military law is . . . a weapon that can be used at any time against the interest of the toiling masses."

This expression voices the fear, suspicion and opposition to the Dick Military law, and upon this feature we make the following observations:

Up to the present we have received no complaint nor have we learned of any act in which the military arm of the government has misused the Dick Military law to offset or curb the efforts and aspirations of the working people of our land. Long before the Dick Military law was enacted, United States troops were used through direction of Presidents Cleveland and McKinley in 1894—first during the Great Northern Railroad strike; again in 1894 against the railroad strikers who sympathized with the oppressed Pullman employes; and again in 1899, during the industrial troubles in the Coeur D'Alene metalliferous fields and mines of Idaho. On all of those occasions the charges were openly made that the United States troops took sides in favor of employers as against the workers.

Last year (in 1914) United States troops were again sent into regions where industrial conflicts were under way. We refer particularly to the situation in Colorado. We believe that on this occasion the presence of the United States troops as differentiated from the Colorado militia, was instrumental in stopping strife and bloodshed and establishing peace. We do not make this statement with any degree of satisfaction; we regret that such a step should ever have been taken in the use of the military, but law and order in the state of Colorado were seemingly beyond the power of the state officials to maintain and enforce. Private armed forces in the pay of wealthy private corporations were used to subdue the workers and to control industry. The corporations had practically coerced and intimidated

the officials of the state and had over-ridden the laws of the state. As a consequence, the President was called to intervene.

We, the workers, have never succeeded in obtaining any redress from strongly entrenched wealthy employers by assuming a submissive attitude. We can see the evil results that come to the workers whose spirit of protest is dormant. We who have participated in the struggles of the labor movement during the last third of a century, know that only to the strong, well disciplined, well financed organization has success accrued. Employers soon learn to know whether a man or a number of men are willing to contend and make sacrifices for their rights. When once they learn that the workers will fight, at least one-half the fight is won for those disposed to struggle for better working conditions and higher standards of life.

Our organization throughout the length and breadth of our land must realize their responsibility for taking a more active interest in public affairs. By asserting our civic rights we can prevent the Dick Military law from being manipulated so as to menace the rights and liberties of the struggling workers. Neither should the Dick Military law be permitted, under any circumstances, to become a pawn in the hands of the large trusts, corporations and railroads to use the military strength of the state and nation against the interests of the workers. There is not nearly so grave a danger in the Dick Military law as there is in the menace threatening our institutions through the private detective agencies and the private army of gunmen.

We feel, therefore, that the Dick Military law up to the present has not been a menace to the interest of the workers, and we recommend and urge that our organizations become active in their several communities and use all of their local and state influence to let the administrators of the law in such communities thoroughly understand that they will not brook at any time unwarrantable interference of the citizen soldiery in their efforts to procure better and more profitable conditions of work.

NEW LEGAL OPINION ON EIGHT-HOUR LAW

The Philadelphia Convention discussed at considerable length the matter of securing the eight-hour workday for workers in government employment. After reviewing the legislative gains of the year, the convention took up consideration of the present federal eight-hour law of 1912. Decisions and interpretations of attorneys general had limited and restricted the scope of that law so that it did not afford the protection intended. The convention instructed the Executive Council to request Attorney General Gregory to give an opinion of the law supplementary to the opinions rendered by former Attorneys General Wichersham and McReynolds.

The convention also expressed its profound regret that the work of erecting the monument to Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, was being performed under conditions prejudicial to the best interests of the workers and in direct violation of the terms of the federal eight-hour law. Therefore, the convention authorized and directed the E. C. to interview the proper officers of the federal government and the representatives of the Yule Marble Company of Yule, Colorado, which had the contract for furnishing the marble for this monument. At our January meeting, this matter was referred to President Gompers, President Williams of the Building Trades Department, and President Griggs of the Journeymen Stonecutters' Association. This committee took the matter up with the resident commissioner of the Lincoln Memorial Commission. Commissioner Blackburn expressed himself as extremely sympathetic toward the purpose of our request, but he was powerless to act.

The matter was taken up with Secretary of War Garrison. In a written communication, Secretary Garrison was informed that the marble for the Lincoln Memorial was prepared in Yule, Colorado, chiefly by foreigners under conditions of long hours and low wages, which were subversive to American standards and ideals, and that the marble workers were exploited through company stores and were afforded no opportunities to learn or to adopt American standards of living. It was pointed out that if this memorial to a man who stood for human freedom and human rights was constructed by workers with un-American standards and low ideals, it could not become the great national monument that it should be. Secretary Garrison was urged to request from Attorney General Gregory an opinion supplementing that rendered by his predecessors and to select a representative from his department to make an investigation of conditions prevailing in Yule together

with a representative selected by the A. F. of L. At first Secretary Garrison considered that the legal department of the government had interpreted the eight-hour law so frequently and so uniformly that an effort to secure an additional interpretation would be futile. He furthermore decided that it was outside his jurisdiction to have an investigation made of the conditions prevailing in the marble quarry at Yule, Colorado. Finally Secretary Garrison determined to accede to our requests to ask Attorney General Gregory for an opinion upon the federal Eight-Hour law.

Meanwhile the Journeymen Stonecutters' organization took up the matter of securing evidence showing conditions of work in Colorado and showing the violations in letter and spirit of the Eight-Hour law. After inquiring into the contract for the Lincoln Memorial it was found that the contract had been made prior to the enactment of the present Eight-Hour law and hence that law did not apply. Later Attorney General Gregory, in an opinion, held that the act of June 19, 1912, had not been applied to this contract, and he entered into consideration of some of the general provisions of the law that had not been under dispute. His opinion reverses the opinion of former Attorneys General Wickersham and McReynolds. The opinion rendered by Attorney General Gregory places a broader interpretation on the Federal Eight-Hour law and in keeping with the spirit and purpose of the law, and as has been contended by organized labor since its enactment. Secretary Garrison sent President Gompers a copy of Attorney General Gregory's letter upon this subject together with an opinion that Attorney General Gregory rendered on May 12, 1915. Both of these opinions are published in full in the August, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist*. Attorney General Gregory held that the act of February 9, 1911, creating the Lincoln Memorial Commission, appropriating money for the preliminary expenses and authorizing a contract in the total sum of \$2,000,000 was an appropriation act and hence came under the following section of the Eight-Hour Act of June, 1912:

"Nothing in this act shall be construed . . . to apply to contracts which have been or may be entered into under the provisions of appropriation acts approved prior to the passage of this act."

The second question was whether the shaping of the marble for the Lincoln Memorial was done in the contract as prescribed in the appropriation bill. The appropriation bill stated that the construction of the memorial "shall be entered upon . . . and prosecuted to completion . . . under a contract or contracts hereby authorized to be entered into by said Secretary in a sum total not exceeding \$2,000,000."

The material facts as stated by Attorney General Gregory were that the Secretary of War entered into a contract with the George A. Fuller Construction Company and by the terms of that contract the latter was obligated to use Colorado marble of specified quality and dimensions. However, the Fuller Company, instead of buying rough marble and shaping the marble, sublet the contract to the Yule Colorado Marble Company, which company furnished the marble already shaped. Attorney General Gregory held that the provision of the Eight-Hour law of 1912 governed all work done under construction of the acts specified: "If the Fuller Company had bought rough marble and chiseled it to the dimensions specified in its contract of the Secretary by use of the labor of its own employ, the work would have been literally within the exception. Is there any distinction because the shaping was done by the subcontractor? I think not. In any similar cases, however, whereby construction is being accomplished under contracts authorized by appropriation acts, passed under the enactment of the eight-hour law of June, 1912, the rule declared in my opinion to you of May the 12th, ultimo, above referred to, must be applied."

In his opinion of May 12, Attorney General Gregory states: "The Eight-Hour Act applies generally to all contracts on behalf of the government requiring the employment of laborers or mechanics, either those contracting with the government or by subcontractors."

The Attorney General furthermore states that the act was intended to extend the policy of the eight-hour day on government work—the policy which for years has been in force as to work of construction carried on by the government. Therefore he holds that the federal eight-hour day shall obtain under every contract made for or on behalf of the United States, with due regard, of course, for the exceptions provided in the law. Exceptions provided for are contracts for such materials or articles as may usually be bought in the open market. This he holds divides contracts for articles and materials into two classes—

one class subject to the act, and the other excepted from its operation, and the basis for classification is whether or not materials or articles contracted for are the kind usually to be bought in the open market. The Attorney General held that the test for this classification should not be the nature of the contract and held that the words, whether or not to conform to particular specifications, were added in his opinion for the purpose of emphasizing this principle.

"In the light of the foregoing, it is my opinion that the exception must be held to embrace materials or articles of the kind which are usually manufactured in standard forms and which producers or dealers usually offer for sale in the course of their business, as distinguished from materials and articles of the kind which are usually made to order, or manufactured in a particular manner, shape or conditions according to the specifications of the person for whom they are made.

"The application of this construction—that is, the determination in particular cases of whether the articles are of a kind which are usually manufactured and offered for sale in standard forms, etc., or are of a kind which are usually made to order—obviously involves a consideration of trade conditions and of other questions of fact, and, therefore, is primarily an administrative function to be discharged by the several departments in which the cases arise."

In addition, Attorney General Gregory made this comment on the 1913 opinion of former Attorney General McReynolds. It is as follows:

"As regards the opinion of August 1, 1913 (30 Ops., 211), to which you refer. I think that, instead of himself deciding that the specific article there in question was within the exception, the Attorney General should have defined the meaning of the exception and then left it to the Treasury Department to apply the definition to that particular case."

This opinion broadens the interpretation of the law as compared to the opinions rendered by former Attorneys General Wickersham and McReynolds.

According to this opinion, the present law is adequate, if it is properly enforced. He makes plain that the enforcement of the law depends upon the administrative officers. He furthermore makes it plain that it is necessary for the members of organized labor to see to it that the administrative officers observe the provisions of the federal Eight-Hour law. We therefore report that the problem for securing the eight-hour day for government employes and for workers employed by contractors and subcontractors for government work is an administrative function and should be considered from the standpoint of planning for its proper enforcement by administrative officials.

PANAMA CANAL RULES AND REGULATIONS

Resolutions introduced in the Philadelphia Convention stated that those in charge of the Panama Canal construction work were replacing skilled American workers by aliens whose standards of living permitted them to work for lower wages and proposed to charge the canal workers rent and thus reduce their wages or salaries by indirect means. The convention instructed the Executive Council to use every means at its command for maintaining standards of employment for all employes on the Canal Zone, existing prior to April 1, 1914.

At our January meeting, we directed that a conference be held with Governor Goethals of the Canal Zone for the purpose of discussing with him the complaints of the workers of the Panama Canal Zone, and securing his co-operation in maintaining high standards and protecting American workers in the Canal Zone. On January 30, 1915, President Wilson issued an executive order applying to conditions of employment in the Panama Canal Zone. This order contained a provision that employes would be charged for rent, fuel and electric current on and after March 1, 1915. The rental charge was equivalent to reduction in wages.

Through communication with Governor Goethals and the Secretary of Labor a conference was arranged between the Secretary of War Garrison, Secretary of Labor Wilson, and Governor Goethals of the Panama Canal Zone, Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades

Department, and Secretary Berres of the Metal Trades Department. At this conference, the charges made by employes that aliens were being brought in to replace American workers were considered, together with the executive order of President Wilson of January 30, 1915. The conference lasted for three hours. In regard to the matter of employing aliens in the two specific cases presented, Governor Goethals announced that he had given instructions for the discharge of the two mentioned. Governor Goethals asserted that he would do all in his power to see that injustices were remedied.

The other matter considered in the conference was the executive order of the President. This was very thoroughly discussed in order to establish the fact that where appropriations were made for the construction of the Panama Canal, it was the general understanding that there should be no change in terms of employment during the period of construction. The discussion and the facts adduced evidently convinced the Secretary of War that this was the correct interpretation. As a result of this conference the representatives of the government sent this statement to the President:

"May 14, 1915.

"The two Secretaries will recommend to the President that the executive order in question be modified by suspending the operations thereof relating to rent, fuel and lights during the period of actual construction of the Panama Canal but not later than June 30, 1916."

The suspension of this executive order meant to the workers employed in the Panama Canal Zone a saving of approximately \$259,000. Through the prompt action of the representatives of the Departments at Washington, the workers in Panama were protected from what would have been a very serious loss if there had been no one present authorized to present their side of the case to governmental authorities.

REPORT ON LEGISLATIVE PROGRESS

In view of the remarkable progress in behalf of labor legislation during the last Congress, the detailed reports for the past year are preceded by a complete summary of the legislative accomplishments secured during the Sixty-third Congress, and in order that our friends, as well as our critics, may have the information at hand, we herewith present in summarized form the record of our legislative accomplishments in each Congress from the close of the Sixty-third Congress back to March 21, 1906, the period of the Fifty-ninth Congress, when we submitted our historic Bill of Grievances to the executive and legislative officials of the United States.

Summary of the Record of the Sixty-Third Congress (Convened April 7, 1913; Final Adjournment March 4, 1915)—Measures of Interest to Labor Enacted.

1. Organizations of labor and farmers taken from the purview of the Antitrust Act.
2. Limitation of the use, and prevention of the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes.
3. Legislation defining and restricting punishment for alleged contempts of injunction writs.
4. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. First session.
5. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. Second session.
6. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. Third session.
7. Passage of Seamen's law, abolishing involuntary servitude; providing better treatment of seamen and improving life saving provisions on vessels at sea.
8. Old conciliation, mediation and arbitration act repealed. New law enacted with permanent officials appointed to administer it in behalf of railroad employes engaged in operating service.
9. Eight-hour law enacted for women and child workers of the District of Columbia. (Decided constitutional March 13, 1915, by Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.)
10. Eight-hour law passed for employes under the Alaska Coal Land Act.
11. Public construction of Alaska railroad.

12. Industrial Education provided with appropriations, for farmers and rural residents under the Agricultural Extension Act.

13. Taylor System, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in United States arsenals prohibited.

14. Taylor System, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in the United States Navy Yards, gun factories and torpedo stations prohibited.

15. Piecework prohibited in Post-office Department, Washington, D. C.

16. Public construction of battleships, transports and other vessels in U. S. navy yards, extended. Repairs to vessels of the Navy to be made in governmental instead of private yards. Steadier work assured to employes of government navy yards.

17. Licensed officers, such as masters, mates, and pilots, guaranteed right to quit, and protected when reporting defects of their vessels to government inspectors.

18. Bureau of Mines Act extended and strengthened. Ten new experiment stations and seven new safety stations provided.

19. Senatorial investigation of industrial dispute in coal fields of West Virginia, whereby peace was restored; the eight-hour day secured; check weighmen provided, and ten per cent increase in wages gained—right of organization guaranteed and other improved working conditions included.

20. Compensation for Injuries Act extended to Post-office Employees.

21. Post-office employes—annual promotion maintained, notwithstanding the Postmaster General's efforts to substitute biennial for annual promotions.

22. Eight-hour law for Post-office Clerks and Carriers retained, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to change radically.

23. Letter carriers' salaries restored, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to reduce the pay of letter carriers, known as collectors, from \$1,200 to \$1,000 per year.

24. Locomotive boiler inspection act extended to cover locomotive engines and tenders.

25. Leave of absence with pay to employes of Government Printing Office extended from 26 to 30 days per year.

26. Impeachment proceedings of Judge Wright responsible for his resignation.

27. Special congressional investigation of industrial disputes in the Colorado coal fields and the Michigan copper region, wherein all of the complaints and charges made by the men of labor against the mining companies, and their alliance with the political and military powers of the states were officially verified and substantiated.

28. An additional annual appropriation of \$240,000 for the years 1914-15 was provided for the pay-roll of the metal trades mechanics employed at the Washington, D. C., Navy Yard. This was equivalent to a 7.81 per cent increase in wages.

29. The statutory enactment of an income tax in conformity with the recent United States constitutional amendment.

30. An additional appropriation of \$139,000 for the work of the Children's Bureau.

31. More adequate appropriations for the Department of Labor to carry on its work.

32. Senate resolution demanding information from cabinet officials as to what uses, if any, were made of Rockefeller or Carnegie funds in their Departments.

33. Prevented a reduction in wages and installation and collection of rents for employes on the Panama Canal Zone.

ANTITRUST AND INJUNCTION LIMITATION LEGISLATION

The delegates to the convention and our membership generally will readily recall how difficult it was for us to secure the enactment of a proviso in the antitrust section of former Sundry Civil Appropriation Acts, prohibiting the U. S. Attorney General from using federal funds to prosecute organizations of wage-earners under the antitrust laws.

Former President Taft prevented the passage of the Hughes' proviso in 1910; in 1912 he vetoed a similar proviso introduced by Representatives Hamill and Roddenberry, thereby preventing the passage of the largest appropriation bills for general purposes, thus jeopardizing the interests of numerous departments of government besides interfering with the successful construction of public buildings and extension of improvements of rivers and harbors.

One of the first acts during the first session of the Sixty-third Congress was to pass the bill which President Taft had vetoed. This act contained the provisions favored

by Labor and was signed by President Wilson. During the second session of the last Congress, the Appropriation Committees of the House and Senate inserted the proviso demanded by the wage-earners as committee recommendations. It passed both bodies with but little opposition in the House and where the vote was 103 "ayes" to "6 nays." In the Senate there was no division and no discussion. The proviso again included by the appropriation committees was unanimously passed without comment in the third session of the last Congress. These incidents are mentioned so that we may record the fact that legislation of this character for which Labor had so vigorously contended in previous congresses was passed three times during the Sixty-third Congress.

In order that this record of our accomplishments may be properly preserved these Hamill-Roddenberry provisos are herewith reproduced:

"Provided, however, that no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, the shortening of hours, or bettering the conditions of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof, not in itself unlawful:

"Provided further, that no part of this appropriation shall be expended for the prosecution of producers of farm products and associations of farmers who co-operate and organize in an effort to and for the purpose to obtain and maintain a fair and reasonable price for their products."

SEAMEN'S LEGISLATION

We made extended reports upon this subject to the Seattle and Philadelphia Conventions, consequently we do not deem it necessary to go into details again, other than to report accurately specific data relative to the periods when positive legislative action was taken.

On October 23, 1913, the La Follette bill, S. No. 4, favored by the Seamen's union and urged for enactment by the A. F. of L., was substituted for S. 136, and passed the United States Senate with only the lone vote of Senator Burton of Ohio dissenting. After many arduous efforts before the House Committee on Merchant Marine, we succeeded in having the bill reported to the House in amended form, June 19, 1914. It was bitterly opposed in the House by Representatives Humphries of Washington, and J. Hampton Moore of Pennsylvania, but finally passed on August 27, 1914. It was then referred back to the Senate Committee on Commerce.

Because of the concentrated influence of the ship owners, chambers of commerce and other business and financial interests for a while it seemed that no further action would be taken in that committee, but in response to our continued urging and due largely to the splendid support rendered us by Senators Fletcher of Florida, Chamberlain, Shepard, and Vardaman, members of the Senate Committee on Commerce, working in co-operation with Senator La Follette, the bill as passed by the Senate and amended by the House was sent finally to conference on January 4, 1915. On February 27, 1915, following a short debate, the Senate agreed to the conference report without a dissenting vote. Almost immediately after the Senate had agreed to the conference report, Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, made objections and moved to reconsider the action of the Senate in agreeing to the conference report. He made a vigorous speech against the Seamen's bill, and in behalf of reconsideration. Senator La Follette replied effectively. He commended the action of the Senate in passing the bill, and concluded by moving to lay the motion of Senator Smith upon the table. The motion to table was adopted by a vote of thirty-nine "ayes" to thirty-three "nays." The House accepted the conferees' report, the only opposition being that of Representatives Humphries and Moore. President Wilson approved the bill on March 4, 1915.

This measure marks a great forward step in the march of human freedom and progress. It removes the last vestige of involuntary servitude from the laws of the United States. It is one of the first measures that the A. F. of L. urged Congress to enact into law. It will improve the working conditions of seamen. Opportunities for organization will be extended, seamen in other countries will enjoy its beneficent influence, the general public who travel on the high seas will be afforded a larger measure of safety provisions. We feel confident in asserting that the passage of this wise and necessary legislation by the Sixty-third Congress was one of its distinctions.

Nevertheless we find it to be a painful duty to call attention to the fact that a great danger still confronts this valuable piece of legislation. The cupidity and greed of not only the shipping interests of the United States, but the shipping interests of the whole maritime world are so aroused that they will leave no stone unturned nor hesitate to stoop to any subterfuge to defeat the law and the wise, humanitarian and safety provisions which it contains. A continuous, persistent campaign has been made against the measure by the great financial interests of the nation under the management of the Chamber of Commerce.

Under the guise of antagonizing the shipping bill favored by the present national administration, and which was withdrawn during the closing days of last Congress, the National Chamber of Commerce submitted for a referendum vote to its 600 affiliated local chambers of commerce, and other trade bodies representing some 300,000 business men, several propositions including the following:

Subsidies from the government sufficient to off-set difference in the cost between operation of vessels under the American flag, and operation in the same deep sea trades under foreign flags.

The vote upon these propositions was overwhelmingly in favor of the one quoted.

It is, therefore, necessary that our membership be alert to the dangers confronting the people of the United States, because there is no question but what the vested interests will exert themselves to the fullest extent to defeat the meritorious principles contained in the La Follette Seamen's Act.

We should, therefore, lose no time in registering our emphatic protests with members of the Sixty-fourth Congress in favor of the maintenance and the proper enforcement of the Seamen's Act.

Licensed Officers

We are pleased to report additionally that the Licensed Officers bill, H. R. 16392, by Representative Hardy of Texas, introduced by him for the purpose of improving the regulations of the service of licensed officers in the merchant marine, and for promoting greater safety at sea, was passed in the House July 7, 1914, was taken up in the Senate on March 1, 1915, and passed by that body without change. The President approved it March 3, 1915. This law affords greater protection to officers in the merchant marine when complying with their necessary public duty in reporting defects in their vessels to the proper federal inspection officials. The act also more clearly defines and extends the right of licensed officers in the merchant marine to quit the service of a shipowner at the expiration of their contracts without intimidation or risk of imprisonment. It is believed that all of the former elements of compulsion on the part of shipowners against the licensed officers have been removed by the passage of the Hardy measure. This act is a valuable addition to the legislation contained in the La Follette Act protecting the rights of sea-faring men and extending greater safety measures for those who go down to the sea in ships.

PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION OF NAVAL AND OTHER VESSELS

Several of our conventions in the past have given instructions to encourage legislation in behalf of public *versus* private construction of vessels for the United States government and for all repairs to government vessels to be made at government navy yards. In co-operation with the Metal Trades unionists we have continued our efforts along the lines of those instructions and report that the proportion of repairs to government vessels is much greater in government navy yards than in private ship yards. The Naval Appropriation Acts for 1914 and 1915 provided for the construction of a naval supply ship in the Charleston Navy Yard at Boston and a transport vessel for the government at the League Island Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pa. The 1915 appropriations carried with them a sum of \$148,000 for better equipment of new construction work for the Charlestown Navy Yard, and \$200,000 for the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Through our united efforts we also secured a valuable clause in the interests of the metal and ship building trades in this year's Naval Appropriations Act, which states that:

"No part of the sums appropriated by this act shall be used to procure through purchase or contract any vessels, armament, articles or materials which the navy

yards, gun factories or other industrial plants operated by the Navy Department are equipped to supply, unless such government plants are operated approximately at their full capacity for not less than one regular shift each working day."

Several bills introduced in Congress provided for governmental construction and ownership of a merchant marine.

BUREAU OF LABOR SAFETY

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention that the Bureau of Labor Safety Bill, H. R. 10735, by Representative Lewis of Maryland, Chairman of the House Committee on Labor, passed the House on March 11, 1914, without an opposing vote, and that Senator Shively of Indiana for the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, reported it favorably to the Senate on August 1, 1914, without in any way changing the bill as passed by the House. Several unsuccessful efforts were made by Senator Shively and Senator Martine of New Jersey, to obtain consideration of it by the Senate. Finally, while the Senate was working under the unanimous consent rule on March 1, 1915, Senator Martine made a most strenuous effort to secure its consideration and passage, but we regret to report that it was defeated by Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire and Senator Overman of North Carolina, whose objections defeated one of the best labor safety measures ever presented for the consideration of Congress.

However, in connection with this subject we deem it advisable to call the attention of the convention to the splendid work of the United States Department of Labor in its effort to enlighten the people as to the awful slaughter which is continually taking place among the workers in the industries of our nation. Undoubtedly in response to our declaration last year, the Department, through its Bureau of Labor Statistics, issued in March, 1915, Bulletin No. 157, which contains an estimate of the number of fatal and non-fatal industrial accidents occurring among American wage-earners each year. From the estimates made it was concluded that the number of fatal industrial accidents among American wage-earners is conservatively placed at 25,000 annually and the number of injuries involving a disability of more than four weeks is approximately 700,000 per year.

The greatest number of fatal accidents occurs in railroad employments and agricultural pursuits, each of these groups being responsible for approximately 4,200 fatalities each year. Coal mining contributes more than 2,600 fatalities; building and construction work in the neighborhood of 1,900 fatalities. In general manufacturing it is estimated that 1,800 fatal accidents occur annually. In metal mining the hazard is so great that four out of each 1,000 employees lose their lives each year by accident. In coal mining the rate is 3.5 per 1,000 employed; in fisheries and navigation, the rate is 3 to each 1,000 employed.

The bulletin states that these estimates are derived from the best sources available. The greatest credit to those responsible for the data contained in this bulletin must be given for their courage in saying to the world in a government document that "there are no entirely complete and trustworthy industrial accident statistics for even a single important industry in the United States." With this official declaration by federal officials and the appalling revelation of the terrible distress occasioned to the workers of our land when following their peaceful occupations should be sufficient to arouse the indignation of all properly disposed citizens so that there will be an insistent demand by them and on the part of all organizations, private or public, instituted for the purpose of relieving distress, for sufficient appropriations by the federal government to enable the Department of Labor to collect and publish annually the facts concerning accidents occurring to men and women who are engaged in the production of wealth.

Senator Sheppard of Texas made diligent efforts to have included in one of the deficiency appropriations measures, legislative authority empowering the Department of Labor to collect and publish facts relating to accidents and occupational diseases in industries. We regret to report that the same Senator (Gallinger of New Hampshire, who is a doctor), who offered such scathing objections to the Bureau of Labor Safety bill was also the primary cause of preventing the adoption of the Sheppard resolution.

The time has now come in the opinion of the members of the Executive Council when we should give these two measures a prominent place in our demands. There is no doubt in our minds but what the general inclination, among members of Congress, is favorable to both propositions, viz: (1) the early establishment of a Bureau of Labor Safety in

the United States Department of Labor, or if the institution of a new bureau is objectionable, the Department should be authorized to install methods to do the work without a bureau; and (2) ample appropriations afforded the United States Department of Labor to report annually to the people exactly what accidents occur in our complex system of industry.

All other nations that profess even a semblance of civilization, make some provision of this character, England, Germany, Austria, Belgium, and others have long since devised and worked out plans for securing definite, positive information concerning accidents in industry. Their plans work almost automatically because of the heavy penalties employers are subjected to on any pretext or effort to prevent the truth being disclosed. Surely, the United States can and should do equally as well for its toilers as is done for the workers by any nation in Europe.

It is useless to temporize with this matter longer and equally useless to wait or depend upon the states to do this work. We have no accurate knowledge concerning one of the most vital features connected with the social and economic facts of industry. We can not be longer satisfied with mere estimate or guesses. We recommend to the convention that active steps be immediately inaugurated not only to learn the truth concerning the industrial slaughter of our fellow beings but to insist upon responsible departments of government to provide means and methods by which the lives of the workers of the nation shall be henceforth more sacredly regarded and better conserved.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES

The debate upon Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation for Injuries legislation at the Philadelphia Convention was exceptionally instructive and comprehensive, in that it dealt with the recommendations made by the Executive Council and the several features contained in Resolution No. 50.

The convention adopted the report of the Committee on Education which contained the following specific recommendations in connection with the subject of compensation legislation coming before the several state legislatures.

1. Endeavor to bring the basis of compensation rates to a minimum of 66 2-3 per cent of the wages of the injured.
2. Endeavor to obtain an extension of time during which benefits should be paid for accidents resulting in amputations.
3. Widows whose husbands are killed in industries to receive compensation during widowhood.
4. Increase of benefits on the basis of the number of children under eighteen years of age.
5. Administration of compensation laws in future to be under the supervision of state commissions appointed for that duty alone.
6. The elimination of employers' liability insurance companies and the establishment of state insurance companies, the funds of same to be administered by the state compensation commission.

We recommend that the following additional provision be added:

7. Compensation to be paid for death or illness from occupational diseases.

During the legislative period since our last convention eight more states and the territory of Alaska were added to the states enumerated in our report at Philadelphia, the additional states enacting compensation laws during the session of the legislature in 1915 being Colorado, Indiana, Maine, Montana, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Wyoming. Favorable action toward the enactment of a compensation law was taken by the legislature of Utah which created a commission to investigate the question and report a bill for the consideration of the next legislature. In New Mexico a workmen's compensation bill was passed by the House but it was defeated in the Senate. In Idaho the bill was vetoed by the governor because it was claimed that the measure passed by the legislature was weak in many particulars and generally ineffective. The Alaska compensation law is elective and applies only to mine and related hazardous occupations.

Several state legislatures, among them being Connecticut, Michigan, New York and Rhode Island, revised their former compensation laws in response to the demand of our membership in order to issue more efficient and liberal operation. Efforts, without success, were made by our members to make compensation laws in other states more liberal. We co-operated with our membership in Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Mon-

tana, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Wyoming and other states in their efforts either so secure initial legislation on the subject, or to improve such legislation already in existence.

The Missouri legislature refused to act upon the report of the third compensation commission appointed in that state. We regret to report that the Kentucky law was declared unconstitutional on the pretense that "the state constitution prohibits any limitation of awards" by the Supreme Court of the state. The constitutionality of the compensation law of California and other states has been upheld by their state Supreme Courts.

A constitutional amendment will be submitted in Pennsylvania so as to make it possible to secure a compulsory compensation act instead of an elective act.

More uniform and definite standards as to the manner in which compensation shall be awarded and the method of administering the law have been adopted in the measures enacted this year. Lack of uniformity is a feature of the several laws previously enacted in other states and which is clearly outlined in Senate Document No. 419, 63rd Congress, 2d session, which contains the report of the special committee appointed by us to investigate and report on the subject-matter of workmen's compensation.

There are seventeen states still without compensation legislation or effective employers' liability laws, viz., Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah and Virginia.

We feel greatly encouraged however, with the progress we have made in thirty-one states, the Territories of Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands where we have secured compensation laws in some form since our original effort before Congress in behalf of federal employes in 1908, and we feel sure that as time goes on and new experiences are obtained, the compensation laws of the states now possessing them will be materially expanded and improved so that the backward states above mentioned will have the benefit of established, uniform standards upon which to shape their compensation laws, whenever our membership in those states shall become sufficiently aggressive to insist upon their enactment by the state legislature.

Efforts will be renewed during the next Congress to secure the passage of the best principles contained in the McGillicuddy bill, which is practically a reconstruction of the Federal Employes' Compensation Act. Notwithstanding our most earnest endeavors it was impossible to get consideration of the McGillicuddy bill in the House after it was reported by the Committee on Judiciary.

Every effort will be made during the next Congress to secure the enactment of a model workmen's compensation law for the working people of the District of Columbia in response to the provisions of Resolution No. 62, endorsed by the Philadelphia Convention with additional provision requiring the payment of benefit for illness or death from occupational diseases.

POLITICAL LIBERTY OF CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES

The Philadelphia Convention adopted Resolutions 135, 139, 145, introduced by delegates from the Tri-City Federation of Rock Island, Ill., and the California State Federation of Labor, in which many grievances of federal civil service employes were enumerated. The committee to which these resolutions were referred made the following recommendation which the convention adopted:

Since Congress has recently adopted legislation to protect and safeguard the political rights of all citizens employed under civil service examinations, your committee recommends that the resolutions be referred to the E. C., with instructions to further additional legislation of this character if it should be found necessary.

We gave the subject-matter of the resolutions and the recommendation earnest consideration and ultimately decided to hold the matter of securing new legislation in abeyance, because of the fact that the closing days of the Sixty-third Congress were close at hand, and the remaining period for which the session would last was crowded to the extreme with many weighty measures in which the interests of Labor were concerned, as well as several important measures of public interest. We therefore decided that it would be impracticable to open

up the questions covered in the resolutions and recommendation until a more favorable opportunity would be afforded during the approaching sessions of the Sixty-fourth Congress, when we think it will be advisable, if not imperative, to have bills introduced in Congress containing clear-cut, definite expressions as to what constitutes "pernicious, political activity" by employees of the federal civil service, together with a properly worked out and easily comprehended compilation of civil, social, economic and political rights which federal civil service employees can exercise without jeopardizing their positions and without being subjected to the spleen and ill-will of political partisans who are acting as departmental chiefs. We also believe such a bill should contain restrictions and limitations of power to be exercised by the Civil Service Commissioners in their dealings with government employees. From the many anonymous and individual complaints and reports which have reached us, we are compelled to believe that our present civil service system needs an entire overhauling, reconstruction and renovation.

Civil Service Commissioners and departmental officials have exaggerated their own personal importance and the amount of authority delegated to them while temporarily clothed with official power. There are many evidences that a bureaucracy of a very distasteful character is being engrafted upon public and civil service employees. Many onerous industrial conditions are being introduced in the departments, which make the lot of civil service employees most unenviable and practically unbearable for free citizens.

The great fundamentals originally claimed when the civil service system was first advocated, such as, securing freedom from appointments by political partisans, abolition of the "spoils system," and equitable allotment of federal positions according to genuine merit, and proper practical qualifications with an approximate just state apportionment, are now almost entirely lost sight of, and in place of such high ideals being the chief factors in the selection and maintenance of government employees, there has been insidiously foisted upon the system, impractical schemes of selection, requirements falsely termed "educational" tests for applicants during examination and disposition to ignore arbitrarily or give but small credit to real, genuine, practical qualifications for service which candidates for positions ought to possess.

It appears that in many of the positions, outside of the most menial or necessarily mechanical, the Civil Service Commission has made the field of employment in the government service a practically closed shop for college graduates. This practice is being steadily extended, and while we would not show the slightest inclination to discredit or reflect upon the advantages of a college education, yet we believe the time is here when we should protest to the Congress of the United States against academic degrees being the only standard as against the valuable practical experience which many men and women have gained in industrial activities without the advantage of a college education. To continue to ignore applicants with such valuable, practical knowledge and virtually to blacklist them from government employ, constitutes a serious impediment to the best interests of the people because the actual efficiency and the valuable services of many men and women whom it would be a distinct advantage to employ in government service, but who are now barred from employment, under the present regulations and theoretical vagaries which impress the present selectors of government employees, consequently the government is deprived of the services of some of the best workers and most valuable citizens our country possesses.

However, the worst feature now prevailing is the fact that there is a constant inclination to deprive civil service employees of every attribute of freedom and incorporate a system of dependency, subservency and sycophancy that is repugnant to Americans who are prone to boast that this is "the home of the brave and the land of the free."

We regret to state that we find in many of the departments (particularly the Post-office) a disposition to ignore and at times to resent the spirit and letter of the new law we secured in behalf of greater freedom for federal employees in August, 1912. It appears that government officials, especially those occupying powerful but in reality only secondary positions, became inoculated with arrogance by the extended authority granted to them under the Roosevelt and Taft "gag" orders, plainly evidenced by their arbitrary acts and their harsh treatment of subordinate employees for slight offenses or infractions of the departmental iron-bound rules for inferiors.

We believe that we should make these grievances an issue at the coming session of Congress and bring the matter forcibly to the attention of representatives and senators, so that they may curb the unwarranted arrogance of officials in the departments and the Civil

Service Commission who have much to do with the welfare of the humbler citizens who attend to the interests of the people in the government service.

Many cases could be cited to justify the foregoing complaints and criticism. We can not include them all in this report by reason of the fact that the disclosure of names contained in the correspondence might result in discrimination, demotion or perhaps victimization and discharge. But the correspondence should receive the attention of the proper committee of this convention and report thereon for such action as this convention may deem necessary in the interest and for the rights of the civil service employees. However, we deem it advisable to cite particularly the navy yard case at Vallejo, California, and furnish herewith copy of the orders given to Mr. Frank M. Bennett, the Commandant of the Mare Island Navy Yard, Vallejo, California, by C. L. Snyder, Secretary of the Twelfth District of the Civil Service Commission, on June 8, 1915:

"THE COMMANDANT, Mare Island Navy Yard, Vallejo, California.

SIR: Referring to the investigation of alleged political activities on the part of O. S. Cooper, Forbes Brown, E. C. Berry, William J. Maney, Lorenzo B. Leavitt and others which was conducted by the District Secretary in November and December of last year, I beg leave to invite your attention to the fact that the Civil Service Commission has expressed the following views concerning these cases:

The executive order of May 14, 1909, which authorizes the Commission in its discretion to permit navy yard employees to engage in political activity in local municipal elections, is limited in its application to occasions when a strict enforcement of the provisions of Section 1, Rule 1, of the Civil Service Rules would influence the result of a local election and seems to presuppose action upon the merits of each separate case which may be presented. It is believed that many of the vexatious causes which have arisen at Vallejo since the general permission was granted are directly attributable to a misunderstanding of its purposes and limitations.

In view of these considerations, and for the further reason that the general permission heretofore granted has been repeatedly abused, this general permission for employees to take an active part in local elections in Vallejo upon the saloon and vice issues has been revoked.

If permission to become a candidate is desired in any specific case, request therefor may be transmitted through official channels to the Secretary of the Navy, who will forward it with his recommendation to the Commission.

With reference to the doubt expressed by certain employees regarding the application of the rule forbidding political activity to them in the capacity of members and officers of labor organizations, the Commission states that the liability of competitive employees for violation of this rule is personal and individual and entirely apart from membership in any labor union. The rule applies to all competitive employees, irrespective of their membership in any labor union, and any act which constitutes a violation of the rule is to be judged by the rule alone. Employees are not excused in any degree from obedience to the Civil Service Rules by their membership in labor unions. They may not as an officer of a union or in any other capacity take an active part in politics, and may not serve as officers of an organization of any sort which takes an active part in politics. While their service as a delegate to a labor council is inadvisable and likely to involve them in political activity, they will not be prevented from serving as such delegate; but they will not be permitted to serve as officers of the council, or to take any part whatever in its work of gathering or disseminating information regarding candidates for office and matters of proposed legislation or other political information or in formulating or giving advice in these or other political matters to affiliated unions or their members, or in any other political activity of such a council.

The underlying principle of the rule is that an employee who is the servant of all the people, shall not publicly and actively array himself with one group against another group upon any question of public policy concerning which public opinion is divided.

In order to prevent any further possible misunderstanding or misconstruction of the application of the Civil Service Rule relating to political activity, I

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

beg leave to request that you give the information herein furnished as wide publicity as practicable among the employes of the navy yard. Information of similar character will also be communicated to local newspapers in Vallejo.

Very respectfully,

(Signed)

C. L. SNYDER,
District Secretary."

Complaints were immediately filed with us by the officials of our several organizations in California and which we promptly took up with the Civil Service Commission in Washington. Copy of the reply from Mr. John A. McIlhenny, President of the Commission follows:

"June 28, 1915.

"Mr. FRANK MORRISON, Secretary, American Federation of Labor, 801 G Street, City.

"SIR: This Commission is in receipt of your letter of June 24, referring to press reports that the Commission has revoked permission granted several years ago to Mare Island employes to engage in municipal elections, and requesting a copy of the order of the Commission if the report is correct.

"In reply you are advised that some years ago permission was granted to employes of the Mare Island Navy Yard to participate in municipal campaigns upon the saloon and vice issues alone. In the campaign ending in the election of November, 1914, a number of competitive employes engaged actively in an organized effort to further the acceptance by the voters of a proposed amendment to the constitution of California for a universal eight-hour day, and certain other legislation. It appeared that the employes believed in good faith that such activity as that in which they engaged was not within the prohibition of the rule prohibiting political activity, as it was with regard to legislation and not individual candidates of any of the great political parties, and that much of the misunderstanding as to the scope of the rule had arisen from the general permission theretofore granted to employes at this yard to participate in local elections upon the saloon and vice issues, which permission had been repeatedly abused. In accordance with a minute of the Commission of May 6, 1915, the Navy Department was advised that the general permission above mentioned was revoked because of its abuse, and that if any permission to engage in political activity was desired in a specific case, request therefor should be forwarded to the Commission, as is the practice in other navy yards. The following is an extract from the minute mentioned:

"The district secretary will be advised, for his guidance and that of the employes, that the liability of employes for violation of the rule is personal and individual and entirely apart from membership in any labor union. The rule applies to all competitive employes, irrespective of their membership in any labor union, and any act which constitutes a violation of the rule is to be judged by the rule alone. Employes are not excused in any degree from obedience to the civil service rules by their membership in labor unions. They may not as an officer of a union or in any other capacity take an active part in politics, and may not serve as an officer of an organization, of any sort, which takes an active part in politics. While their service as delegate to a labor council is inadvisable and likely to involve them in political activity, they will not be prevented from serving as such delegate; but they will not be permitted to serve as officers of the council, to take any part whatever in its work of gathering or disseminating information regarding candidates for office and matters of proposed legislation or other political information, or in formulating or giving advice in these or other political matters to affiliated unions or their members, or in any other political activity of such a council.

"The underlying principle of the rule is that an employe, who is the servant of all the people, shall not publicly and actively array himself with one group against another group upon any question of public policy concerning which public opinion is divided. The question in the discussion and solution of which these and other competitive employes took active and prominent parts was one of

public policy, submitted to the voters at an election, upon which voters were divided into opposing factions or groups, and were urged by advocates and opponents of the measure to vote one way or another. It was therefore a political issue, and activity in connection therewith was forbidden by the rule.

"By direction of the Commission.

"Very respectfully,

(Signed)

J. A. McILHENNY,

President."

A careful reading of the above communications gives evidence of the fact that the Civil Service Commission has entirely ignored the law of August 24, 1912, which we secured from the 62nd Congress as a protest against the "gag" orders of former Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. It is apparent that special endeavors were not only made by the officials of the Civil Service Commission but by the officials of other departments who carried out their instructions to base their harsh rulings in the Vallejo case entirely upon the so-called "Anti-Political Activity Rule" of the Commission which reads:

"1. No person in the executive civil service shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. Persons who by the provisions of these rules are in the competitive classified service, while retaining the right to vote as they please and to express privately their opinions on all political subjects, shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns."

The illustration cited by us shows how this rule is being misapplied so as practically to prohibit civil service employes from holding membership in a labor organization, providing such labor organization, as such, interests itself in public affairs for the general welfare of the community.

This can best be illustrated by a copy of a letter sent by Commandant F. M. Bennett, to one of the employes at the Mare Island Navy Yard:

"Subject: Reprimand for violation of Civil Service rules prohibiting political activity.

1. The commandant is directed by the Secretary of the Navy to reprimand you in writing for the above offense and to admonish you that further violation on your part of the civil service rule prohibiting political activity on the part of employes in the competitive classified service 'will result in more drastic action by the Department.'

2. It appears from an investigation conducted by the Secretary of the Twelfth Civil Service District that you, in the capacity of Secretary of the Vallejo trades and labor council, addressed letters to a number of candidates for elective office requesting information as to their attitude with regard to certain questions pending measures affecting the so-called interests of organized labor. Furthermore that you gave the answers obtained to such inquiries to the labor council, which made the information public for the guidance of members of affiliated unions in voting and in following the public acts of successful candidates. You were thus attempting to coerce candidates to express certain views or to make pre-election promises, a form of political activity of the most pernicious and unfair character. This during the campaign that terminated in the election early in November, 1914.

3. This activity is peculiarly inexcusable on your part because, in addition to the printed civil service rules accessible to all employes and with which you are familiar, there was during the political campaign referred to, posted in all shops and offices at this station a large placard from the Civil Service Commission calling particular attention to the prohibited forms of political activity. Notwithstanding this unusual publicity given to the rules governing your conduct, you assumed that your allegiance to a labor union was superior to that owed by you to the federal government that employs you, and took upon yourself to deliberately disobey and treat with contempt the orders of the Civil Service Commission.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

4. In so doing you have shown yourself unfit for the trust that the government has a right to repose in its servants, and you have made yourself a marked man for the future. Your conduct will be especially observed hereafter and nothing but the strictest loyalty to your employer and faithful performance of duty will be acceptable. A copy of this letter will be filed with your record.

5. Acknowledge in writing without delay the receipt of this communication.

(Signed) F. M. BENNETT."

Anti-Gag Law

For the sake of the records of this convention, we incorporate herewith copy of the Anti-Gag Order law, approved August 24, 1912, which we believe, if properly interpreted, protects all employes in the classified civil service from attacks which may be made upon them because of their membership in labor organizations or because of their activity in behalf of better government:

"Section 6. That no person in the classified civil service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of said service, and for reasons given in writing, and the person whose removal is sought shall have notice of the same and of any charges preferred against him, and be furnished with a copy thereof, and also be allowed a reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing; and affidavits in support thereof; but no examination of witnesses nor any trial or hearing shall be required except in the discretion of the officer making the removal; and copies of charges, notice of hearing, answer, reasons for removal, and of the order of removal shall be made a part of the records of the proper department or office, as shall also the reasons for reduction in rank or compensation; and copies of the same shall be furnished to the person affected upon request, and the Civil Service Commission also shall upon request be furnished copies of the same:

Provided, However, that membership in any society, association, club, or other form of organization of postal employes not affiliated with any outside organization imposing an obligation or duty upon them to engage in any strike, or proposing to assist them in any strike, against the United States, having for its objects, among other things, improvements in the condition of labor of its members, including hours of labor and compensation therefor and leave of absence, by any person or groups of persons of any grievance or grievances to the Congress or any member thereof shall not constitute or be cause for reduction in rank or compensation or removal of such person or groups of persons from said service. The right of persons employed in the civil service of the United States, either individually or collectively, to petition Congress, or any member thereof, or to furnish information to either House of Congress, or to any committee or member thereof, shall not be denied or interfered with."

We firmly believe that it is impossible for the Civil Service Commissioners or for any other department of the government to require honorable and respectable American citizens to refrain from making their home city a fit place in which to live, but on the other hand to be compelled to sit idly by and allow social and political evils to fasten themselves upon the community in which they live, and where their children are to be reared. We do not believe that such conduct is in harmony with the ideals of a free government or that such undemocratic regulations should be enforced upon any portion of its citizens, especially those working for the United States government.

The disposition to extend the scope of the anti-political activity rule of the Civil Service Commission has been to deprive government employes of practically every political right that this nation has bestowed upon all other citizens. It is the tendency to make of every government employe a political nonentity, much the same as though he were a serf or a subject of an absolute monarchy. We earnestly protest against this unwarranted extension and false interpretation of the civil service rules, and we believe this convention should urge upon Congress to authorize and direct the Civil Service Commission to obey the spirit and letter of the law of August 24, 1912, and not continue to interfere with a federal employe's rights as a citizen or as a member of an organization.

No laws can do for civil service employes what they do for themselves through organization. They must assert themselves, demand their rights as free citizens, and command respect. There is no way that they can accomplish this except through organization influential enough to demand and receive recognition. A separate organization of these workers without outside affiliations and assistance would be more or less under the domination of the Department. These employes need the backing of the organization that is recognized as the most powerful force for human rights and for liberty within the country. Therefore, we recommend to the convention that every effort be made during the coming year to secure a law which shall insure for civil service employes the right of organization. That law should contain the following assertion:

The right of the Civil Service employes of the United States to form any lawful organization, or association, shall not be denied, interfered with or restricted by any officer of the Government of the United States.

Legislation containing such a provision would furnish these employes the opportunity that they need for the only movement that can insure their welfare.

EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

Resolution No. 27 of the Philadelphia Convention protested against the opinion of the United States Attorney General James C. McReynolds on August 1, 1913, in which he interpreted the exception clause of the Eight-hour Act of June 19, 1912, to be more extensive than was intended by Congress when it passed the act.

The resolution also reaffirmed the main contention of Resolution No. 19 of the Seattle Convention insofar that the Executive Council was directed to secure an amendment to the federal Eight-hour law so as to protect union shops and mills manufacturing materials for use by the government as supplies and furnishings of "Public Works."

As is stated in another section the Philadelphia Convention directed the E. C. to request the present United States Attorney General, Honorable T. W. Gregory, to place a construction upon the Eight-hour law, supplementing the decision by the previous Attorney General McReynolds, which had, in a large measure rendered the Eight-hour law ineffective, and if the Council found that an amendment was necessary to make the law establish the object sought, that an amendment be introduced which should provide that all work to be done for the government should be performed on an eight-hour basis.

We deemed it advisable to hold the matter of securing an amendment to the law in abeyance, owing to the fact that the last session of Congress was the short session and that it would be more practical to urge such an amendment during the first session of the 64th Congress which will convene in December of this year.

We did, however, carry out the directions in full relative to opening up the question again with the new Attorney General. The whole subject was made a matter of record in the *American Federationist* for August, 1915, and is discussed in the section entitled the New Eight-hour Decision.

Since the opinion rendered by Attorney General Gregory we have prosecuted our endeavors in behalf of the printing trades, papermakers, sheet metal workers, leather workers on horse goods, patternmakers, painters, steam shovel and dredgemen and others.

Through the good offices of the Honorable William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, we called to the attention of other members of the cabinet, the effective plan of enforcing the Eight-hour law by former President Roosevelt, through the United States Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics which was one of the immediate results following our "Labor's Bill of Grievances," submitted to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives on March 21, 1906. We urged the Secretary of Labor to interest other members of the Cabinet in whose departments government contracts are let. If all the other secretaries of the departments would make it a matter of personal interest they could very readily and properly direct the inspectors of their departments who are commissioned to oversee productions of material for such departments and enforce all the stipulations and specifications contained in the contracts, also to give strict observance to the hours of labor permitted or required of the employes of such contractors on government work, and report same to the head official of the department responsible for such contracts. If this suggestion is followed, the most

practical means will be adopted and the most accurate official evidence will be available to the several departments as to conditions prevailing and hours worked in such private establishments where government contracts are let. The moral effect of such personal interest on the part of the secretaries of the several departments upon subordinate officials would be most effective. It would stimulate them to enforce a strict observance of the Eight-hour law thereby removing many unnecessary causes for complaint in future. Such a method of procedure would carry out the spirit and intent of Congress in the enactment of the Eight-hour law.

MODEL ANTITRUST INJUNCTION LIMITATION LAW FOR STATE USE

The Philadelphia Convention directed that a model law on this subject be sent to the various State Federations of Labor and city central bodies, urging them to endeavor to secure its enactment by their several state legislatures, and the Massachusetts antitrust, injunction limitations measure, amended to distinguish more clearly between personal rights and rights growing out of ownership of property, be recommended as a model act. On March 15, 1915, a circular letter was addressed to the officers of the state federations of labor and city central bodies, including copy of the proposed Antitrust Injunction Limitation law for state use.

The legislation recommended follows:

Be it Enacted, Etc.:

SECTION 1. It shall not be unlawful for working men and women to organize themselves into, or carry on labor unions for the purpose of lessening the hours of labor or increasing the wages or bettering the condition of the members of such organizations; or carrying out their legitimate purposes as freely as they could do if acting singly.

SECTION 2. No restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of this state, or any judge or judges thereof in any case involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his agent or attorney.

SECTION 3. No restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons, whether singly or in concert, from terminating any relation of employment or from ceasing to perform any work or labor; or from recommending, advising or persuading others so to do; or from attending at any place where any person or persons may lawfully be, for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information, or from persuading any such person to work or to abstain from working; or from ceasing to patronize any party to such dispute; or from recommending, advising, or persuading others so to do; or from paying or giving to or withholding from, any person engaged in such dispute, any strike benefits or other moneys or things of value; or from assembling in a lawful manner, and for lawful purposes; or from doing any act or thing which might lawfully be done in the absence of such dispute by a single individual; nor shall any of the acts specified in this section be considered or held to be illegal or unlawful in any court of this state.

SECTION 4. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and the right to enter into the relation of employer and employee or to change that relation; or to assume and create a new relation for employer and employee; or to perform and carry on business with any person in any place; or to do work and labor as an employee, shall be held and construed to be a personal, and not a property right. In all cases involving the violation of the contract of employment, either by the employee or employer, where no irreparable damage is about to be committed upon the property or property right of either, no injunction shall be granted, but the parties shall be left to their remedy at law.

SECTION 5. No persons shall be indicted, prosecuted, or tried in any court of this state for entering into or carrying on any arrangement, agreement, or com-

bination between themselves made with a view of lessening the number of hours of labor or increasing wages or bettering the condition of workingmen, or for any act done in pursuance thereof, unless such act is in itself forbidden by law if done by a single individual.

Our friends and associates in the several state federations worked earnestly and efficiently in behalf of this legislation and although we can not at this time report tangible success in any state, yet we know that the work done has been preliminary and helpful to its final accomplishment at an early period.

We again urge state federations, city central bodies, the officers of the rank and file of our general movement within the various states to vigorously insist upon the enactment of such a law as herein quoted and recommended.

CONVICT LABOR

Two important convict labor bills were before the Sixty-third Congress, the most important being H. R. 1933, introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Booher of Missouri and in the Senate by Senator Hughes of New Jersey. It passed the House of Representatives on March 4, 1914, by practically a unanimous vote. In the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which committee held extensive hearings upon it. On August 29, 1914, it was reported favorably to the Senate by that committee with some amendments. Many efforts were made by Senator Hughes and other friends of the measure to get it before the Senate, but on every occasion met with the strenuous opposition of Senator Nelson of Minnesota. Finally, on March 1, 1915, it was called up in the Senate under the unanimous consent rule when Senator Nelson again objected to its consideration and prevented its being called up again during the Sixty-third Congress.

During the several years we have endeavored to obtain federal legislation on the convict labor question, this was the first time we ever succeeded in getting the bill properly considered by a Senate committee and the first time it was ever reported by a Senate committee. Senator Nelson had always heretofore successfully killed it in committee. Similar bills have passed the House of Representatives on several occasions, and it is our opinion that the principles of the bill are favored by a large majority of the Senators. It therefore remains for us to renew our efforts and urge Senators and Representatives to dispose of the measure earlier during the next legislative session, so that it will not be left to run the hazard of chance consideration under the unanimous consent rule during congestion of public business, in the closing days of a Congress.

The other convict labor measures were the companion bills H. R. 14330 by Representative Hensley of Missouri and S. 4161 by Senator Stone of Missouri, introduced by them to prohibit the importation of convict-made goods. The Hensley bill passed the House of Representatives on March 25, 1914, by a practically unanimous vote. The Senate referred it to the Committee on Manufactures. Both bills were favorably reported to the Senate by that committee and on March 1, 1915, both the Senate bill and the House bill were called up for consideration on two separate occasions under the unanimous consent rule of the Senate, and both times they were promptly defeated by the single objection of Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia. The Stone-Hensley bills contained necessary and valuable provisions to prevent the importation into the United States of all goods made by convicts in foreign countries and would undoubtedly have met the approval of an overwhelming majority of the Senate as well as the House if the measure could have been brought up, debated and disposed of under normal parliamentary conditions.

It is unfortunate that legislation fraught with so much potentiality for good to both fair employers and honest wage-earners should be allowed to linger upon the calendars of the Senate, so that a single objection from an opposing Senator under the unanimous consent rule prevents such measures from receiving the legislative consideration to which they are entitled.

CHILD LABOR

During last congress many bills were introduced for the purpose of improving the child labor laws of the District of Columbia, and many were introduced for the further purpose of regulating the labor of children or prohibiting their labor under certain ages when engaged

in the manufacture or preparation of goods for interstate commerce. Some of the latter bills introduced contained penalties making the common carrier liable for the transportation, from one city to another, of goods manufactured in whole or in part by children under certain ages and other bills made the manufacturer or shipper of such goods liable.

The Owen-Palmer bill was undoubtedly the best prepared measure. It received the greatest consideration and undoubtedly it would have been the most effective, if it had been enacted into law. After extended hearings by the House Committee on Labor, the Palmer bill was redrafted and favorably reported to the House on August 13, 1914, by Representative Lewis, chairman of the House Committee on Labor. It passed the House after a most interesting and vigorous debate, on February 15, 1915, by a vote of 233 "ayes" to 43 "nays." The bill was then referred by the Senate to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and on March 1, 1915, and was favorably reported to the Senate with certain amendments. Several efforts were made by Senators Robinson of Arkansas, and Norris of Nebraska, to obtain consideration of the bill by the Senate, but the congested condition of business before the Senate at that late day prevented action being taken. It was called to the attention of the Senate that the Owen-Palmer bill would prevent any factory selling its product in any other state if such a product was produced by child labor. It is our opinion that if the bill could have been properly brought before the Senate at that session it would have become law.

We are confident that this measure or one similar to it will become a law in the near future, because we believe that the Congress of the United States is not inclined to set itself against the enlightened public sentiment of the people in behalf of better opportunities for the children.

We recommend that this issue be made one of the chief features in our forthcoming legislative program.

PIECEWORK—TAYLOR SYSTEM—IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Resolutions Nos. 20, 139 and 156, adopted by the Philadelphia Convention, reiterated protests against the Taylor system, piecework, premium, bonus and stop-watch schemes of shop management in government departments. Resolution No. 139 made particular reference to the intimidation of railway mail clerks by Alexander H. Stephens, General Superintendent of the Postal Railway mail service, who had been tyrannical in his efforts to prevent railway mail clerks from signing petitions and sending them to Senator Borah in behalf of the bill, S. 5826, which he had introduced and championed in Congress. An overwhelming number of protests against Superintendent Stephens were sent to Senator Borah and other members of Congress. The Post-office Department and particularly its chief administrative officials were severely criticized and fearlessly denounced by Senator Borah in two speeches which he made in the Senate. Stephens afterwards denied that he had attempted to coerce or intimidate the railway mail clerks, and that he had not discharged any of the clerks because they had signed the petitions for the abolition of the stop-watch, Taylor scheme foisted upon the service by him. Not long after Senator Borah had excoriated Stephens and our combined protests had been reviewed Stephens was removed from the superintendency of the railway mail service. Since that time, the complaints against the speeding-up system of railway mail clerks have not been so numerous.

During the consideration of the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill in the second session of the Sixty-third Congress, Representatives Buchanan, Nolan, and others succeeded in having a system of piecework abolished in one division of the Post-office Department at Washington, D. C. The piecework system which had been in existence there for sometime had become intolerable to the men and women employees.

We continued our efforts in co-operation with the Metal Trades to abolish the Taylor system which had become partially established in some government navy yards and arsenals. Finding it impossible to secure direct legislation upon the subject by the enactment of the Deitrick bill, H. R. 17800, we had recourse to other methods of securing congressional action upon the bill, and in response to our continued efforts Mr. Deitrick offered his bill as an amendment to the Army Appropriation bill on January 22, 1915. The Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee which had the bill in charge, promptly made a point of order against it, using the old subterfuge "that it was new legislation." Ample congressional precedents proved to the satisfaction of the members of the House, that

contractual relations and industrial working conditions can be legitimately defined and included in an appropriation bill. Representatives Buchanan, Nolan, Keating, and others of the labor group vigorously supported Mr. Deitrick's amendment. The chairman of the committee withdrew his point of order and the House, by a unanimous vote, in Committee of the Whole adopted the Deitrick anti-stop-watch, anti-speeding up, anti-premium system proviso in the bill.

It is worthy of special note in this record that Brigadier General William Crozier, Chief of the Ordnance Bureau in the War Department, a most insistent advocate and promoter of the Taylor system in the government arsenals, immediately after above recorded action of the House, wired to his subordinate officials at Watertown, Mass.; Watervliet, N. Y.; Frankford, Pa.; and Rock Island, Ill., for them immediately to stop the stop-watch Taylor system in their several departments, but this did not deter him from exercising every possible resource with the members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs to defeat the Deitrick amendment. When the Senate Committee on Military Affairs reported the Army Appropriation bill to the Senate they had stricken out the Deitrick amendment. On February 23, 1915, when the army bill was brought up in the Senate a vigorous debate ensued. Senators Lippitt of Rhode Island, Thomas of Colorado, Warren of Wyoming, Weeks of Massachusetts, Oliver of Pennsylvania, and Root of New York, vigorously supported the Taylor system and complimented the committee for striking the amendment from the bill. Senators Hughes and Martine of New Jersey, were emphatic in their protests against the committee for striking it out. They urged the retention of the Deitrick proviso in the bill. After extended debate, three ballots were taken and the Senate struck out of the bill the anti-Taylor system proviso. Nevertheless we did not allow this apparent set-back to stop our efforts. We succeeded on February 8, 1915, in securing the addition of the Deitrick bill to the Naval Appropriation bill when it was before the House of Representatives. The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs being better informed on industrial questions and more sympathetic towards the interests of Labor than the Committee on Military Affairs kept it in the naval bill, and so reported it to the Senate. On February 25, 1915, when the naval bill came up in the Senate, Senators Warren of Wyoming and Oliver of Pennsylvania, members of the Committee on Military Affairs, who had shown opposition two days before in the Senate to the Deitrick bill in the army appropriation bill, raised points of order against the anti-Taylor system proviso in the naval bill. The point of order was sustained by the Vice-President, and again it looked as though we were out-generaled. The army and naval appropriation bills were then sent to conference and on March 2, 1915, when the conferees reported to the Senate that the House would not recede, the Senate agreed to permit the anti-Taylor system proviso to remain in the naval bill. The only protesting votes against it were those of Senator Oliver of Pennsylvania, Lippitt of Rhode Island, and Weeks of Massachusetts. At a later hour, on the same day, the Senate conferees on the army bill reported that they had agreed with the House conferees to retain the anti-Taylor system Deitrick amendment in the army bill, and it was agreed to with the exception of Senators Oliver of Pennsylvania, and Bristow of Kansas, who registered their bitter opposition to the last moment.

We are pleased to report in detail this successful outcome of our united endeavors and believe that now we have succeeded in adding these meritorious provisos to the naval and army appropriation bills it will be less difficult to obtain positive clear-cut legislation, which will permanently prohibit the objectionable stop-watch, speeding-up, premium bonus, Taylor system, of driving and intimidating employees in federal departments.

IMMIGRATION

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention that the Immigration bill, which contained the literacy test and certain administrative provisions favored by the American Federation of Labor, passed the House of Representatives on February 5, 1914, by a vote of 252 "ayes," to 126 "nays," a three-fourths vote in favor. We then expressed the opinion that the bill would be brought before the Senate early during the third session of the Sixty-third Congress for action in that body. Our judgment proved to be correct and in response to exceptional efforts made by our organizations and other organizations sympathetic with the best principles of the bill, approved by us, Senator Ellison D. Smith, of South Carolina, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, took advantage of the earliest opportunity afforded in the Senate, thereby securing a special order of business

for consideration of the Immigration bill. It was before the Senate for almost continuous debate from December 9 to December 30, 1914. Extended speeches were made by Senators opposing the literacy test, but notwithstanding their dilatory tactics and after practically exhausting all of their resources to delay a vote upon the measure, the literacy test was adopted by the Senate in Committee of the Whole on December 31, 1914, when Senator Martine of New Jersey had moved to strike the literacy test from the bill. His motion was lost by a vote of 47 to 12. On January 2, 1915, the Immigration bill passed the Senate with the literacy test intact by a vote of 50 "ayes" to 7 "nays." Some changes had been made by the Senate in other parts of the bill but practically none in the provision covering the administrative features favored by us and including the literacy test.

During the time that we were in session arrangements were made so that the entire E. C., together with Hon. W. B. Wilson, Secretary Department of Labor, had a conference with President Wilson with the view of prevailing upon him to sign the Immigration bill then passed by Congress.

The measure was then sent to conference and after several reports were made by the conferees, the final conference report was agreed to in the Senate without division on January 14, 1915, and on January 15, 1915, the House agreed by a vote of 227 "ayes" to 94 "nays." The bill was then sent to President Wilson. Opponents of the literacy test besieged the White House in their endeavor to secure a veto of the bill by President Wilson, but before taking final action on the bill, he called a public hearing on January 22, 1915, at which advocates and opponents of the literacy test were present and expressed their opinions concerning it. Secretary Morrison had charge of the time for the advocates of the literacy test and Representative Gallivan of Massachusetts, Sabath of Illinois, and Goldfogle of New York, had charge of the time for the opponents. On January 28, 1915, President Wilson vetoed the Immigration bill because it contained the literacy test. In the meantime exceptionally valuable copies of correspondence and expense accounts were secured by President Gompers which clearly proved the close alliance of the shipping, financial, coal, steel, and other industrial interests which demanded an open door to the United States for immigrants from all over the world regardless of their qualifications or shortcomings. They stood in behalf of the importation of wholesale ignorance.

A special edition of our *Weekly News Letter* was issued containing copies of the letters, expense accounts and other damaging evidence which proved the collusion of special interests so closely allied against the workers of the United States. The exposure in the *Weekly News Letter* had a tremendous influence in holding the vote of congressmen who had previously voted for the literacy test but who had some hesitancy of again voting for it, thereby apparently setting themselves against the President by overriding his veto.

On February 4, 1915, the House debated the President's veto of the literacy test and one of the greatest contests that has ever been witnessed in the House of Representatives took place on that occasion. The vote was exceptionally close, 261 in favor of passing the bill over the President's veto and 136 against, thus lacking only four votes of passing the Immigration bill over the President's veto. Consequently no important immigration legislation was passed during last Congress.

This was the third occasion when the hopes of Labor were dashed by the action of a President of the United States setting his judgment against the overwhelming majority in both the House and Senate. President Cleveland vetoed the Immigration bill in 1897, President Taft in 1913 and President Wilson in 1915.

We immediately took steps to ascertain the attitude of the newly elected members to the Sixty-fourth Congress, urging our fellow workers to keep in direct touch with their Representatives and Senators on this most important issue. The bill will be reintroduced early during next Congress and we should exert ourselves in every honorable way to secure its enactment into law.

This is one of the most vital issues to the interest of the workers of the United States and it must be disposed of and settled as speedily as possible.

In addition to the dangers under normal conditions from practically unlimited immigration the present European conflict makes the problem more pressing and important, for when the time shall come, when the fratricidal struggle of European workers shall come to an end, there may be expected an influx of immigration that will practically be overwhelming in numbers and of character that will menace the conditions and ideals established by American workers.

It is therefore our opinion that this convention shall consider the regulation and

limitation of immigration and shall declare the position which we, as the representatives of the toiling masses of the United States, must take to prevent the dangers which must confront all unless effective legislation is enacted as speedily as the situation demands.

Many endeavors were made in the House Committee on Immigration to secure satisfactory reports on the bill favored by the A. F. of L. amending the Asiatic exclusion regulations. Owing to the Government's objection to any changes being made in the Asiatic immigration regulations because of certain fears concerning interruption or interference with Japanese treaty rights, it was found absolutely impossible to obtain any progress on these restrictions in our Asiatic immigration laws, which the Seattle Resolution No. 28 included, and which was reaffirmed in Resolution No. 137 at Philadelphia.

AMENDMENT TO THE HOURS OF SERVICE LAW

H. R. 17893, introduced by Representative Stevens of New Hampshire, for the purpose of amending the present railroad men's maximum sixteen-hour law, known as the "Hours of Service Law" was reported to the Philadelphia Convention as having passed the House on September 8, 1914, and when reported to the Senate was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and that committee favorably reported it to the Senate on February 26, 1915, without amendment.

The bill contained a minimum penalty of not less than \$100 to be imposed upon railroads for violation of the Hours of Service law. This minimum penalty has been urged because of the peculiar way in which many of the courts have trifled with the important safety law of March, 1907. Many cases are on record in which courts set penalties for violation of that law of only one cent. Such court rulings made the act appear ridiculous and rendered it ineffective upon railroad officials and destroyed the spirit of the law and intent of Congress when the original act was passed. When the Stevens bill was called up in the Senate under the unanimous consent rule on February 26, 1915, Senator Oliver of Pennsylvania objected to the minimum penalty of \$100, but afterward offered to withdraw his objection to the bill if the penalty was reduced to \$50. After consultation with all the labor interests advocating this measure, the suggestion by Senator Oliver was agreed to and additional efforts were made to have the bill called up again and passed with the \$50 minimum penalty.

On March 4, 1915, the measure was called up in the Senate again by Senator Robinson of Arkansas, but Senator Lippitt of Rhode Island objected to the consideration of the bill. Consequently, because of Lippitt's objection this meritorious safety measure to railroad employes died on the Senate calendar.

The Philadelphia Convention directed the Executive Council to continue its effort until the measure shall be enacted into law and in harmony with those directions we propose to continue our efforts in the next Congress in behalf of an amendment to the Hours of Service law, similar to the Stevens bill, which will include a proper penalty upon railroads for violation of the act.

MINIMUM WAGES FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

At the instance of delegates from the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders who introduced Resolution No. 99, the Philadelphia Convention endorsed bill H. R. 16541 by Representative Gorman of Illinois, introduced by him for the purpose of establishing a minimum salary of \$780 per year for unskilled laborers employed by the federal government and a minimum salary of \$1,080 per year for federal employes who are required to use tools or other machinery and who are otherwise classified as skilled laborers. The bill by Mr. Gorman was referred to the House Committee on the District of Columbia. Hearings were held upon the bill and Mr. Gorman made reference to it in speeches on the floor of the House. Unfortunately, however, many disputes, political and otherwise, occurred in the Committee on the District of Columbia. Many personal and local questions disturbed the work of the committee, so that long before Congress adjourned it was found to be impossible to secure any action on Mr. Gorman's bill or similar bills which had been referred to that committee during the last Congress.

It is our opinion that the best principles of Mr. Gorman's bill may be incorporated in a similar measure to be introduced and urged for enactment by the incoming Congress.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION—VOCATIONAL TRAINING

It is impossible for us to give any substantial report at this time concerning the progress of federal legislation in behalf of industrial education—vocational training. The short session of Congress last year was too crowded with other matters for consideration of this subject.

The Philadelphia Convention recommended that the matter be left with us to take such further action as will cause the greatest benefit to Labor in the development of industrial education, vocational and trade training. We hope to be able to give further attention to this very important subject during next Congress.

We have, however, co-operated to the fullest extent of our ability in localities such as Richmond, Va.; New York City, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, Minn.; Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio, and other cities where local efforts have been undertaken to study or install improved systems of industrial education. Other local surveys have been made at Albany, N. Y.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; New Orleans, La.; Peoria, Chicago, and other cities in Illinois, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Buffalo, N. Y.; various localities in Wisconsin under the jurisdiction of the university of that state. In Indiana also some activity has been noted. Taking it all in all the past year has been an important one in the sphere of local activities to obtain professional technical instructors and in stimulating interest and action to promote vocational education.

The Department of Labor and the Bureau of Education in the United States Department of the Interior must be credited with giving a measure of assistance and encouragement to local efforts in behalf of improved systems of vocational and trade education.

During the second session of the Sixty-third Congress an increase in the appropriations for the Bureau of Education was obtained, and from those funds the position of a specialist in vocational education was established. Mr. William T. Bawden was appointed to fill the duties.

In connection with the subject of industrial education and vocational training, we submit that the federal government should afford generous financial aid to this matter fraught with so much value to the workers, to the people generally, and to the stability of our country. In our judgment, there can be no better preparation of the United States than intelligent understanding and effective work in industry. Our movement has already established the system of educating the men and women engaged in agriculture and horticulture, and affording the best opportunity for the sons and daughters of the farmers of our country so that they may become more intelligent and efficient workers in agriculture. We submit that an introduction of that system, so that it will apply to the mechanic, artisan and laborers of the United States is the opportunity of wisdom, foresight, economy and broad-minded self-interest and betterment to extend the federal plan of operation to industrial education, vocational training, civic rights, duties and responsibilities.

PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS AMONG LONGSHOREMEN

Resolutions 109 and 114 adopted by the Philadelphia Convention directed us to use every effort to have the federal, state and provincial authorities enact legislation in the interests of the longshoremen, so that the risks of accidents will be minimized and greater safety provided for men loading and unloading vessels.

We communicated with our central bodies and state branches on the coasts and lakes to enlist their co-operation in securing safety legislation for longshoremen. We anticipated that the Bureau of Labor Safety bill which we hoped would have been enacted during last Congress would have enabled us to extend greater safety provisions for men engaged in the hazardous occupations of loading and unloading vessels.

We will continue our efforts in behalf of that measure so that greater safety will be insured to all workers. We will also take this question up with commissioners of labor and factory inspectors of the several states where maritime commerce is carried on and urge them to do all within their power to make working conditions safer for longshoremen and others engaged on wharves, docks and quays.

PROHIBIT NEW YORK BOAT OWNERS FROM COMPELLING CAPTAINS' FAMILIES TO LIVE ON BOATS AND BARGES

Resolution No. 107 recommended that the American Federation of Labor should do all in its power to have laws enacted which will stop boat owners in the Port of New York and vicinity from compelling the families of the captains hired by them to live on the boats.

We took this matter up with Commissioner Mahanny of the Port of New York, with Secretary of Labor, Honorable William B. Wilson, and with the officials of the New York State Federation of Labor, besides encouraging officials of the International Longshoremen's Association to have this grievance reported to and investigated by the Industrial Relations Commission. The New York State Federation of Labor acted favorably upon our requests and efforts will be made in the near future to secure legislation by the New York General Assembly which will remedy or prohibit this unhealthy, dangerous and obnoxious practice.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF MOUNT VERNON AND MONTICELLO

It was found impossible to obtain action by Congress during last session on the proposals to purchase the former home and burial place of George Washington at Mount Vernon, or the former home of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello, but we can report that the proposal to purchase these historic places by the government on behalf of the people is growing in favor among senators and representatives. We will continue our efforts during next Congress in behalf of these worthy projects in response to the instructions given us at the Seattle and Philadelphia Conventions.

OLD AGE PENSIONS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

We reported to the Seattle and Philadelphia Conventions that many bills had been introduced in Congress providing for old age pensions and retirement allowances for civil service employees of the federal government. The House Committee on Civil Service conducted some hearings upon the subject, but largely because of the peculiar stand of the several associations connected with government employes and their antagonism towards each other, it was found absolutely impossible to make headway upon the subject, either before the committee or with individual members of Congress.

Several conferences were held in Washington by representative employes and organizations of employes of the United States Government on the general subject of old age pensions, retirement allowances and superannuations. At practically all of these conferences a wide difference of opinion was evident. Some delegates favored straight pensions by the government without contributions by employes. Others favored a contributory plan by employes provided an increase in salary would be allowed by Congress. Several Congressmen have expressed themselves as being favorable to a system of pensioning all old or incapacitated federal employes, but practically all avail themselves of the excuse that so long as the employes themselves differ as to plans and methods that it will be impossible to secure any legislation of this character.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT

The Philadelphia Convention reaffirmed its attitude in behalf of Popular Government through the principles of the initiative and referendum, and directed us to continue our efforts in the interest of effective initiative and referendum legislation and for co-operation with the National Popular Government League. In connection with this subject we report that Secretary Morrison attended the second convention of the Popular Government League and participated in the general discussion. We have in addition urged and encouraged our affiliated organizations to co-operate with the National Popular Government League and in every particular where it has been possible for us to render aid in states where the subject was under discussion, we have urged the officers of our state federations of labor, our city central labor unions and our local organizations to carry out to the full limits of their ability, general instructions laid down in the program adopted by the Seattle Convention and again endorsed at the Philadelphia Convention.

We note a disposition by corporation interests and political partisans in some states, notably Washington, to undo and offset the progress previously accomplished. They see in it an agency hostile to their privileges, their schemes and the strangle-hold they have heretofore held.

AMENDMENT TO POSTAL SAVINGS BANK LAW

The Seattle Convention urged the amendment of the Postal Savings law to enable school district trustees to take their school district bonds to the federal trustees of the postal

savings fund and borrow money direct thereon without the intervention of any third party. It was not possible to obtain legislation of this character during the second session of the Sixty-third Congress but in accord with the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention. We continued efforts to secure such an amendment to the Postal Savings law during the third session of the Sixty-third Congress, but owing to the fact that the Post-office committees of both houses were completely absorbed with other matters concerning the general government of the Post-office, particularly necessary reforms in weighing and transportation of mail and other difficult problems, it was found impossible during the last Congress to secure any further amendment to the Postal Savings law in harmony with Resolution No. 91 of the Seattle Convention.

CITIZENSHIP FOR PORTO RICANS

We reported to the Philadelphia Convention that Representative Jones of Virginia, Chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, made a favorable report to the House on bill H. R. 14866 on March 26, 1914, and which bill contained provisions for collective citizenship for the Porto Ricans. It was placed upon the House calendar and occupied a favorable position but unfortunately the congestion of other business in the House prevented this bill being called up. Consequently it will be necessary to renew our efforts in the Sixty-fourth Congress in behalf of that bill relative to the granting of citizenship rights to the Porto Ricans.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND VAGRANCY LAWS

Many bills dealing with the proposition to establish a federal employment bureau were introduced toward the end of Congress. This was partly because of the great amount of unemployment prevailing at that time, and partly because it was an inexpensive method to obtain temporary popularity among constituents. There was a current impression that unemployment bureaus were the only things necessary to secure employment for the unemployed.

The House Committee on Labor gave the subject exhaustive and thoughtful consideration. Extended hearings were held and arguments were made by those who advocated federal legislation that would have at least a tendency to mitigate the suffering of "a fellow out of a job." On February 20, 1915, the House Committee favorably reported the bill, H. R. 19015, by Representative MacDonald of Michigan, when it was too late in the session to obtain consideration of it on the floor of the House.

The Department of Labor has made efforts to bring together the "workless man to the manless job" (as the department officials express it), and within the limited means of the department it has accomplished what was within its power under the circumstances.

We recommend that a special committee be appointed by this convention to study the subject, report their conclusions and recommendations. Eventually it will fall to the lot of our A. F. of L. to prevent the results which we, as part of the people, have to suffer during panic periods or industrial depressions. Therefore, in our opinion, it is our duty to advocate a constructive program.

PROPOSED WELFARE AMENDMENTS TO STATE CONSTITUTIONS

We have duly carried out the instructions of the several conventions in calling to the attention of our officials and members of state federations of labor and city central bodies the advisability to take every possible advantage to amend their state constitutions on the substantial lines laid down by the Philadelphia Convention on the several subjects enumerated, viz.: free speech and free press; regulating contempt procedure; eight-hour day for public employes and contractors doing public work; convict labor; abrogation of the so-called common law defenses, "fellow servant" doctrine, "assumption of risk," "contributory negligence," "waiving of rights," and general labor welfare legislation, etc.

MUNICIPAL HOUSING

Resolution No. 61 declared in favor of better housing facilities in the several cities of the country for the express purpose of conserving the health and lives of the working people through more sanitary living environments, and it was recommended that federal laws

should be passed which would bring about a system of government loans of money for the construction of both municipal and private ownership of sanitary homes, so that such legislation which might be enacted by the federal Congress would serve as a model to the various cities and states in the nation. Bills were introduced for this purpose by Representative Borland of Missouri and Senator Pomerene of Ohio. They were each referred to the respective committees on the District of Columbia. Hearings were held and general discussion indulged in, but the subject being a new one in the United States, no definite progress can be reported. This is one of the subjects that will require considerable discussion and agitation before legislators in Congress, state assemblies, or municipal councils will pay serious heed to the need of the reformation or the plans suggested to solve the evils which everybody recognizes, and which few undertake to remedy.

DENATURED ALCOHOL

The Philadelphia Convention approved the bill, H. R. 17855, introduced by Representative John J. Casey of Pennsylvania for the purpose of encouraging the development and demonstrating the practical utility of farm denatured alcohol distilling. The bill was referred to the House Committee on Agriculture.

The committee held hearings upon Mr. Casey's bill on February 16, 1915, at which arguments in favor of the general principles contained in the bill were heard. The Department of Agriculture was duly represented by its officials, and in a communication the Department submitted to the committee that it substantially favored the development of an industrial alcohol industry in this country at an early period and that such proposed developments in aid of the agriculture industry should be directly undertaken by the Department of Agriculture rather than by any other agency. The committee, however, took no further action upon the Casey bill.

MANUFACTURE OF STAMPED ENVELOPES

Resolution No. 130 directed us to lend our assistance to the International Typographical Union in securing the passage of an amendment to the printing law that will prevent the building up of a private monopoly of the printing of corner cards on stamped envelopes. It was expected that this legislation would be included in the printing bill, which had been under consideration by Congress for several sessions and which was substantially a general revision of the printing laws. Such a measure passed the House of Representatives and was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Printing. It also contained increases of salaries for certain classes of government employes in the printing trades.

It was impossible to secure careful consideration of it by the Senate, and when it was called up under the unanimous consent rule on March 1, 1915, Senator Owen of Oklahoma objected to it, because of certain limitations and restrictions contained therein which very materially affected the franking privilege of Congressmen. As a consequence the measure failed to pass.

One substantial success, however, was obtained for the employes in the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C., through a decision by the former Comptroller of the Treasury, George E. Downey. He decided that the employes of the Government Printing Office should enjoy a full thirty day's leave of absence per year with pay, instead of the former twenty-six days which had been a maximum amount of time allowed. A sufficient appropriation was obtained in the General Deficiency bill during the closing hours of Congress to enable the Public Printer to meet the additional expenses incurred.

In these endeavors on behalf of the printing trades we gave our best assistance and co-operated to the extent of our ability.

SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The residents of the District of Columbia are still disfranchised. Some discussion was indulged in during last Congress among the people of the District and among Congressmen, relative to the restoration of full citizenship rights to the residents of the District of Columbia. The financial and corporate interests of the District in combination with their associates in other sections of the country are, as a whole, bitterly opposed to

granting the franchise or allowing a local form of self-government to be established in the District of Columbia. There is more profit assured to them by letting matters stand as they are and unfortunately the people of the District of Columbia, taking them as a whole, are too luke-warm and too indifferent concerning their civic rights to assert themselves as they should. So long as this apathy continues on the part of the masses and diligence is maintained on the part of the few privileged investors, we need not expect Congress to grant the ballot to the disfranchised people of the District of Columbia. "What is worth having is worth struggling for" has always been the axiom among trade unionists. The same principle holds good in regard to the rights and privileges of general citizenship.

We have encouraged public discussion to persuade the people of the District of Columbia to assert themselves to secure the voting privilege. We shall continue to do this whenever the opportunity is afforded and hope that ultimately our ideals may be achieved.

TEAMSTERS IN POST-OFFICE EMPLOY

The Philadelphia Convention directed us to continue our efforts to secure legislation instructing the Post-office Department to employ men to handle the local transfer of mails directly, thereby abolishing the present system of contracting with private team owners.

Due to the difficulties confronting the Post-office Committees referred to in other sections of this report dealing with the post-office, it was found impossible to secure legislation of this character, but the Post-office Department has made diligent efforts to correct the errors in the system complained of, and from the most recent reports at hand, we learned that the Post-office Department has found it to be much more satisfactory to handle the local transfer of mails by its own employes than by private contractors and in addition they have found that it is much more economical. We are of the opinion that the evils complained of in Resolution No. 54 of the Seattle Convention will eventually adjust themselves without the need of specific legislation.

LOCOMOTIVE INSPECTORS

The Locomotive Inspection bill, H. R. 17894, by Representative Goeke of Ohio, which passed the House January 4, 1915, extended the inspection service formerly restricted to locomotive boilers to the engines and tenders of locomotives used in interstate commerce.

In accordance with the requirements of Resolution No. 141 passed by the Philadelphia Convention, we urged Congress to embody the legislation proposed, requiring inspectors of locomotive boilers and locomotive engines to possess practical shop experience, and submitted a draft of a substitute bill for the proposed Goeke measure. The officers of the Railroad Employees Department, the Boilermakers, the Machinists, and the Metal Trades Department co-operated with us in these endeavors, particularly before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which had the bill in charge. Nevertheless, the Senate disregarded the suggestions made, and on March 4, 1915, the House bill was passed without material change.

In the month of August a conference was held at Washington in the office of the chief locomotive inspector, at which the officials of the Railroad Employees Department, the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, together with superintendents of motive power of the largest railroad systems agreed in part to certain rules to govern the inspection of locomotive engines and tenders, same to be later submitted (September 28, 29) for approval to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

BUREAU OF MINES

The Bureau of Mines bill, H. R. 15869, by Representative Foster of Illinois, extends the safety provisions of the Bureau of Mines Act, including the establishment of ten new mining experiment stations and seven new mine safety stations. It authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to carry out the purposes of the act. It passed the House on February 1, 1915, and the Senate on March 1, 1915, and was approved by the President on March 3.

This is an exceptionally valuable safety measure and it is gratifying to note that during its passage through Congress there was little opposition to it.

SAFETY APPLIANCES AND REGULATIONS

Several safety appliance bills were introduced; some applicable to railroads, such as standard headlights on locomotives and standard block systems. No definite action on any was taken in either of the Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Representative Buchanan of Illinois spared no effort to advance legislation of this character. He particularly distinguished himself in the House in his advocacy of bill H. R. 8593, introduced by him for the purpose of improving and increasing safety regulations for men engaged in the construction of buildings, and applicable to the building regulations of the District of Columbia. The bill finally passed the House on June 20, 1914. It was then referred to the Senate Committee on District of Columbia. Many efforts were made to obtain favorable action by that committee on this bill but without avail.

IMPEACHMENTS

Impeachment charges were made by Representative Neely of West Virginia against Judge Alston D. Dayton, United States District Judge for the Northern District of West Virginia. The charges were referred to a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, consisting of Representatives McGillicuddy of Maine, Gard of Ohio, and Danforth of New York. Investigations were made by this committee of the impeachment charges and on March 3, 1915, the subcommittee reported to the Judiciary Committee. After consideration of same, that committee reported that it had reached the conclusion that no further proceedings should be had with reference to said impeachment resolution. The subcommittee's report was signed by Representatives Gard and Danforth. Representative McGillicuddy submitted a minority report in which he said: "I do not concur with the recommendation that no further proceedings be had, as it is my opinion that the evidence taken by the subcommittee, and findings of fact above made, warrant further proceedings looking forward to impeachment."

When a judge wilfully perverts the instrumentality of the law and usurps power to deny citizens their constitutional, legal, and normal rights, his usefulness on the bench has been destroyed and tends to bring the judiciary into contempt. The fact that the perversion of law and the usurpation of power are exercised against working people as working people makes the offense all the more flagrant, for we hold that the working people are entitled to every protection of their rights and to exact equality before the law, with all other citizens of our country.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT LEGISLATION

The Philadelphia Convention endorsed certain resolutions recommended by the Farmers' National Congress relative to specific beneficial features to be incorporated in such Farm Credit legislation as may be enacted by Congress. We were directed to continue efforts to secure the enactment of such remedial legislation in behalf of the farmers. Strenuous efforts were made by Senator Fletcher of Florida and by several Senators and Representatives to secure the passage of Farm Credit legislation during the last session of Congress, but on account of the divergent views entertained by Representatives and Senators on this subject it was impossible to reach any conclusion, but a joint committee on rural credits composed of the following Senators and Representatives was appointed to examine into the question and report to the next session of Congress not later than January 1, 1916:

Representative Carter Glass, Virginia, Chairman.
Senator R. L. Owen, Oklahoma.
Senator Henry F. Hollis, New Hampshire.
Senator Thomas P. Gore, Oklahoma.
Senator Hoke Smith, Georgia.
Senator Knute Nelson, Minnesota.
Senator James H. Brady, Idaho.
Representative Michael Phelan, Massachusetts.
Representative Asbury F. Lever, South Carolina.
Representative Ralph W. Moss, Indiana.
Representative Everis A. Hayes, California.
Representative Willis C. Hawley, Oregon.

As soon as practical, after the above action had been taken by Congress, a letter was addressed to each member of the Joint Rural Credits' Committee, in harmony with the instructions of the last convention, asking the members of the committee to give consideration to the following:

"Resolved, That any farm credit plan which does not include a direct reduction of the 'prevailing rates' of interest, as well as a long term of small annual payments upon farm mortgages, will not meet agricultural credit requirements."

"Resolved, That the government of the United States should borrow money at a rate of interest not to exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and lend the money at a rate not to exceed $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to the farmers upon long time farm land mortgages with such restrictions as may be necessary to make the government perfectly secure and the profit to the government to be expended in road improvement or for some other object that will benefit the whole people."

Replies have been received from Chairman Carter Glass; Representatives, E. A. Hayes, A. F. Lever, Michael F. Phelan, W. C. Hawley; Senators, T. P. Gore, Hoke Smith and Knute Nelson to the effect that the measure will be given careful consideration.

In addition to the views expressed in the resolution communicated to the committee, we submit for your careful consideration as to whether another system of farm credit should be inaugurated—a system based upon individual ownership with community credit and community guarantee. Elsewhere than in the United States such a system is in vogue and where it prevails no securities are held with greater confidence. This proposition, with such other improvements as time and experience have demonstrated might well be considered is suggested to our fellow workers in agriculture.

POST-OFFICE CLERKS—NIGHT WORK—SALARIES, ETC.

Every reasonable effort was made during last Congress to secure favorable action on the bills introduced by former Representative A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, and Senator J. Hamilton Lewis of Illinois, for the purpose of reducing the hours of duty for Post-office clerks doing necessary night work in the postal service. Considerable opposition was registered by officials of the Post-office Department against these measures, and two post-office clerks, who possessed excellent records for efficiency and faithful service were discharged by Postmaster General Burleson, because of their endeavors to secure support for these measures. Many efforts have been made to secure the reinstatement of these clerks, Messrs. Thos. F. Flaherty of the San Francisco Post-office and Frank Raduenz of the Chicago Post-office. Up to the present time of writing this report, however, neither of the aforementioned clerks have been reinstated.

Neither of the Post-office Committees to which the bills were referred took any action upon them during last Congress. It would be well, however, to have them re-introduced, and urged during the incoming Congress.

In reference to Resolution No. 59, instructing us to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Post-office Clerks to secure the wage increase and reclassification of salaries contained in the bill, H. R. 4836, introduced by Representative Lewis of Maryland, we are compelled to report that it was impossible to make any progress on this measure. In fact, we had to exert ourselves to every possible endeavor to prevent a reduction in salary of post-office clerks and letter carriers, because of the fact that in the estimates for post-office appropriations for this year, Postmaster General Burleson, together with the several Assistant Postmasters General, recommended and urged Congress to change the system of annual promotion of post-office employees to biennial promotions.

The Post-office officials also resisted paying the increase in salary which had been granted by Congress the previous session to rural free delivery carriers, and in addition they recommended a nullification of the Eight-hour law for post-office clerks and letter carriers.

We are glad to report, however, that in response to our united protests both the House and Senate committees refused to sustain the Postmaster General and his assistants in their efforts to install harsher working conditions, and to reduce salaries by the proposed change of biennial instead of annual promotions for the employees. Congress specifically

ordered the payment of the increase in salary which they had previously allowed to the rural letter carriers and refused to permit a nullification of the eight-hour regulations.

Because of irreconcilable differences between the House and Senate over the question of railroad rates for carrying mails, and other new legislation contained in the Post-office Appropriation bill, no regular appropriation bill for the Post-office was passed for the year, 1915, but in lieu thereof a resolution was adopted by the House and Senate, by which the appropriations allowed the previous session of Congress were continued in effect for the fiscal year 1915. It was specifically outlined in the resolution that the working conditions of post-office employes, salaries, etc., should remain as heretofore, regular annual promotions to follow as a matter of course.

After Congress adjourned, the Postmaster General attempted to reduce salaries and to demote certain post-office employes in Washington and other localities because of advanced age and other alleged reasons. Interviews were held with the Postmaster General by President Gompers in company with Representatives Buchanan and President Flaherty of the Post-office Clerks.

In addition to the results of the interview there was correspondence relative to this matter between the department and President Gompers. Though in a few instances the demotions were made, there was no extension thereof, and it is hoped that the effort has been successfully checked. However, we recommend that this convention declare emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employes of the government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries.

SUMMARY OF LEGISLATIVE MEASURES OF INTEREST TO LABOR WHICH FAILED TO PASS DURING LAST SESSION OF CONGRESS

As will be seen by a careful review of the subjects reported several very important labor measures failed of passage. We therefore include herewith a summary of the failures.

We particularly regret to add that the Senate Committee on Education and Labor failed to meet the high standard of efficiency that was set during the Sixty-second Congress. Nothing original was reported by that committee, neither did it act successfully on bills that reached it from the House:

1. Immigration bill with literacy test failed of passage in the House over President's veto by four votes.
2. Industrial Education—Vocational Training.
3. Convict labor regulations for domestic and foreign commerce, failed in Senate.
4. Child Labor bill failed in Senate.
5. Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation for government and railroad employes failed in the House and Senate.
6. Bureau of Labor Safety bill failed in Senate.
7. Conservation bill with eight-hour proviso failed in Senate.
8. Hours of Service law with minimum penalty provision failed in Senate.
9. Eight-hour law for telegraphers on railroads failed in House Committee on Interstate Commerce.
10. Old-age pension, superannuation and retirement bills not advanced.
11. Employment bureau measure reported to House too late for action.
12. Safer building regulations for the District of Columbia failed in Senate Committee on District of Columbia.
13. Safety appliance bills on railroads not advanced.
14. Impeachment proceedings of Judge Dayton dismissed in House.
15. Printing bill failed in Senate.

MOTHER'S DAY

The enactment of the federal law giving to Mother's Day the endorsement of our national government and designating the second Sunday in May as Mother's Day, was reported to the Philadelphia Convention with the recommendation that the several state federations of labor urge upon their respective legislatures the enactment of laws, or adoption of resolutions of similar import. This recommendation was approved by the Phila-

delphia Convention. In an official circular to organized labor, this action of the convention was brought to the attention of the organized labor movement of the country.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR OFFICE BUILDING

In the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston in 1903, a resolution was adopted instructing the Executive Council to investigate the cost of purchasing a lot and constructing a suitable office building. Although the need and the advantage of such a building were appreciated, yet, so many other more immediate needs intervened that the office building proposal was deferred from year to year. The Denver, 1908, Convention authorized the E. C. to expend \$80,000 for the purchase of land and the erection of an office building thereon. The local trades and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. had already voted in favor of a loan of \$50,000 from the defense fund for this purpose. The E. C. was instructed to devise ways and means to raise the additional \$30,000. The need for such a building has grown increasingly urgent as the scope of the work of the A. F. of L. has increased with the growth of its membership, and the widening of its activities.

The E. C. then took up consideration of various sites and office buildings with a view to reporting specific plans to the convention in order to carry out the long deferred purpose of securing at the nation's capital a building which should belong to the wage-earners of the nation.

The Seattle Convention asked the E. C. to secure definite data as to lots, size, cost of building, and cost of maintenance. In the report of the E. C. to the Philadelphia Convention it was stated that the investigation had been made. The convention authorized and directed us to purchase a site and erect a building for office purposes for the A. F. of L., and its Departments, and such other unions for which the structure might be suitable. The convention again directed the use of such funds as had been authorized by previous conventions in action upon this subject, as well as the raising of other funds that might be necessary to carry out the purpose.

The resident members of the E. C. submitted at our January session the sites and buildings that were available for an office building. During our April meeting we personally investigated the various sites and decided that the one best suited to our needs was on the northwest corner of Ninth Street and Massachusetts Avenue Northwest. This lot was purchased for the sum of \$40,000.

The lot contains 5,133 square feet. The Massachusetts Avenue front is 60.83 feet, and the frontage on Ninth Street is 138 feet deep. The lot runs back at an angle which makes the width on the end of the lot 37.74 feet. That part of the lot which is 37.74 feet wide is 68.10 feet long.

We selected Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and James O'Connell as trustees with authority to make the purchase and to enter into the contract for the erection of a suitable building and to borrow the necessary money for its erection. It developed that there was an irregularity in the title growing out of a transfer of the property which occurred in 1817. Suit was begun in a court of equity to remedy the defect in the title. This suit is in the name of the trustees, and the expense is to be borne by the former owners of the property. The matter will undoubtedly be adjudicated and the title cleared. We have a guarantee from the Real Estate Title Insurance Company and the Columbia Title Insurance Company of the District of Columbia for safeguarding the title to the property, or, in other words, to afford insurance against any claim arising under the title.

In considering plans for the office building, the trustees have consulted the officers of the various departments of the A. F. of L. in an advisory capacity. Many meetings have been held, as it was necessary to exercise the greatest care and wisdom in carrying out this purpose. Samuel Gompers acted as chairman, and Frank Morrison as secretary of the committee. The firm of Milburn, Heister & Company, architects, was selected to make the plans for the new building, and also to act as superintendent of construction. The plans were approved by the trustees and endorsed by the advisory council. The building is to consist of five stories and a basement. Twelve building contractors were invited to submit bids for the construction. These bids were opened in public, September 18, 1915.

The bids varied from \$92,300 to \$130,000. On October 7, 1915, the trustees entered into a contract with the R. P. Whitty Company, contractors, in the city of Washington, after several changes in material and construction were agreed to that reduced the con-

tract price to \$90,450. The contract provides that the building shall be completed on April 7, 1916.

Upon the site when it was purchased was standing a finely built old mansion with a slave pen in the rear. These of course have been razed to the ground, but before doing so photographs were made of them, framed, and appropriately designated. On that site in which slave owners and slaves dwelt the temple of Labor, the A. F. of L. office building, will be erected.

Ground has been broken and in the course of a few months the cornerstone will be laid. The cornerstone will be contributed by Henry Gompers, a member of the Granite Cutters' International Union, who was the first office boy of the A. F. of L. The date of the laying of the cornerstone is not yet determined. We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to prepare suitable arrangements for the laying of the cornerstone and also for the dedication of the building.

REGISTRATION OF TITLES AND LABELS

Under the new federal trade-mark law, the name and the label of a labor organization can be registered and thereby prevent any unauthorized person from using the same. Infringements upon the rights of the organizations that have registered their names and labels are punishable by damages equal to three times the amount of the damage actually sustained. Any action growing out of such infringements comes under the jurisdiction of the federal courts when the label is used in interstate commerce.

The registration can be secured at the cost of \$35. We have had the title of the "American Federation of Labor" registered.

This, of course, prevents any other organization from making use of that name and also gives the greatest possible protection to the labels which bear the name of the A. F. of L.

It is recommended that all affiliated nationals and internationals secure the registration of their names and labels. It is a protection that is well worth the trouble and the slight expense.

THE JOURNEYMEN TAILORS' UNION

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention the serious condition that had arisen through the action of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America in changing, without authority, and contrary to the regulations of the American Federation of Labor, its title to "Tailors' Industrial Union," and with that change, claiming jurisdiction over the garment making industry. The action was all the more unjustifiable in that the Journeymen Tailors' Union had a membership less than one-tenth as large as that of organizations that already had jurisdiction over the garment making industry.

The report of the E. C. called attention to the fact that a closer alliance, perhaps an amalgamation, ought to exist among the organizations in the tailoring and garment making industries, but that result ought not to be undertaken without the consent of all organizations concerned. Inasmuch as this action on the part of the J. T. U. of A. was subversive to the best interests of the wage-workers concerned and of the continued power and effectiveness of the whole labor movement of the country, the last convention directed the Tailors to resume their former title and to cease all efforts to operate under its unwarranted and unjustified assumption of extended jurisdiction, and also directed the E. C. to notify all affiliated national and international organizations, and through them their local unions, state and city central bodies, and unions directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. of this unjustifiable action of the J. T. U. of A. in order that they should be properly informed, and therefore in a better position to protect the garment and needle workers. The convention allowed the Tailors until April 1, 1915, in which to conform to the direction of the convention.

There were at the last convention two groups of persons claiming to be representatives of the United Garment Workers of America. One presented credentials signed by S. Hillman and Joseph Schlosberg, claiming to be the President and Secretary respectively of the United Garment Workers. The other group had credentials signed by the regular officers of the U. G. W. The committee on credentials reported that a full investigation of the facts disclosed that the first group were claimants representing a num-

ber of seceding garment workers, and that these garment workers by their acts of secession had voluntarily alienated themselves from membership in and rights to the U. G. W. and the A. F. of L., and, therefore, they were not entitled to recognition by a body of organized labor. This report was unanimously adopted by the convention. However, the so-called "Industrial Tailors' Union" formed an alliance with these seceding garment workers, and in direct defiance of the instruction of the Philadelphia Convention attempted to operate under its extended jurisdiction.

At our January session we directed that a letter to be sent to Secretary Brais calling his attention to the fact that the Tailors were acting in violation of the laws and decisions of the A. F. of L., and particularly the decision of the Philadelphia Convention. The letter specifically brought to the attention of Secretary Brais the action of the Philadelphia Convention in regard to the Tailors' organization, and urged them to establish harmonious relations between all of the workers and to conform to the regulations voluntarily established for the federated labor movement. Attention was called to the evil results that must necessarily follow from encouraging seceders or the spirit of disruption in the labor movement. Secretary Brais was advised that unless we were informed within thirty days' time from the receipt of the letter that the Tailors' organization had conformed to the unanimous decisions and declarations of the Philadelphia Convention, it would be incumbent upon us to take such action as might be necessary to carry into effect the laws, declarations and decisions of the A. F. of L. Secretary Brais was requested to publish the official letter of June 15, 1915, in *The Tailor*, the official journal of the organization. Since Secretary Brais did not publish the letter as requested, it was published in the A. F. of L. *Weekly News Letter* and sent to all of the local unions of the Tailors. In addition a circular containing the letter in full was sent out to the central bodies, state federations of labor, labor press, organizers and the Tailors' local unions.

Meanwhile a deplorable situation had arisen in the tailoring industry. The workers were discontented and discouraged. The conviction grew that their welfare was jeopardized by the new organization and that it would be best to return to the old name, the old jurisdiction, and to resume the use of the former label.

Local No. 5 of Chicago issued a call to all other local unions interested in devising ways and means to maintain the integrity of the J. T. U. of A. to send representatives to a conference to be held in Chicago on March 22, 1915.

The conference decided that the following questions should be submitted to the membership for decision: First, shall the Tailors amalgamate with the seceding faction of the U. G. W.; second, should the Tailors comply with the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. to resume their former title, "The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America," and resume jurisdiction as in their constitution prior to 1914. The conference authorized the appointment of a committee of nine to carry out the decisions.

Representatives of the U. G. W. appeared before the E. C. at our April meeting, and entered complaint against the J. T. U. for using their label on ready-made clothing and on clothing made by the seceding faction of the U. G. W. The Tailors' label had been issued to the seceding garment workers. This was contrary to the laws of the Journeymen Tailors' which prohibit the use of the label by any person not a member of that organization and was in direct violation of the agreement between the U. G. W. and the J. T. U. of A., entered into October 19, 1903. We, therefore, cancelled and withdrew the endorsement that had been given the label of the J. T. U. of A.

We further directed Secretary Morrison to continue to hold all money received as dues from the Tailors and not to credit the same until the Tailors had complied with the direction of the Philadelphia Convention by resuming their former title and ceasing all trespass upon jurisdiction of other organizations, but when the Tailors should have properly complied with the directions of the A. F. of L., to place all dues to the credit of Tailors without prejudice of any kind whatever. According to the rules and regulations of the Tailors' organization, sixty days' time was given for consideration, discussion and voting upon the question submitted to a referendum vote. The official vote upon the propositions was as follows:

Upon the proposition to resume the former title, "The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America," a vote resulted in 4,702 ayes and 822 nays.

Upon the question to resume the former jurisdiction of the Tailors, the vote was 3,897 ayes, 1,385 nays.

Upon the third question, that of withdrawal from the amalgamation of the Hilman faction or the seceding garment workers, the vote was 3,961 ayes and 1,339 nays.

Thus the Tailors have disposed of this movement and have resumed their former relations with the A. F. of L., and they have freely and fully conformed with the regulations necessary to promote and further the welfare of all the workers.

The Tailors now enjoy their former rights without prejudice which means full affiliation to the A. F. of L., and recognition and endorsement of their union label.

CARPENTERS—BREWERY WORKERS

We are gratified to be able to report that the Carpenters and Brewery Workmen reached a solution of their differences. After several conferences between the representatives of these organizations, the following agreement was entered into:

In order to adjust the present differences between the above named organizations, the following conditions shall be observed:

1. The Brewery Workers' International Union to use its best efforts with the employers in the breweries and bottling establishments, to have only members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners employed in their buildings, for building repairs, saloon repairs (when under control of the brewery), and for the manufacture of bar fixtures and boxes for bottle beer. The erection of all conveyers, both gravity and screw, elevators, all transmission machinery and all millwright work done in breweries and other establishments controlled by the Brewery Workers.

2. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America agree that all running repairs on bottle boxes in breweries and bottling establishments, be done by the bottlers, members of the Brewery Workers' International Union of America.

This agreement is in effect immediately upon having been approved by the members of the General Executive Board of both organizations and may be terminated by either party by giving sixty (60) days' notice.

For the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen:

JOSEPH PROEBSTLE.

ADAM HUEBNER, *Secy.-Treas.*

JOHN RADER, *Intl. Cor. Secy.*

JOSEPH OBERGFELL, *Intl. Rec.-Secy.*

(Approved by International Executive Board of the International Union of Brewery Workmen of America, March 30, 1915.)

For the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

JAMES KIRBY, *Gen. President.*

FRANK DUFFY, *Gen. Secy.*

(Approved by General Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, April 6, 1915.)

CIGARMAKERS—STOGIEMAKERS

We reported to the last convention an agreement that had been reached between the Cigarmakers' International Union and the Stogiemakers' League. This agreement is practically the same as the one recommended by the Baltimore 1912 convention of the Cigarmakers.

Two conventions of the American Federation of Labor had also endorsed amalgamation as the method for adjusting difficulties between the Cigarmakers and the Stogiemakers. The Philadelphia Convention approved the plan and expressed the hope that it could be carried into effect. During the campaign conducted for the purpose of explaining the proposed plan of amalgamation to the workers interested, President Gompers and Secretary Tracy of the Union Label Trades Department addressed the Stogiemakers of Wheeling, W. Va., and elsewhere, and were materially helpful in creating a sentiment in favor of endorsing the agreement.

By an overwhelming vote of the members of both organizations, the plan for amalgamation was ratified, bringing about more harmonious relations and unity in the cigar-making industry. The Cigarmakers' International organization worked out the details of putting

into effect the amalgamation agreed upon in order that the rights and the best interests of all workers should be protected.

On April 15 the transfer of all the Stogiemakers to the Cigarmakers' International Union went into effect. Thus was brought to an end a contest which had extended over many years.

It is confidently expected that this amalgamation will result in greatly increased betterment for all the workers in the cigar and stogie making industry. The eight-hour day has been extended to the Stogiemakers. Greater solidarity of organization increases their economic power, and hence their ability to promote the best interests of all.

CARPENTERS—SHEET METAL WORKERS—BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

The report to the Philadelphia Convention on the dispute between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers and the relations of the Carpenters to the Building Trades Department, was very complete and gave a number of documents.

In accord with that report a conference consisting of three delegates from the Carpenters, three from the Sheet Metal Workers and three other delegates appointed by President Gompers, was held during the convention.

The Conference Committee reported that they had considered the problem very carefully but had not been able to secure an agreement between the two interested organizations, although the conference had been helpful in that it had developed the realization of a strong community of interest between the two organizations. The Conference Committee recommended that the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the President of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the President of the Building Trades Department and the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and continue conferences for the purpose of securing a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty between the two organizations. This recommendation was adopted by the convention.

A conference was held by the members of this committee in New York City in January, when it was decided that the investigation should be made in Chicago, Cleveland, Jamestown, N. Y., and New York City, starting from Chicago on February 3. The Committee secured information as to the manufacture and the erection of metal trim and secured the opinions of many manufacturers and constructors upon the matter of the erection of metal trim.

After that investigation a meeting was held at Washington for the purpose of securing an adjustment, but no agreement was reached. Since the conference had no power or authority to render an award, its work was necessarily limited to suggestions, proposals and efforts to reach an agreement mutually satisfactory. President Kirby expressed himself as willing to make a compromise based upon an equitable adjustment and subject, of course, to the approval of his general executive board. President Hynes insisted that the entire metal trim work belonged to the Sheet Metal Workers, and was not willing to consider any compromise.

During the year efforts have continued to secure the re-affiliation of the Carpenters to the Building Trades Department. The great obstacle in the way of securing that result is the unsettled dispute between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers.

A conference between the representatives of the two organizations concerned was held during the September meeting of the Executive Council, but again these representatives were unable to reach any adjustment of the difficulty.

It was agreed that President Gompers and President Williams submit a report upon this matter to the E. C. The report is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 20, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Per the Executive Council:

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: The special committee appointed by President Gompers during the Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Alliance of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers on the jurisdictional dispute over the question of the manu-

facture and erection of hollow metal trim, made the following recommendation to the convention:

"The committee recommends that, for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations, the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the President of the International Alliance of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, the President of the A. F. of L., and the President of the Building Trades Department be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and to continue the conferences, to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations."

This recommendation the convention adopted.

This committee met in New York January 6-7, 1915. All members of the committee were present.

At this meeting we agreed upon the scope and method for conducting the investigation and the cities and places to be visited to best learn all the processes of the manufacture of hollow metal trim, in order to visit as many buildings in the different cities as time and opportunity would permit where hollow metal trim was being erected.

We began the investigation on February 3, in Chicago, with all the members of the committee present. Two sheet metal shops were visited on this day and the committee was shown certain parts of hollow metal trim in process of manufacture. A number of other sheet metal shops were inspected the next day, and it was agreed that the visits and investigations practically covered all the shops in Chicago engaged in the manufacture of hollow metal trim. The committee found that all the men working in these shops were members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union.

While in Chicago, the committee was unable to inspect the erection of any hollow metal trim, owing to the fact that there was no building then in process of construction in Chicago in which hollow metal trim was being erected.

The committee left Chicago on the night of February 4, for Cleveland, Ohio, and there visited a new school that was being built in which a certain amount of metal trim was being installed; namely, door frames and doors. The men engaged in erecting the work in this school were members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union.

The committee left Cleveland for Jamestown, and there thoroughly inspected and investigated the manufacture and fabrication of hollow metal trim and metal doors in all its many processes to the finished product.

As far as the committee was able to discover, the majority of the men working in the largest plant, engaged in the work of manufacturing and fabricating this material, did not belong to any union, but the painting or enameling of this hollow metal trim was done by members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

From Jamestown the committee went to New York, and on February 8 visited a very large office building in process of construction in that city known as the Equitable Building. Virtually every part of the work known as hollow metal trim and doors was being erected in this building; in fact, there was to be very little wood finish used on this job; therefore this particular building was the best example (that is, with regard to quantity) that the committee had an opportunity of inspecting during this investigation of the process and methods used in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors. The work in dispute on this building was very carefully and thoroughly inspected and investigated. The committee found that all the men engaged in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors on this building were members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. This ended the investigation of the material itself in its manufacture and fabrication and the methods used in the erection of the material.

We availed ourselves of every opportunity to find out both from the men engaged in the manufacture and fabrication and the men engaged in the erection of this material, the length of time they had been working at this class of work. In the erecting part of this work we invariably found that the men had been selected for their own peculiar ability and had, in a sense, to learn how to handle this material, and that the work had the characteristics of a specialty.

The committee arranged to open the conferences on this subject on March 2, and on that date met in conference with all the members present at A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington. The conference was continued the next day. The entire subject of the dispute was considered and discussed, the late President Kirby and President Hynes presenting briefs and other documentary evidence. At the end of the conference it was agreed that the committee would meet again at the call of the chairman, to continue the conference in order to effect the end desired and hoped for by the A. F. of L.

The entire committee met in Washington on September 22, when efforts were again made by us to carry out the letter and spirit of the recommendation concurred in by the Philadelphia Convention.

Our investigation of the manufacture and fabrication and the erection in the building of hollow metal trim and doors was conducted by us in as thorough and practical a manner as time and opportunity permitted and in an impartial and unbiased manner. We desire at this time to commend the spirit of friendliness and the fairness with which the late President Kirby and President Hynes conducted their part of the investigation and conferences. However we were unsuccessful in bringing about any agreement.

At the request of the representatives of both organizations concerned, as well as our own, several manufacturers and employers engaged in the manufacture and erection of hollow metal trim submitted briefs as to the extent of the work, its classification, both in manufacture and erection, and the judgment each expressed as to the jurisdiction under which the work should properly come.

In each of the cities we visited, representatives of Sheet Metal Workers' Unions and Carpenters' Unions gave the committee every opportunity and facility to make a thorough investigation and study of the subject.

It will be observed that the resolution of the Philadelphia Convention conferred upon the undersigned no more power than "to investigate the work in dispute and continue the conferences to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations." This we have done, and it is doubtful whether the committee has the power to do more than to submit either recommendations or expression of opinion and judgment.

It has been urged that by reason of the dispute in regard to the erection of metal trim that a new organization should be organized covering this class of work. The representatives of both the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers object to this proposition, and we prefer not to give it our endorsement. But we submit that if a new organization of the workers in this class of erection ought not to be and is not formed, both organizations should be willing to meet the situation in a spirit that will conserve the best interests of the men, avoid unnecessary conflict in the labor movement, and eliminate a controversy involving employers who desire to live in reciprocal relations with organized labor. In our conference with the late President Kirby, and President Hynes, it was claimed by the latter and freely admitted by the former, that there are not any members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who are engaged in the manufacture of hollow metal trim doors and sash.

With these purposes in view, we express our best judgment as to the course which should be pursued:

1. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners should relinquish all claim to the manufacture of hollow metal trim doors and sash. Also that there is very little dispute as to the fact that the members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union all or nearly all perform this class of work.

2. We believe that the two organizations should reach an agreement by which the men engaged in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors may belong to either organization with provision of the right of interchange of cards.

3. That the organizations should arrange so that members availing themselves of the right to interchange cards may upon returning to their original work, rejoin the organization of the trade at which they are employed, and be placed in such beneficial standing as they enjoyed upon leaving the one organization for the other.

4. That under such an arrangement every encouragement be given to the end that hollow metal trim, doors, and sash shall be manufactured under union conditions.

We recommend that if the judgment and opinion we herein express meet with the approval of this convention, that the President of the A. F. of L. and the President of the Department be authorized and directed to continue their efforts for the purpose of their consummation.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*
American Federation of Labor.

THOMAS J. WILLIAMS, *President,*
Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

CARPENTERS AND THE BUILDING TRADES

General Secretary Frank Duffy of the Carpenters notified President Gompers that the Carpenters' District Council of Indianapolis made protest against the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. on the ground that the Indianapolis Building Trades Council had unjustifiably and illegally fined the Carpenters' District Council of Indianapolis for certain alleged violations of rules and that an appeal from that decision would be made by the Carpenters' District Council of Indianapolis to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. The officers of the Building Trades Department were advised of this action of the Carpenters' District Council of Indianapolis and asked to appear before the E. C. at its September meeting to make whatever statement they desired in the case.

At that meeting it was decided that inasmuch as the E. C. of the Building Trades Department had declared that they had no jurisdiction in the case because the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was not affiliated to the Department, the appeal of the Carpenters was sustained and the Indianapolis Building Trades Council was directed to pay back to the Carpenters' District Council the money which the Carpenters had paid under protest.

Although the Carpenters are not affiliated to the Building Trades Department, their local unions have continued to have the privilege of representation in the local Building Trades Councils.

President Gompers with Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades on the occasion of the funeral of the late President James Kirby of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, appeared before the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood and urged reaffiliation of the Brotherhood with the Department.

It is earnestly hoped that the Carpenters will shortly resume their responsibilities to the organized labor movement and become reaffiliated to the Building Trades Department. United action is necessary for the maintenance and progress of our voluntary organizations.

CHICAGO BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL APPEAL

Early in 1915 the Chicago Building Trades Council had under consideration a new agreement with the Building Construction Employers' Association. That agreement did not meet the approbation of all the unions concerned. The Chicago local union of Sheet Metal Workers introduced a motion in the meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor asking that the Building Trades' agreement then being voted upon be referred to the grievance committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor for investigation and for report to the next meeting of the federation. The Sheet Metal Workers' Union was not affiliated to the Building Trades Council. President Fitzpatrick ruled the motion out of order. Considerable dispute arose over the authority of the Chicago Federation of Labor or its grievance committee to consider any dispute affecting local unions or international organizations. This question was referred to President Gompers by the president of the Building Trades Council of Chicago. President Gompers telegraphed in reply that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor forbids city central bodies to take part in wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of local unions affiliated to international organizations contrary to the rules and wishes of the officers of the internationals. Presi-

dent Gompers stated that the Chicago Federation of Labor had acted in accord with the constitution of the A. F. of L. He also strongly expressed his judgment of the proposed agreement.

The proposed agreement provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes between workmen and their employers and deprived the members of the building trade unions of Chicago of the right to strike. The principles upon which this agreement was based are as follows:

1. There will be no limit as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his work-day.
2. There will be no restriction of the use of machinery or tools.
3. There will be no restriction of the use of any manufactured material except prison-made.
4. That no person shall have the right to interfere with workmen during working hours.
5. That the use of apprentices shall not be prohibited.
6. That the foreman shall be the agent of the employer.
7. That the workmen are at liberty to work for whomsoever they see fit, but they shall demand and receive the wages agreed upon by the joint board in this trade under all conditions.
8. That employers are at liberty to employ and to discharge whomsoever they see fit.

Two internationals—the Painters and the Machinists—requested and urged the Chicago Federation of Labor to make investigation of this proposed agreement. The situation became very intense and critical and numerous great strikes were pending. By a unanimous motion adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor, President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and President Williams of the Building Trades Department were urged to go to Chicago to investigate and endeavor to adjust the controversy. President Gompers urged President Williams to proceed to Chicago and make inquiry and telegraph him as to whether it was necessary or advisable for him to go to Chicago.

After an investigation President Williams advised President Gompers that his presence was necessary for the purpose of bringing about some adjustment of the difficulty. He then proceeded to Chicago.

In the conference in which he participated there were about a hundred representatives from the building trade unions. The officers of the Building Trades Council participated, and also Mr. Alpine, Mr. Lennon and Mr. Duffy for a short while. The conference lasted nine days; the situation and the proposed agreement were discussed critically. Conferences were daily held by representatives of the Building Trades unions, President Gompers, President Williams, with the Building Construction Employers' Association, in the effort to secure some changes in the proposed agreement. While some modifications were subsequently made, the so-called eight cardinal principles upon which the Employers' Association insisted, were maintained.

One clause in the agreement was later held to be in violation of the constitution of the Building Trades Department. The Executive Council of this department at its meeting in June, revoked the charter of the Building Trades Council of Chicago. The Chicago Building Trades Council then appealed to this Executive Council against the action of the Executive Council of the Department in revoking its charter.

Secretary Spencer of the Department referred the matter to President Gompers and asked whether or not the appeal of the Building Trades Council of Chicago would act as a stay in the revocation of the charter as directed by the Executive Council of the Building Trades. President Gompers decided that although there was no specific law upon the subject, yet it involved a fundamental principle, that is, that when a decision shall involve the life of a human being or an organized entity of human beings, a justifiable and allowable appeal must necessarily act as a stay of execution. At our meeting the week beginning September 20, we went fully into the hearing of this appeal and decided as follows:

That a letter should be addressed to the convention of the Building Trades Department reviewing the case, and that the Chicago Building Trades Council be advised to take an appeal to the convention of the Building Trades Department. President Gompers was instructed to draft a letter reviewing this case to be sent to the convention of the Department. It was thought that inasmuch as the E. C. of the A. F. of L. had ordered a stay of the order of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department and the

charter of that organization is therefore in existence, no danger could be done to the Department by deferring a decision in the matter, and that the Chicago Council would be afforded the fullest and best opportunity for obtaining a just and fair decision based upon full understanding of all facts in the case.

TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—COMPRESSED AIR WORKERS

The Philadelphia Convention recommended that the efforts to bring about an amalgamation between the Tunnel and Subway Constructors and the Compressed Air Workers be continued and that a personal investigation be made to ascertain whether there is a sufficient similarity in the work done by the members of these two organizations to warrant amalgamation and to investigate whether the two organizations can be successfully operated as one.

Efforts for this closer organization have been in progress since the Rochester Convention. Frequent conferences have been held between representatives of the two organizations, and many plans have been discussed. The overlapping jurisdiction of the two organizations brought about considerable confusion and hence has made it impossible to afford complete protection to all of the workers. An exchange of cards between the two organizations has been suggested, but it is the general opinion that amalgamation of the two organizations is necessary to promote the best interest of all the workers concerned. Although efforts were continued during the past year to secure this purpose, we are unable to report anything more definite. The matter is submitted to the convention for consideration and further recommendation.

BLACKSMITHS—TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention that the difficulty in bringing about an adjustment of the jurisdiction dispute between the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union and the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, hinged upon the question of jurisdiction over tool sharpeners, the Tunnel and Subway Constructors refusing to relinquish the tool sharpeners and the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths contending that the tool dressers or sharpeners are blacksmiths and properly belong to the latter organization.

The E. C. further reported to that convention, that as a result of their investigation into the question, they were led to express the belief that the so-called tool dressers or sharpeners are blacksmiths who are called upon to do all kinds of blacksmith work, and the sharpening and dressing of tools.

The Philadelphia Convention concurred in the action of the E. C. and directed that a conference of the parties in interest should be arranged for the purpose of carrying into effect the decision of the E. C.

A conference was held accordingly but nothing was accomplished toward reaching an agreement. That conference, however, recommended that a special meeting be arranged of the tool sharpener, members of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, for the purpose of explaining to them the subject of the decision of the Philadelphia Convention. Upon communicating with the officers of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union in regard to this recommendation, the officers of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors maintained their contention that the decision of the Philadelphia Convention did not award tool sharpeners to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths. However, after considerable correspondence and delay a meeting of the tool sharpeners was held, at which President Gompers and President Kline of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths were present to address them. Those who attended the meeting, however, did not show a conciliatory disposition. As a result nothing was accomplished by the meeting.

Subsequent correspondence from the International officers of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths filed charges against the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, to the effect that that organization not only ignored the decision of the A. F. of L., but had started a campaign to supplant the Blacksmiths from the jobs upon which members of the latter organization were employed.

These charges were considered by us at our September meeting, when we decided that the decision of the Philadelphia Convention should be carried into effect, and the organizations concerned were notified accordingly. The decision was that tool dressers

or sharpeners are blacksmiths who are called upon to do all kinds of blacksmith work, and sharpening and dressing of tools. This decision sustained the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths. This conclusion has also a direct bearing upon the proposed amalgamation of the Western Federation of Miners and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS AND TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS

At our September meeting the proposition submitted by the Western Federation of Miners for the amalgamation of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors with their organization was considered, and a hearing had at which were representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and the Mining Department. After consideration of the question in all of its phases, the Executive Council decided that such an amalgamation would be in violation of the decision of the Philadelphia Convention upon the controversy between the Blacksmiths and Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and therefore could not approve the application for amalgamation. However, we decided that all parties in interest be invited to meet during the San Francisco Convention in an endeavor to arrive at a suitable conclusion in regard to the matter.

PROPOSED MINERS' AMALGAMATION FAILED

For several years past an agitation was conducted with a view of bringing about an amalgamation of the Western Federation of Miners with the United Mine Workers of America. The W. F. of M. affirmed its desire for amalgamation, and the question was taken up at several conventions of the U. M. W. of A., and at its 1914 convention created a committee to meet jointly with a like committee of the W. F. of M. for the purpose of making an investigation and ascertaining whether amalgamation was possible or practical. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor gave every encouragement to that effort, and during the address of President Gompers before the Miners' convention in January, 1914, among other things he urged amalgamation, as he in his correspondence urged upon the representatives of the Miners' committee that amalgamation ought to be the best course for them to pursue. The committees of both organizations met frequently, and discussed the subject from this viewpoint. We quote here the joint statement which they made declaring their efforts at amalgamation ineffective:

"BUTTE, MONTANA, July 28, 1915.

"After having made an exhaustive investigation of the question of amalgamation between the United Mine Workers of America and the Western Federation of Miners, and after giving full consideration to the present condition of each organization, we are forced to the conclusion that because of the many obstacles that now present themselves, and which will be explained in the reports hereinafter provided for; that any attempt to consummate an amalgamation at this time, would be premature.

"While we jointly agree that to effect an amalgamation of the two organizations at this time would be impracticable, in consideration of the views expressed by the respective committees, we hereby decide that each committee prepare a separate report stating in detail the result of their findings, and that the same be submitted by each committee for the consideration of their respective organizations.

(Signed) F. FARRINGTON,
ADAM WILKINSON,
ROBT. H. HARLIN,
For United Mine Workers of America.

DEAN W. SELFRIEDGE,
JOSEPH GORMAN,
J. B. RANEJN,
For Western Federation of Miners."

We have not seen the report of the representatives of the W. F. of M. to their organization, but we have the report to the representatives of the U. M. W. of A. and from this it is quite evident that in the opinion of the miners' committee the proposition for amalgamation is not only regarded as being premature but impractical, and entirely out of the question. Inasmuch as amalgamation had been so strongly urged, and the negotiations therefore seriously, earnestly, and faithfully undertaken, when the representatives of both organizations have found the proposition wholly impractical, we submit that there can be no criticisms on our part or the part of any one of the course pursued by those most vitally interested.

FLINT GLASS WORKERS AND MACHINISTS

The controversy between the Flint Glass Workers and the Machinists over the making of molds for molding glassware was considered by the Philadelphia Convention. Action, however, was deferred at the request of both parties to the controversy, who held the hope that they would be able to bring about an adjustment during the year.

The officers of the two international organizations had in mind the appointment of a committee of three to visit the shops at Alton, Ill., Toledo and Newark, Ohio, and other places in order to investigate conditions of work, and to reach a decision. The committee was to consist of a member appointed by each organization, and a third mutually agreeable to both organizations. Both organizations agreed upon President Gompers as the third party of the committee.

President Gompers found it impossible to act on account of the many duties and obligations devolving upon him. Other names were suggested in the further correspondence, but the organizations have not as yet been able to decide upon the third member of the committee who would be mutually satisfactory, or who could devote the time for the fulfillment of that duty.

The matter was again considered by us at our September meeting when it was found that both organizations had stated that John B. Lennon would be acceptable as an arbiter, and inasmuch as the reason that had prevented his acting earlier had been removed, the Executive Council directed that the two organizations, having agreed upon John B. Lennon as arbiter, shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, that they would pledge themselves to abide by the decision and award of Treasurer Lennon, and that the investigation take place, either between the dates of October 8 to 25, or be deferred until the first of the year.

Inasmuch as the matter is of considerable importance, it is greatly desirable that agreement may be reached upon this matter in dispute at as early a time as possible.

MACHINISTS—CARPENTERS

The Philadelphia Convention adopted Resolution 152, which instructed the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to discontinue all infringements upon the jurisdiction of the Machinists in the work of making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere where machinery may be used.

In connection with the work upon the Panama-Pacific Exposition complaints were made that the Millwrights, members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, were erecting and assembling machinery on the Exposition grounds. The complaint was submitted to us for a decision. In conformity with the action of the Philadelphia Convention, we declared that the erection and assembling of machinery came properly under the jurisdiction of the Machinists' organization.

A similar controversy between the Machinists and Carpenters occurred in Chicago, and it was decided also in that instance that Resolution 152 should be applied.

MACHINISTS—ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS

The Philadelphia Convention decided that the relations existing between the Elevator Constructors and the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department be continued with the understanding that the Elevator Constructors in co-operating with the Machinists and other allied trades should endeavor, to the extent of their authority,

through their agreements and available opportunities, to use nothing in their construction work but materials manufactured under union conditions.

The Executive Council at its January session referred this matter to President Gompers to carry out the purpose of the action of the convention. A conference was arranged at which were the representatives of the two organizations and Vice-President O'Connell as a representative of the A. F. of L. He reported at our April meeting that in the conference it was agreed that one elevator plant should be taken up at a time for the purpose of organizing the workers. President Johnston of the Machinists agreed to submit that proposition to the Machinists' Executive Board. It was further agreed that each organization should call a meeting of its Executive Board for the purpose of agreeing to the action adopted by the Philadelphia Convention.

Representatives of these two organizations appeared before us at our September meeting in regard to carrying into effect the decision of the Philadelphia Convention affecting their organizations. The representative of the Elevator Constructors asked the representative of the Machinists to enter into an agreement to the effect that his organization would cease doing work over which the Elevator Constructors had jurisdiction, and to cease antagonizing the members of the International Union of Elevator Constructors on buildings. The representative of the Machinists said that he had no authority to enter into such an agreement, but would bring the question to the attention of the Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists.

PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS—MACHINISTS

Resolution No. 150 of the Philadelphia Convention protested against the decision of the Seattle Convention which gave the Plumbers and Steamfitters jurisdiction over work which the Machinists claimed. Inasmuch as the Machinists declared that technical questions were involved in that decision which had not been personally investigated and which made the decision unjust to them, they requested the Philadelphia Convention to re-open the question of jurisdictional dispute between the two organizations and to instruct the Executive Council to arrange for a conference to be held between the representatives of the two organizations in the city of Chicago in order to make a personal inspection of the work and to render a final decision. President Gompers took up the matter with the two organizations with the view to the appointment of such a committee. The Presidents of both organizations interested were asked to submit the name of one person whom they wished to serve on this committee. These two persons so selected were to choose the third party.

Although persistent efforts have been made to secure the appointment of this committee, the two organizations have not as yet been able to agree upon committeemen mutually acceptable.

The status of this case was reported at our September meeting and we decided that efforts be continued to secure a committee to carry out the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, and so recommend to this convention.

BREWERY WORKERS—COOPERS

The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention an agreement that had been reached between representatives of the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen and the Coopers' International Union of North America, regarding their disputed claims of jurisdiction, which agreement at the time of the report to the convention had been ratified by the membership of the Brewery Workers, but had not yet been agreed to by the membership of the Coopers.

During the progress of the convention a telegram was received from the Coopers' International Union advising that the membership, by referendum vote, had refused to accept the agreement.

The Committee on Adjustment reported to the convention that representatives of the two organizations appearing before the committee agreed that the subject-matter of the dispute be referred to us for further effort to secure a settlement, and the convention so decided.

In subsequent correspondence of the officers of both organizations, they asserted that there had been a misunderstanding on the part of the Committee on Adjustment in making

its report to the convention, the officers of both organizations having the understanding that their respective delegates had agreed that the matter should be referred back to the Coopers' Union for the consideration and action of its convention, which was held in September of this year, at San Francisco, the matter to rest until acted upon by that convention, unless there should be developments that might lead to a satisfactory settlement in the meantime.

In view of this understanding between the two organizations, no further action was taken upon the matter by the E. C. Up to this writing no report has been received from the Coopers' International Union of the decision of its convention, but we trust that before the close of this convention information may be received that the organization has acted favorably upon the agreement.

TEAMSTERS—BREWERS—BAKERS—LAUNDRY WORKERS

The Philadelphia Convention decided that inasmuch as charges had been made that the Seattle decision upon the jurisdiction belonging to these four organizations had not been complied with, that decision should be re-affirmed and all organizations required to govern themselves accordingly. The decision in question gave jurisdiction over Bakery Wagon Drivers and Laundry Wagon Drivers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers. Jurisdiction over the drivers of brewery wagons was recognized as belonging to the United Brewery Workers.

President Gompers was instructed to issue a circular to all central labor unions and state federations with full instructions as to the jurisdiction held by the Teamsters, and to give notice that local unions having within their membership teamsters coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers should not be seated in central bodies. A circular containing the above information was issued, together with other jurisdictional decisions of the Philadelphia Convention, and later the full decision of the Philadelphia Convention upon this matter was published in the March issue of the *American Federationist*.

President Daniel J. Tobin made complaints against the International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers, charging that they were violating the ruling of the Philadelphia Convention, and asked for an interpretation of that ruling to be applied to the dispute that arose in St. Louis. The issue upon which President Tobin asked for a ruling was whether only the local unions in cities and towns that have drivers in their membership can be unseated or can all local unions of Bakery Workers, even when they have no drivers, be unseated in accord with that decision.

In the name and by direction of the Executive Council, President Gompers answered on the basis of the Philadelphia Convention, and President Tobin's attention was particularly called to the following explicit statement of the convention:

"Local unions having within their membership teamsters coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, shall not be seated."

This explicit statement shows that the decision did not apply to local unions of Bakery Workers in which there are no Bakery Drivers holding membership.

ENGINEERS—LONGSHOREMEN

Resolution No. 113 introduced in the Philadelphia Convention by representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, charged that the International Longshoremen's Association was organizing engineers and permitting its members to take the places of members of the Engineers' Union who were on strike in Chicago for better conditions. The convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to have a personal investigation made of these charges and if it be found that the Longshoremen's Association accepted into membership engineers properly coming under the jurisdiction of the Engineers' Union, these engineers should be transferred to the latter organization.

In accord with this action of the convention, a conference was held in Chicago for the purpose of making an investigation, at which representatives of the Longshoremen's Association and of the Engineers' Union were present. The Longshoremen admitted that engineers were being organized under their jurisdiction and contended that this was within their authority and charter rights.

The charge that the Longshoremen were using engineers to fill the places of the members of the Engineers' Union when its members were on strike, was denied by the Longshoremen's Association. President O'Connor stated that the Engineers did not call the strike at Chicago, for the Engineers at that time had neither organization nor members upon the job, because the international organization had revoked the charter of its Local No. 69, and hence the Longshoremen could not and did not take the places of engineers on strike. The representatives of the Longshoremen admitted that their crews worked during the strike at work coming within their jurisdiction, and they felt justified in doing so because the strike had been called for the purpose of compelling employers to cease making agreements for pile driving work with the Longshoremen's Association.

Secretary Hannahan stated that the revocation of the charter of the local was only temporary until the local complied with the regulations of the international organization and that this condition in no way affected the jurisdiction of the Engineers or the obligation of other organizations to observe their rights.

The report of this investigation and hearing in Chicago was made to the Executive Council. At the April meeting of the E. C., representatives of the Steam and Operating Engineers appeared in connection with this dispute. We decided that the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention in regard to the dispute be put into effect; namely, that if after the investigation it was found that the International Longshoremen's Association has in its membership, or is accepting to membership, Engineers properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, they shall be transferred to such organization at as early a date as possible.

The matter comes before this convention for such action as the convention may deem best.

STEAM SHOVELMEN—STEAM ENGINEERS

To the last convention was reported the agreement providing for the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen. This agreement was signed by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the two organizations concerned, representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, the A. F. of L. Mining Department and the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department. By some oversight, in reporting to the Philadelphia Convention the names of the representatives of the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen who signed the agreement reached by the Chicago Convention on September 22, 1914, the name of "A. Childs" was given. This name should, of course, have been "A. L. Wilde."

While the convention was in session, information was received that the two organizations had ratified the agreement by referendum vote. The convention approved the plan for amalgamation outlined in the report and recommended that when the amalgamation was effected, the Executive Council render every assistance possible to bring about a working agreement with the organizations closely allied with the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

At our January meeting, we decided that the instructions of the conventions had been complied with by the two organizations of Steam Shovelmen, and directed that charter be issued to the amalgamated organization under the title of "International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen" and, as already stated, the charter was issued on January 13, 1915.

In the meantime, however, the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers granted a charter to a local union of steam shovelmen in New York City. Protests were received from the officers of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen against the Steam Engineers because in several cities the Engineers had filed protest with the central bodies against the recognition of the representatives of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

Several conferences have been held to bring about a settlement between the two organizations.

At a conference held in Chicago in which President Gompers and representatives of the two organizations participated, a tentative agreement was reached for the amalgamation of the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen with the Steam Engineers, the same to be referred to the Executive Boards of both organizations. The Executive Board of the Steam Shovelmen rejected the agreement.

The subject-matter is in that situation at this time.

LITHOGRAPHERS—LITHOGRAPHIC PRESSFEEDERS—PRINTING PRESSMEN —PHOTO-ENGRAVERS, POSTER ARTISTS

The Philadelphia Convention instructed the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use its best efforts to bring about the amalgamation of the Lithographers and the Lithographic Pressfeeders, and in this connection to endeavor to bring about an amalgamation in the lithographic field, which would include also the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers.

The work of carrying out these instructions was referred to President Gompers at our January, 1915, session. The correspondence upon this matter has been voluminous during the year, and shows that every effort was made to accomplish the desired result.

An effort was made by the officers of the Lithographers and the Lithographic Pressfeeders to secure action upon the amalgamation agreement drawn up during their Buffalo, 1913, conference. The two chief points in dispute in regard to this agreement were the mortuary funds and the method of voting.

The President of the Lithographers' organization repeatedly gave assurance that joint committees were at work to secure the adoption of a plan of amalgamation, and that the amalgamation was practically all accomplished except the finishing touches. The Lithographic Pressfeeders' Association had been suspended from the A. F. of L., and was no longer affiliated. A controversy had arisen as the result of the introduction of the off-set press, which made necessary further protection for the Lithographic Pressfeeders. As this new invention in a measure replaced some of the lithographic processes, the question of jurisdiction arose between the Lithographic Pressfeeders and the Printing Pressmen.

On February 18 President Gehring wrote that the contemplated amalgamation had taken place under the Buffalo joint agreement; that the officers had been elected, and the association would be known as the "Amalgamated Lithographers of America." He was advised that it would be necessary to surrender the old charter and to make application for a new charter under the new name and with the new jurisdiction corresponding to the change in title. A conference between the four organizations concerned was arranged to take place in New York City February 21. The four organizations had a conference with President Gompers upon the matter of amalgamation, and then had additional conference in which the representatives of the International Allied Printing Trades Association participated. At this conference the representative of the Printing Pressmen's organization renewed the proposition of amalgamation which had been tendered the Lithographic Workers at a previous conference held in Washington. The representative of the Photo-Engravers likewise renewed a proposal of amalgamation with the Lithographic Workers.

The president of the Lithographers stated that he favored the establishment of one label in the printing industry, and that his union would take into consideration the question of amalgamating all the printing trade unions or amalgamation of the three organizations originally involved in the dispute.

The representative of the Lithographic Pressfeeders stated that his organization held that only one label should be allowed to represent all classes of printing regardless of the process and that his association believed in amalgamation of all branches of printing and lithographic industry to be organized under one governing board. During the discussion, attention was called to the fact that the Poster Artists' Union was not represented in the conference and ought to be invited to participate and to affiliate themselves with these organizations. This conference recommended that President Gompers call a joint meeting of the Executive Boards of all the unions represented and all other unions interested in the lithographic and printing press trades, for the purpose of considering and devising plans to bring about an amalgamation of the trades in question. A conference along these lines was called during the April meeting of the E. C. In this conference all the organizations concerned, except the Poster Artists, participated. However, the conference did not result in any immediate agreement and various representatives submitted reports from their respective organizations. We decided that President Gompers should continue his efforts to bring about amalgamation.

During our April, 1915, session the Lithographic Pressfeeders made inquiry as to the terms upon which they could be reinstated.

The Lithographic Pressfeeders had been given a conditional charter, but as they

had violated the terms of the conditions, the charter had been revoked. We took no action upon reinstating the Lithographic Pressfeeders as a separate organization, inasmuch as it now seemed wisest for all of the lithographic trades to amalgamate in one organization, and that matter has been discussed by the several organizations.

The representatives of the Lithographers, the Photo-Engravers, and the Printing Pressmen had a hearing during our September meeting.

After further consideration of this entire subject, we submit the following:

Application was made to us by the Printing Pressmen and Photo-Engraver's International Union for jurisdiction over what is known as off-set press work. The Lithographers protested against that claim, insisting that in nearly every instance members of the Lithographers' International Union are performing the work. We were unable to reach a conclusion upon the claims made, and so report to this convention!

Both in connection with the conference to encourage amalgamation, as well as for the better determination of the question of off-set press work, we recommend that the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association should be admitted in the Allied Printing Trades Council, where the subject-matter of jurisdiction, co-operation, and agitation for the extension of the use of the union label is best furthered.

We recommended that conferences be held during this convention to bring about harmonious relations between the organizations in interest.

JURISDICTION OVER SINGLE WRAPPING

The Philadelphia Convention referred to the Executive Council for action Resolutions Nos. 103 and 106, which provided that the International Typographical Union should relinquish immediately all claim to jurisdiction over single wrapping and binders and to surrender to the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders such single wrapping as it may now have under its jurisdiction.

The E. C. requested the officers of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and the International Typographical Union to carry out the following decisions of the E. C. in regard to single wrapping rendered in 1911 and 1913 respectively:

"After examining the evidence and hearing the oral arguments, and until the two organizations interested effect a mutual agreement on the subject, it is the sense of the E. C. that 'single wrapping,' where now performed in commercial bindery houses by members of the Bindery Workers' Union should not be disturbed, and that there should be no interference with the rights of the Bindery Workers' Union to organize non-union workers engaged at single wrapping in commercial binderies, but when the work in question is performed in purely printing offices, it comes under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

"In the controversy between the International Typographical Union and the Bookbinders about 'single wrapping,' the wrapping of newspapers not being in question, the E. C. of the A. F. of L. defines the term 'purely printing offices' as employed in the decision rendered June 15, 1911, to mean printing offices without a bindery connected therewith."

A conference was arranged between the representatives of the two organizations concerned at which propositions from both sides were considered, and each rejected by the other.

A report of this conference was made at our September meeting when representatives of the Bookbinders and the International Typographical Union were heard. We decided that the above quoted decisions rendered by us in 1911 and 1913 be reaffirmed and emphasized and that both organizations be strongly advised to conform to them.

HODCARRIERS—CEMENT WORKERS

The decision of the Executive Council giving the Hodcarriers jurisdiction over cement laborers employed in the construction of sewers and tunnels, as well as laborers doing the mixing of concrete, was approved by the Rochester Convention and reaffirmed by the

Seattle Convention. It was reported to the Philadelphia Convention that this decision had been violated by the Cement Workers. The convention decided that the whole matter be referred to us with instructions to continue efforts by conferences and otherwise to make effective the decisions previously rendered.

As a result of conferences, which were arranged pursuant to the direction of the Philadelphia Convention, an agreement was reached between the Cement Workers and the Hodcarriers under which the Cement Workers agreed to enforce the decision of the American Federation of Labor and surrender all members affected by that decision to the Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' organization.

In another section of this report information is submitted to the convention of the merging of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers with the Operative Plasterers' International Association.

INTERNATIONAL BRICK, TILE AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS—SECEDING LOCAL UNIONS

The report made to the Philadelphia Convention stated that efforts to secure the amalgamation of the two factions of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers had not been successful.

The convention decided that the seceding locals should be given until February, 1915, to re-affiliate themselves to their international and that if the seceding unions had not complied on or before that date, the President of the American Federation of Labor was to issue a circular to city central bodies and state organizations notifying them that the seceding local unions should be refused recognition by such bodies.

The effort to effect amalgamation was unsuccessful. On February 25, President Gompers issued a circular to the officers of state federations and central bodies recounting the efforts of the A. F. of L. to secure the re-affiliation of the seceding local unions and their final and decisive rejection of all such efforts. The circular stated that since the seceding local unions had failed to comply with the instructions of the convention, all city central bodies and state organizations were notified that the seceding local unions of the Brickmakers should be refused recognition by such bodies.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor advised President Gompers that all the seceding locals of that state had withdrawn from the State Federation of Labor shortly after the action taken by the Philadelphia Convention.

At our September meeting our attention was called to the fact that Secretary Van Bodegraven, of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance had entered into a contract with a firm in Murphysboro, Ill., for a period of five years, the terms of which were so unusual that we instructed President Gompers to communicate with the officers of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' organization in regard to the above information for official confirmation or denial of its authenticity. He complied with the instruction. Replies were received from both President Butterworth and Secretary Von Bodegraven. The entire subject-matter should be referred to the appropriate committee for consideration and report upon the subject-matter.

BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS—BOILERMAKERS—HODCARRIERS

The 1914 convention considered in Resolution No. 126 the application of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers for jurisdiction over riggers machinery movers and house movers. This resolution was protested by representatives of the Hodcarriers and the Boilermakers.

Inasmuch as no conference had been held among the contending parties upon the disputed claims, the President of the American Federation of Labor was directed to call such a conference, and pursuant thereto, one was arranged for and held at headquarters during our January meeting, at which the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Boilermakers and Hodcarriers were represented. As a result of this conference an understanding was reached that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers would withdraw the claims set forth in Resolution No. 126, which infringed upon the jurisdiction of the Boilermakers and the Hodcarriers, and the matter was closed upon this understanding.

President McClory of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and President D'Alessandro of the Hodcarriers reached the following specific agreement in regard to the work of house moving:

In the controversy between the Building Laborers' International Union and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Resolution No. 126 of the Philadelphia Convention, in reference to house moving, it is understood and agreed between both parties hereto that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers will withdraw their claim for jurisdiction over this particular class of work with the understanding that in case any local union of either side will enter a complaint both organizations get together to adjust same.

DOCK BUILDERS OF NEW YORK CITY

We regret very much to report the differences that have arisen in regard to the dock builders of New York City and vicinity.

There were in that city two organizations of dock builders, one known as the Independent Dock Builders and the other as Municipal Dock Builders' Union 13041. The independent dock builders had formerly been Dock Builders' Union 12429, which had been chartered as a federal union by the American Federation of Labor March 19, 1907. This union, however, was suspended January 1, 1910, for failure to pay dues. Later the organization was revived and conducted independently. On July 7, 1910, the A. F. of L. granted a charter to the dock builders who did the dock building for the New York City Department of Docks and Ferries. These workers were under civil service rules. The organization was known as Municipal Dock Builders' Union. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America made complaints against the Independent Dock Builders of the city of New York, charging that they were infringing on the jurisdiction of the Carpenters and that they were an independent organization not affiliated with the A. F. of L., and yet recognized by the Central Federated Union of the city of New York with representatives in that body.

The situation was investigated and conferences were held between the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the dock builders of New York City, the Central Federated Union and the A. F. of L., and it was decided that the dock builders ought to become a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. As the result of these conferences there was a general agreement that the dock builders ought to become a part of the Carpenters' organization.

An agreement was drawn up to adjust the difficulties that prevented an immediate amalgamation of the Dock Builders with the Carpenters. This agreement contained the conditions under which the Carpenters would agree to receive the Dock Builders in their organization. An effort was then made to unite all of the Dock Builders of the city of New York into one organization, in accord with the decision of the Executive Council that there should be but one organization of Dock Builders in the city. The Municipal Dock Builders' Union refused to agree to this amalgamation, and they were joined by the seceders from the other organization. However, the organization that was formerly known as 12429 agreed to the terms that the Carpenters had presented, became part of that organization and are now known as Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union 1456. Every effort was then exercised to have the Municipal Dock Builders conform to the decision of the A. F. of L., and come under the jurisdiction of the Carpenters' organization. Many conferences were held in which representatives of all parties concerned participated.

In accord with the rules and the decision of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., President Gompers then notified the Dock Builders' Union 13041 that it should become a part of Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union 1456 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America on or before June 15, 1915, or the charter of the union would be withdrawn. As the organization still maintained its stubborn resistance to authority, the charter was revoked. In accord with this action of the A. F. of L., the Central Federated Union of the city of New York expelled the representative of the Municipal Dock Builders' Union from membership in that organization.

The trade union movement found it necessary to dissociate itself from this organization in order to maintain the autonomy and independence of the principles upon which the international trade unions of America are founded, particularly as it applies to the original claims of international unions' jurisdiction. Local trade and labor organizations

are organized where there are no international unions of the trade, and are affiliated directly to the A. F. of L., but when the work which these local unions do comes under the jurisdiction of an international or a national, then they become affiliated to the proper national or international organization. Every opportunity was afforded for the presentation of any reasonable complaint or grievance which the Municipal Dock Builders wished to present, with the assurance that every such complaint would be investigated with opportunity for redress. Notwithstanding this the Municipal Dock Builders refused to comply with the requirements and decision of the A. F. of L. Efforts were continued to secure the compliance of the Municipal Dock Builders with the decision of the A. F. of L., and their amalgamation with the Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union No. 1456.

However, in the meanwhile, charges were entered against them by other workers, that they were taking the places of the Dock and Pier Builders when these workers had gone out on strike. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers granted a charter to the Municipal Dock Builders' Union. The attention of the officers of the organization was called to the unwarranted character of their action and to the fact that never at any time during all the years that the Dock Builders' matter has been under discussion, had the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers ever taken any part in the matter or uttered one word claiming that the Dock Builders' Union of New York should become part of their international union. Their attention was called to the further claim that it was not the time to raise rival claims for jurisdiction and issue a charter to men when those men were on the opposite side to another Dock Builders' Union which was engaged in a struggle.

The action of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in granting a charter to the Municipal Dock Builders of New York City was to have been considered by us at our September session, but since the convention of the Structural Iron Workers was held in San Francisco at the same time, it was impossible for them to have representatives appear in behalf of their claims. However, we telegraphed to the convention urging them to revoke the charter recently granted to the Dock Builders of New York City while a strike was on. We stated that if the convention would comply with our request, then further consideration of the entire matter would be deferred for adjustment at the San Francisco Convention. However, the delegates to the convention of the Structural Iron Workers declined to comply with the request of the E. C. Therefore, a hearing was granted to the representatives of the Carpenters who entered a protest against the action of the Structural Iron Workers.

In view of the refusal of the convention of the Structural Iron Workers to revoke the charter of the Municipal Dock Builders, President Gompers was authorized to send a second telegram to the convention emphasizing the statement already made, and bringing to their attention the fact that the Municipal Dock Builders' Union had held a charter from the A. F. of L. for more than five years, during which time the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers entered no claim for jurisdiction, and that the charter of the Dock Builders' Union had recently been revoked for failure to comply with trade union ethics.

The whole matter is referred to the convention for consideration, and for such action as may be deemed advisable.

PAINTERS—CARMEN

The Philadelphia Convention directed that a conference be arranged between representatives of these organizations with a view to adjusting their jurisdictional dispute.

President Hedrick for the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers and President Ryan for the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen responded to the call for a conference which was held during the January meeting the Executive Council. That conference having failed of results, it was decided that the dispute should be referred to the respective Presidents of the two organizations, with the request that they continue the effort to reach a satisfactory agreement.

Upon request being made for a report as to what progress had been made in the matter, replies were received from Presidents Ryan and Hedrick to the effect that nothing further had been done in the matter, both communications expressing the conviction that no results could be obtained by holding further conferences. The matter was in this status at the writing of this report.

CARPENTERS—RAILWAY CARMEN

Resolution No. 23 brought to the attention of the Philadelphia Convention the protest of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, against the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, on account of alleged infringement by the latter organization upon the jurisdiction of the Carpenters.

No conference having previously been held between the two organizations upon the dispute, the convention decided that one be arranged by the President of the American Federation of Labor with a view to reaching an adjustment.

A conference was held with representatives of both organizations in attendance. No results were accomplished, however, and at the subsequent meeting of the Executive Council, we decided that the dispute should be referred to the executive officers of the Carpenters and Railway Carmen with the request that they continue the effort to reach some mutually satisfactory basis of agreement upon the disputed jurisdiction. Pursuant to this action correspondence was held with the officers of both organizations, and while at the writing of this report we are unable to state that any progress has been made toward an adjustment, we are nevertheless hopeful that continued effort and conferences may lead to a satisfactory solution of their differences.

CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS—BLACKSMITHS—UPHOLSTERERS—MACHINISTS—METAL POLISHERS

The Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor decided that the Carriage and Wagon Workers should drop the words "automobile workers" from their title, and should refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations. The officers of the Carriage and Wagon Workers were officially notified of this decision and wrote to President Gompers in regard to this action of the convention and asked for the following information:

"Are we to understand that we are to turn in the charter we now hold and apply for one with the title of Carriage and Wagon Workers, or in other words are we to understand that our present charter has been revoked either wholly or in part?"

"Are we to understand that the recommendations of the committee mean that we are to have a clear field to the workers in the carriage and wagon shops and factories?"

"There are several classes of workers in the automobile factories that are not claimed by any of the organizations in the American Federation of Labor, are we barred from organizing them?"

"Are we to refrain from organizing workers in the automobile industry claimed by other organizations when said organizations have never been given jurisdiction?"

The Executive Council directed President Gompers to reply to the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' International Union that according to the action of the Philadelphia Convention the title of that organization was required to be changed to "The Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union," and that accordingly the A. F. of L. does not recognize the words "automobile workers" in the title. We directed that the charter of the Carriage and Wagon Workers should be returned to headquarters for change of title in conformity with the directions of the Philadelphia Convention and called attention to the instruction of the Philadelphia Convention that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union should refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations. It was further urged upon this organization that the best interests of the men of their trade and of the labor movement in general required that prompt steps be taken by the organization to conform to the decision of the A. F. of L.

No reply has been received to this communication, nor has the charter of the organization been returned to headquarters for the required change of title. The matter is referred to this convention for its further consideration and action.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS—THEATRICAL STAGE EMPLOYES

The complaints and the counter-claims of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers arising from

efforts to organize the Moving Picture Operators were referred to the Philadelphia Convention. The convention declared that the claim of the Electrical Workers to jurisdiction over Moving Picture Operators was not well founded and directed that organization to refrain from organizing Moving Picture Operators and to turn over such operators whom they had organized to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

However, considerable correspondence from both organizations and from persons interested in the moving picture business, came to headquarters. In addition, many conferences were held for the purpose of carrying into effect the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, the Electrical Workers continuing their claims to jurisdiction in Chicago and several other cities. This correspondence was submitted to the Executive Council at our April meeting and we referred the entire matter to President Gompers and Vice-President O'Connell to continue efforts to secure an adjustment of the dispute, and to secure the compliance of the Electrical Workers with the decision of the American Federation of Labor. An effort was made to secure a conference between representatives of the two organizations, but without avail.

At our September meeting it was brought to our attention that the Electrical Workers had organized a Moving Picture Operators' Union in Chicago, and that in St. Louis they had violated the decision of the Philadelphia Convention. We instructed President Gompers to send a telegram to the convention of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers which was then in session in St. Paul. The telegram called the attention of the delegates to the Electrical Workers' convention to the decision of the Philadelphia Convention reaffirming its former decision, which declared that jurisdiction over Moving Picture Operators belongs to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and that the Philadelphia Convention had instructed their organization to refrain from organizing Moving Picture Operators, and to turn over all such workers affiliated to their organization to the Theatrical Stage Employees. In the telegram we also urged the Electrical Workers to comply with the decision of the Philadelphia Convention.

UPHOLSTERERS AND CARPET MECHANICS

The last convention again endorsed the decision of the Seattle Convention, and directed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to request the officers of the Building Trades Department to further assist in carrying out these instructions.

The matter was taken up with the President of the Upholsterers' International Union and with the Secretary of the Building Trades Department and every effort was made to secure compliance with the instructions of our convention. However, we regret to report that the California State Building Trades Council has not yet unseated the representatives of the Carpet Mechanics' Local of San Francisco, although in recent letters from President McCarthy, he declared that the matter would be effectually determined before this convention is well under way. During the year it was brought to the attention of the President of the A. F. of L. that a dual union of Carpet and Shade Mechanics was affiliated to the Central Labor Council of Portland, Oreg., and that this was a part of the general movement to work against the Upholsterers' International Union. The matter was at once taken up with the central body at Portland with the instruction that this dual local was not entitled to representation in their body, and its representative should be unseated until it affiliated itself with the Upholsterers' International Union.

This matter is submitted for the consideration of the convention that it may determine what course will be most helpful in establishing co-operation between these workers in the industry.

APPLICATION OF RETAIL CLERKS FOR A CHANGE OF TITLE

At the September meeting the Executive Council, the application of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association for a change of name and charter under which they should be known as the Mercantile Employees' Association was considered. The question of jurisdiction over all classes of employees in mercantile establishments is also involved. We decided that the request should follow the course provided by the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and should be submitted to this convention for consideration and action.

METAL LATHERS—PLASTERERS

At our January meeting we considered the jurisdiction dispute between the Metal Lathers and Plasterers in regard to metal corner beads. The dispute was brought to our attention by the officers of the Building Trades Department according to the direction of the Philadelphia Convention of that Department. The Executive Council of that Department was called upon during last year to consider a dispute that developed in Cincinnati between the Lathers and Plasterers over this work. The Plasterers' local union persisted in the claim that the erection of all metal corner beads shall be performed by its members. This work had previously been in controversy between the Plasterers and Lathers. A decision in favor of the Lathers was rendered by the Denver Convention of the Building Trades Department and this decision was concurred in by the Toronto, 1909, Convention and reaffirmed by the Seattle Convention of the Building Trades Department. The E. C. of the Building Trades Department in rendering the decision upon the Cincinnati dispute requested the officers of the Operative Plasterers' Union to require their local union of Cincinnati to refrain from continuation of its tactics, and also directed the Building Trades Council of Cincinnati to give full support to the Lathers' Union in their contention for the right to jurisdiction over all such work.

The matter was acted upon by the Philadelphia Convention of the Department after representatives of both organizations had had a hearing, but an adjustment was not effected. Therefore, it was decided that the matter should be laid before the E. C. of the American Federation of Labor. We placed the matter in the hands of Vice-President Duncan to make an effort to bring about an adjustment of the controversy.

He reported that after numerous efforts to get the two parties in interest to meet for the purpose of trying to adjust the contention he had failed and that it had been arranged to hold conferences in San Francisco during the session of this convention in further effort to reach a mutual settlement.

AMALGAMATION OF GLASS WORKERS WITH THE BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS

In December, 1914, the Secretary of the Glass Workers' International Association of America, wrote to the officers of the American Federation of Labor informing them that the Glass Workers had under consideration a plan for amalgamation with the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, and asked for the assistance of the officers of the A. F. of L. in carrying out the provisions and conditions of that agreement in the event it was mutually agreeable to both associations.

The agreement was submitted for our consideration. At our April meeting we considered the agreement, approved and made it part of the record. President Gompers then, on behalf of the A. F. of L., signed the agreement, which was also to be signed by the representatives of the two organizations. The vote was favorable to amalgamation by a vote of 549 to 20. Because of the objection of one member of the General Executive Board of the Painters, the amalgamation agreement was also submitted to a referendum vote of the members of that organization and was approved.

GLASS WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

NEW YORK, _____ 19.

Proposed Plan of Amalgamation Submitted by the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Realizing the necessity for the thorough organization of the working people, and the closer unity of the organized workers, and to more thoroughly organize the yet unorganized, and further realizing that amalgamation under proper conditions would accomplish greater results to protect and promote the rights and interests of the workers thereof, and for the furtherance of the great uplift work for all the workers, we, the undersigned, representing their respective organizations, do hereby agree upon the following terms of amalgamation.

ARTICLE 1

The Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, holding a charter granted by the A. F. of L., September 25, 1900, consists of a number of local unions having jurisdiction over the following branches of the glass industry, to wit: Glass cutting, lead glazing, metal glazing, prism glazing, shade working, beveling, silvering, scratch polishing, embossing, engraving, designing, glass painting, drafting, sand blasting, glass chipping, glass mosaic working, art-glass setting, protection glass setting, cementing, bending, flat glass or wheel cutting, glass sign making, glass packing and plate glass working. The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America agree to recognize and uphold the foregoing jurisdiction in its entirety, and incorporate the same in their constitution.

ARTICLE 2

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America hereby agree that all existing local unions of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America that desire to retain their present identity as local unions, shall have complete trade autonomy as now enjoyed by them, and to all such local unions the brotherhood will grant charters, seals and all other necessary supplies free of charge. Local unions that prefer to consolidate with existing local unions of the brotherhood may do so, providing such consolidation is mutually satisfactory to the locals directly concerned. Where consolidation is agreed upon no initiation fee shall be charged or collected. In localities, where no glaziers' local exists, Glass Workers enumerated in the foregoing jurisdiction shall be admitted to brotherhood locals, and shall have the same autonomous rights as glaziers, paperhangers, sign painters, and other members engaged in special branches of the trade who are members of mixed locals.

ARTICLE 3

It is further agreed that in any city or district where a union of Glass Workers is located, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall not organize or place a local union of the brotherhood that shall consist in whole or in part of members working at any of the trades enumerated in Article No. 1, of this agreement, without the consent of the said Glass Workers' local union; and it is further agreed that any Glass Workers working at any of the trades enumerated in Article No. 1 of this agreement, shall not affiliate with any local union of the brotherhood, other than a Glass Workers' local in said city or district, without the consent of the said Glass Workers' Local Union.

ARTICLE 4

It is further agreed by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America that all Art Glass Workers in the event of amalgamation, shall retain jurisdiction over the setting of art glass as granted by the A. F. of L., September 25, 1900, and defined by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., June, 1911, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 23, 1911.*

The E. C. of the A. F. of L., at its session held in this city the week of June 12, gave further consideration of matter of the controversy between the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, over their respective claims of jurisdiction. The following action was taken by the E. C.

"Resolved, That President Gompers communicate with the officers of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America to the effect that the decision rendered by the E. C. at the meeting held September 10, 1903, conceding that putty-glazing comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood

of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, does not include the setting of art glass, jurisdiction over which belongs to the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association.

"It was further ordered that a copy of this decision be forwarded to the officers of the Building Trades Department."

The above decision was reaffirmed as follows:

"At the meeting of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., held at Atlantic City, N. J., July 21-29, 1913, the dispute between the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America was taken up and the following decision rendered:

"It was moved and adopted that the E. C. reaffirm its previous decision which gives to the Amalgamated Glass Workers' Union jurisdiction over the setting of art glass, without further modifying the decision rendered at the September, 1903, meeting, which gave jurisdiction to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers over putty-glazing, and the decision be also communicated to the officers of the Building Trades Department."

ARTICLE 5

It is further agreed that the members of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America shall be immediately placed in benefits for the period during which they have been in continuous good standing—according to the existing laws of the brotherhood—in the Amalgamated Association, but not to exceed a period of two years. All members who were under fifty (50) years of age at the time of their admission to membership in the amalgamated association shall be considered as full beneficial members. Such members, two years in continuous good standing, to be entitled to a death or total disability benefit of one hundred dollars—the amount paid upon members of the brotherhood in good standing for that period. Such members more than one year, but less than two years in continuous good standing to be immediately entitled to a death or disability benefit of fifty dollars. All members who were fifty (50) years of age or more, at the time of their admission to membership in the Amalgamated Association shall be considered as semi-beneficial members. Semi-beneficial members shall be entitled to death, disability and wife's death benefits as provided in the laws of the brotherhood. Members less than one year in good standing shall have credit for such good standing as they have in the Amalgamated Association, under the existing laws of the brotherhood. All members transferred shall be entitled to wife's death benefits in accordance with their standing as set forth above. All members shall have the same rights to earn further benefits as are enjoyed by members of the brotherhood.

ARTICLE 6

It is further agreed that the Brotherhood will honor the outstanding clearance and withdrawal cards of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, provided the holders thereof fulfill the conditions under which said card was granted.

ARTICLE 7

It is further understood and agreed that in the event of amalgamation, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America will recognize and protect all agreements of the local unions of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America that are now in effect.

ARTICLE 8

It is further agreed in the event of amalgamation that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall make no claim upon the funds in the treasury of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, or on the present funds and properties of any of its local unions.

ARTICLE 9

It is further agreed that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall inaugurate an aggressive campaign for the more thorough organization of all men engaged in the glass working industry, covered by the foregoing jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 10

It is further agreed that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America shall give credit on the cards or books of their association for the length of time that the members of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America have been in continuous good standing on the books of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, that they may enjoy the same rights and benefits as those enjoyed by the members of the brotherhood, under Section No. 38 of their constitution. Members' stamp books and books of the General Secretary-Treasurer to determine same.

ARTICLE 11

It is further agreed by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America that any member who has been fined, suspended or expelled by a vote of a local union of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America, for cause, shall not be admitted to membership in any local union of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America until restitution be made or satisfaction given, and accepted by a vote of the local union imposing the penalty.

ARTICLE 12

It is further agreed by the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America that at the first convention or referendum vote of the brotherhood following the date of the signing of this agreement they will recommend the amendment of the Constitution of the brotherhood by the extension of its claims of jurisdiction and the making of such other changes as will bring it into conformity with the articles and conditions set forth in this agreement.

ARTICLE 13

It is further agreed that the President of the A. F. of L., or a representative delegated by him, by direction of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., agrees in the name of the A. F. of L. to guarantee the faithful enforcement of all the provisions set forth in this agreement.

ARTICLE 14

In consideration of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America agreeing to, and accepting the conditions and proposals contained in all of the articles of this agreement, and after the same has been signed by its executive officers, the executive officers of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association and also by the President of the A. F. of L., or his representative, the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America does hereby agree to amalgamate with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and that this agreement shall become binding and operative on both associations mentioned in these articles of agreement, thirty (30) days after the same has been ratified by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and by a two-thirds refer-

endum of all members in good standing in the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America.

For the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

GEO. F. HENDRICK, *G. P.*
J. C. SKEMP, *G. S. T.*

For the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America:

DAVID RING, *G. P.*
A. J. SCOTT, *Gen. Sec.-Treas.*
PETER BELL, *Chairman.*
AL. L. NUTT.
WALTER H. CROTHERS, *Secretary.*

Gen. Ex. Board:

WALTER WEST.
WM. E. MULDOON.

For the A. F. of L.:

SAML. GOMPERS,
President.

LONGSHOREMEN—MARINE WAREHOUSEMEN

The Philadelphia Convention referred the request of the International Association of Longshoremen for extension of jurisdiction over men employed in marine warehouses to the Executive Council with instructions to have a personal investigation made as to whether the Brotherhood of Railway Freight Handlers is organizing Marine Warehousemen or has ever exercised that jurisdiction, and if the investigation should disclose that no other organization had legitimate jurisdiction, we were authorized to grant the Longshoremen's Association jurisdiction over Marine Warehousemen.

Organizers Hugh Frayne of New York City, and Frank McCarthy of Boston, were instructed to investigate the work performed by Freight Handlers, and to find out what organizations claimed jurisdiction. In the meanwhile the Brotherhood of Railway Freight Handlers disbanded and charters were then issued directly by the American Federation of Labor to the existing locals of Freight Handlers. Two organizers of the A. F. of L. were instructed to investigate the work performed by local unions of Freight Handlers holding charters from the A. F. of L. and local unions of Longshoremen, and submit a report to the E. C. bearing upon the disputed jurisdiction.

These organizers made independent investigations and separate reports but were unable to agree upon recommendations.

At our September meeting it was decided that this matter be referred to a conference to be held in San Francisco during the A. F. of L. Convention.

UNITED HEBREW TRADES

Owing to the peculiar local conditions, the United Hebrew Trades of New York has for years had the advantage of the endorsement and the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor. New York City has been the center where Hebrew immigrants have located. The U. H. T. has performed a valuable service in teaching these immigrants American customs, the methods and principles of organization, and thus has been helpful in protecting and educating newly arrived immigrants. It has been an agency for getting these foreigners in touch with American customs and American institutions. So long as the U. H. T. performed this service, it was helpful to the trade union movement and was endorsed, even though the organization had characteristics of duality. However, the spirit of co-operation more than counterbalanced any evils that might have arisen of a quasi-dual nature.

However, the U. H. T. deviated from the policy which gave it value. When some of the workers that were affiliated to the United Garment Workers' organization seceded and formed the "Amalgamated Garment Workers," even though the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. by unanimous vote decided that the seceding organization should not be recognized and that only representatives of the United Garment Workers should be

considered the legitimate representatives of that industry, the U. H. T. refused to act in accord with that decision. In defiance of the laws, declaration and decision of the A. F. of L., the U. H. T. not only refused to unseat the representatives of these seceding locals, but harbored and supported them in every way, and thus encouraged and assisted a secession movement. It is a fundamental principle of the trade union movement that solidarity is necessary for the best progress and for the greatest betterment of the wage-earners. Wherever there is discord or dissension, the influence and the power of the labor organization is weakened and it becomes increasingly difficult to protect the workers, and to promote their best interests.

Because the U. H. T. is actually dual to the Central Federated Union of New York City, and because the A. F. of L. had declared that the representatives of the seceding locals of the Garment Workers should not be recognized, the Central Federated Union of Greater New York made protest against the course which the U. H. T. had pursued and requested that the international unions should direct their local unions in New York City to withdraw their representatives from the U. H. T. unless it unseated the representatives of the seceders.

The Executive Council directed that this request be held in abeyance until President Gompers should address the U. H. T. for the purpose of delivering to them personally the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, with the request that the organization comply with that decision and conduct the organization according to the ideals and the principles of the trade union movement.

In accord with this direction, President Gompers addressed the U. H. T. (see speech, June, 1915, *American Federationist*), and urged upon them the necessity for solidarity and reviewed the action of the Philadelphia Convention in regard to the seceders. He urged upon them the fact that the U. H. T. had been tolerated because it had been helpful in promoting solidarity, even though the religious principle which was the basis for separation from the national trade union movement was not in accord with American ideals, and was reactionary and hurtful. Several conferences were held for the purpose of adjusting the difficulty.

At the last conference it was agreed that the representatives of the U. H. T. should recommend to that body to prevail upon the seceding locals or upon that body itself, to request the E. C. to call a conference of all parties in interest for the purpose of reaching an adjustment of the fundamental differences existing. Instead of so recommending, the representatives of that body misrepresented the understanding and the U. H. T. undertook to invite the representatives of the organizations to participate in the conference. Of course the bona fide unions could not accept such an invitation and did not. When this misrepresentation was called to the attention of the U. H. T. there was further request for time, more time, and still more time. Further correspondence was indulged in and long explanations, until it finally seemed evident that the purpose of that policy was to defer action merely to procrastinate and thus to avoid conformance with the decision of the A. F. of L. The effect of the disrupting policy manifested on the part of the U. H. T. was injurious to the solidarity or progress of the trade union movement of New York City.

When the U. H. T. had been given every opportunity and ample time to conform to the action agreed upon, and yet still continued to refuse to take action complying with the declaration and decision of the A. F. of L., we directed President Gompers to require any local union directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. to withdraw from affiliation with the U. H. T., and to request all national and international unions having local unions connected with the said U. H. T., to require their locals to withdraw from it.

Our decision was conveyed to the U. H. T. in time for action at its regular meeting, but that organization even then refused to comply, whereupon, in accord with our instructions, official notice was given to all international unions having local unions represented in the U. H. T. in New York City, calling upon them to perform their duty as prescribed in the constitution of the A. F. of L., and in compliance with the laws, decisions and declarations of the Philadelphia Convention, and to direct their local unions to withdraw all representatives from the U. H. T. of New York City.

It was only when the U. H. T. demonstrated the fact that it intended to harbor, encourage, give recognition, support and co-operation to seceding locals and thus to become a hostile and therefore a rival body to the chartered Central Labor Union of New York City, and vicinity, that the A. F. of L. refused longer to co-operate with that organization.

In accord with instructions the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity immediately issued instructions to all unions affiliated with the U. H. T. that they would be suspended, unless an official report was filed showing that they had severed all affiliation with that body.

CAPMAKERS—HATTERS AND STRAW HAT WORKERS

Resolution No. 3 adopted by the Philadelphia Convention instructed the Executive Council to call a conference between the representatives of the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers for the purpose of determining the question of jurisdiction over the making of ladies' cloth and straw hats, or the millinery industry, which had been recognized by the E. C., since 1903, as a part of the cloth hat making industry and jurisdiction over the industry has been exercised by the United Cloth Hat and Capmakers' of North America. A few federal charters have been granted to federal unions of millinery workers.

A conference between the representatives of the United Hat and Cap Workers was held in New York. The Hatters would not agree to surrender any of the jurisdiction claimed by them, but agreed, however, that when any conflict of jurisdiction arose between the two internationals, that the officers of both organizations should meet for the purpose of reaching an amicable understanding. They stipulate, however, that they would not waive their jurisdiction over the ladies' straw hat making industry. This arrangement provided for the adjustment of any further disagreement.

In Chicago the Cloth Hat and Capmakers have organized the straw hat and millinery workers into what is known as an auxiliary of Local Union No. 5. As the International Union refused to issue a charter to them as straw hat and millinery workers in the ladies' straw and felt hat making industry of Chicago, the workers in that trade organized and secured a federal charter from the A. F. of L.

Several years ago the women employed in the ladies' straw hat industry organized, secured reasonable wages and ten-hour workday. This is a seasonable trade—the rush season lasting between three and four months of each year. During the slack months there is very little employment in the trade. Before the organization of the women in the trade and before the ten-hour law of Illinois for women became operative, all had to work long hours during the rush season. When the women's ten-hour law went into effect certain firms undertook to employ male operators during the rush season who were not included under the statutory ten-hour law for women. And thereupon a conflict arose between the women and the men who desired to enter into that industry—the women opposing, as the latter held they would finally be supplanted entirely by the men, particularly as the men had not set for themselves any limitation of their hours of labor and the employers were endeavoring to secure men to work a longer number of hours per day, and thereby deteriorating the conditions of all those who worked in the industry.

An investigation was made of the Chicago situation by President Compers, John Fitzpatrick, representing the Chicago Federation of Labor, and by President George W. Perkins of Cigar Makers' International Union. After a thorough investigation, they recommended that the A. F. of L. issue a charter to the ladies' straw and felt hat operatives in the contending organization under the following conditions:

"1. That the members of the newly chartered organization shall demand work at the regular prescribed number of hours by Local Union No. 14400, now in existence during the rush and dull periods.

"2. That the members of the newly chartered union shall demand and receive at least the same wages and demand work under the same rules and regulations governing all working conditions that now prevail in the Local Union No. 14400.

"It is hereby understood and agreed that the employing of help in so far as sex is concerned shall be left to the employers."

MARBLE WORKERS AND SLATE WORKERS

Resolution No. 90 of the Philadelphia Convention provided that the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers should extend to all workers employed in the production and the working of slate.

Inasmuch as no conferences had been held in regard to the matter prior to the Philadelphia Convention, the convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to arrange for a conference of all parties at interest for the purpose of adjusting the claim for extension of jurisdiction by the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers.

A conference of the Slate Workers, Marble Workers, and the Quarry Workers, was held in New York City, at which the following agreement was reached:

First. That the members of the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers shall set slate specified in Resolution No. 90 when the contract is being executed by firms operating their own mills and factories.

Second. That the members of the International Association of Marble Workers shall set slate specified in Resolution No. 90, when the contract is being executed by firms holding agreements with locals of the International Association of Marble Workers.

Third. That the members of the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers shall receive the same rate of wages and conditions existing in localities under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Marble Workers while erecting slate in buildings.

Fourth. That both organizations named will work in harmony, using all legitimate efforts to the end that a more thorough organization of both industries will be affected.

For International Association of Marble Workers:

WALTER V. PRICE.
STEPHEN C. HOGAN.
CHAS. TUCKER.

For American Brotherhood of Slate Workers:

PATRICK HANLEY.
LAWRENCE WATERS.
PHILIP JAGO.

After this agreement was reached, the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America entered a protest that this extension of jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers encroached upon the jurisdiction of the Roofers' Union. An effort was made to arrange a conference between the representatives of the three organizations, but has not as yet been successful.

MARBLE WORKERS

Resolution 138 adopted by the Philadelphia Convention earnestly requested the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Union of Steam Engineers and Operative Plasterers to refrain from using their influence in a manner detrimental to the interests of the International Association of Marble Workers.

Representatives of the Marble Workers in a hearing before the Executive Council stated that the Bricklayers were discriminating against the Marble Workers and cited particularly the case of the Widener Memorial Building at Philadelphia. They requested us to prevail upon affiliated organizations to aid the Marble Workers in their claim to the work to which they were entitled, and to urge the Carpenters, Engineers and Plasterers that if they were not willing to strike in support of the Marble Workers' contention that they would at least remain neutral. It was decided that President Gompers should confer and communicate with the executive officers of the various organizations in order to secure their co-operation to prevent a strike on the Widener building against the Marble Workers and to have them assist the affiliated organization in every way possible in such contentions which are recognized and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

All organizations affiliated to the Building Trades Department were advised of our decision and urged that where trade complications prevented giving full support to the Marble Workers, at least they should not lend their support against the Marble Workers and would assume a neutral position.

THE COOPERS AND BARREL-STAVE INDUSTRY—RESOLUTION 80

Employers engaged in the barrel-stave industry have organized the National Association of Slack Barrel, Stave and Heading Makers' Association, and have declared in convention against the organization of the workers in that industry. This matter was presented to the last convention, and by that convention referred to us in order that we might endeavor to bring about a conference for an adjustment of the differences between the Coopers' Union and the Employers' Association. We referred the matter to President Gompers to arrange for a conference. After correspondence with both parties, he was informed that a representative of the Coopers' Union would be glad to meet for conference any time or place, and that the Secretary of the Employers' Association intended to be in Washington some time in February, and that if the President of his association would give his approval, the Secretary would be glad to confer with President Gompers and the representative of the Coopers' Union in regard to the matter. However, nothing tangible has been accomplished in this matter.

THE HOLT MANUFACTURING COMPANY—RESOLUTION NO. 146

This resolution presented opposition of the Holt Manufacturing Company to the standards of organized labor and called attention to the long workday, and low wages that existed in the establishments controlled by the company.

The Holt Manufacturing Company is a member of the Merchants, Manufacturers and Employers' Association of California, and owns and controls three manufacturing establishments. One of its principal owners declared in testimony before the federal Commission on Industrial Relations that the firm would not employ any one known to be a member of a labor organization, and that its establishments are closed to members of trade unions.

The Machinists, Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Patternmakers, and Molders' Unions struck against the Holt Manufacturing Company at Stockton, Cal. Inasmuch as the firm makes farming implements, the circular letter which was sent out to all state branches of the American Federation of Labor was also sent to organizations of the farmers, in order that the widest possible publicity should be given to the labor policy of this manufacturing company so that all those in sympathy with the purposes of the organized labor movement to secure better conditions for the wage-earners might be in a position to cooperate with and support the wage-earners who are fighting for their rights.

The California State Federation of Labor submitted to the local unions of the Metal Trades information relative to the policy of this company toward organized labor, and ask them to request their respective national officers to assist in giving publicity to the facts. The Holt Manufacturing Company still continues to discriminate against union men.

DETROIT CIGAR AND TOBACCO TRUST

Resolution No. 71 of the Philadelphia Convention called attention to the deplorable conditions and the harmful practices and the great injustice with which the girls and women employed by the American Cigar and Tobacco Trusts had to contend in Detroit Sweatshop conditions under speeding-up pressure prevailed. The convention referred the subject-matter of the resolution to the Executive Council for the purpose of causing an investigation to be made and publicity given to conditions in these Detroit shops, with the further suggestion that, if possible, the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations investigate conditions in the cigar factories of Detroit.

The E. C. presented this request to Chairman Walsh of the Industrial Relations Commission who took the matter up but found that the funds of the Commission would not admit of their making an investigation. It was then decided that one of the paid organizers of the A. F. of L. be assigned to make this investigation. Organizer T. H. Flynn was assigned to this work. A very thorough investigation was made, the results of which were embodied in the report which Organizer Flynn made. This report was referred to President Gompers to take up with the President of the Cigarmakers' International Union for further action. Chairman Walsh of the Industrial Relations Commission agreed that Organizer Flynn's report be submitted to the Commission and ordered read into its hearings. The report

is a very comprehensive one and will be submitted for consideration of any committee: The chief points and findings are as follows:

"1. Several years ago a number of cigar companies formed a combination to devise ways and means to secure labor at the lowest possible cost.

"2. This combination started a school in which female students were taught a part of the cigar trade, and by specializing them they would be more submissive and by keeping the school constantly going there would be a continuous force of young specialists waiting for positions at all times, which would have a tendency to make the older hands more submissive.

"3. In order that the school might be self-supporting they made it a cigar factory and named it the Detroit Ideal Cigar Company. Young girls who were employed were compelled to sign an agreement which certified to the fact that they wanted to learn whatever part of the cigar trade was designated and they agreed to work 36 days without pay and further agreed to pay the company \$5 in advance for such instruction, besides furnishing their own tools of trade. If they could not pay \$5 in advance, they paid \$6 in installments. At the expiration of 36 days they were given a certificate to show that they were practical bunch makers, cigar rollers or cigar packers. The pupils were never allowed to learn the entire trade, they were made specialists. After they received their certificate they were sent to one of the factories of the combine and they were given a position as follows:

"For bunch-making, cigar rolling or packing, their contract provided that they work six months for a certificate of \$1 per week, each week, receiving the certificate of \$1 payable at the expiration of six months, on condition that the employee would have worked steadily six months in the factory. If the employee, on account of illness or other incapacitation, worked only five months and 28 days, the company would refuse to cash the \$1 certificates, with the result that the employee would receive absolutely no pay for the time put in."

"Favoritism crept in, in that some of the larger firms secured more than their pro rata share of the young pupils, which caused dissatisfaction and the institution became weaker and a few years ago disbanded.

"The combine still exists and has carried the system into its own factories. This combine made it prohibitory for firms paying high wages and firms which recognized the rights of their employees to bargain collectively to attempt to engage the employees of the combine, going so far as to use the Circuit Court of Wayne County to enjoin companies which might solicit or might employ their employees.

"The Cigar Factories in Detroit are members of this combine, and employ practically all female labor with the exception of the foremen, and the ages apparently from 13 to 21 years.

"Another matter which I believe should receive our attention is that of the employment of married women with families in the preparing of the tobacco in the factories.

"Detroit has a settlement known as the 'foreign town,' mostly Polish, who have not at the present time any knowledge of the laws of our country, nor do they appreciate the American standard of living. The wives go to the factories after they have cared for their children and done their housework, and because most of them are too old to learn the more skillful part of the work, they do the stripping. They work about nine hours in the factory, and after taking out some time for housework, it probably leaves them about two or three hours of the twenty-four to give to the care of the children for whom they are responsible. It is probable they earn \$5 or \$6 a week, but this is not authentic as it is almost impossible to learn from the women themselves just what their wages are.

"During my investigation, in watching the females who are employed almost exclusively in the factories—with the exception of the foremen and where men are needed for the heavy work as stated in the foregoing—I could not but notice one thing in particular, and I think I could say, without fear of contradiction, that 90 per cent were under the age of 20 years. This would indicate that the system I have mentioned—the thirty-six days' free labor, and the six months at \$1 week, providing the full term of six months is served, otherwise being classified

as "free labor"—has so entrenched itself in those factories that the young "specialists," working for comparatively nothing, are fast crowding out those more experienced, or, in other words, labor that costs nothing is taking the place of those who demand wages."

The report also contains a copy of the injunction which Judge Murphy issued which denies workers the right to quit a non-union factory for the purpose of taking employment in a union factory at increased wages and shorter hours of labor.

In carrying out the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention to give publicity to the conditions prevailing in the cigar factories of Detroit, President Perkins published in the *Cigarmakers' Journal* for July, Organizer Flynn's report in full. The attention of the delegates is particularly called to the chief points of Organizer Flynn's report in order that they may know under what conditions cigars are produced in the shops of the American Cigar and Tobacco Trusts in Detroit, and that they may give the widest possible publicity to this information.

RESOLUTIONS 79, 92, 154, AND 161

Resolution No. 161 of the Philadelphia Convention referred to the matter of Abram S. Cox Stove Company, Lansdale, Pa., and Resolutions Nos. 92 and 154, referred to the Victor Talking Machine Company. Investigation was made and effort at adjustment but no tangible agreement was reached.

Resolution No. 79, regarding United States Broom and Brush Company, of Chicago, was made a subject of inquiry and the facts disclosed as stated in the resolution. A circular letter was addressed to affiliated bodies quoting the substance of Resolution No. 79.

WARD BAKING COMPANY

Resolutions 120 and 123 dealt with the struggle that was being waged by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union against the Bread Trust, composed of several large concerns, including the Ward Baking Company, and the general baking companies. These resolutions called attention to the fact that Robert B. Ward, President of the Ward Baking Company, was also one of the main financial backers of the Federal Baseball League and the sole owner of the Brooklyn Club. The convention referred the subject-matter of these resolutions to us and correspondence was entered into with the officers of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers for the purpose of securing information and for bringing about an adjustment between them and their employers.

At our September meeting we considered the appeal of the Bakers' Union asking that the organizers of the A. F. of L. be requested to render every assistance possible in the campaign that the members of this organization were waging against the Bread Trust for the purpose of extending organization, and thereby better protecting the workers in this industry, and also to defeat the efforts of the Bread Trust to secure an exclusive market for their product. The campaign of the Bread Trust is directed principally against the smaller cities where smaller bakeshops are now established and where the master bakers are most inclined to recognize the union and to accord union conditions. It was decided that the request of the Bakers be complied with, and the organizers of the A. F. of L. be instructed to co-operate with them for the purpose of organizing these workers and protecting the organizations already in existence.

TELEGRAPH COMPANIES

Resolution 155 described the methods employed by the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies to prevent the telegraphers from organizing, by discharging, black-listing, and persecuting telegraphers belonging to associations of union men. The workers in this monopolized industry have been unable to exercise the rights of free-born American citizens. The convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to call the attention of the various international unions and central bodies to the conditions under which the commercial telegraphers work. In accord with this instruction, this

matter was included in a circular letter which President Gompers issued to all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. Additional publicity was secured for the wrongs of commercial telegraphers by the hearing which they had before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations.

L. S. STARRETT TOOL MANUFACTURING COMPANY

Resolutions Nos. 47 and 157 presented to the last convention the unfair policy which the L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Company of Athol, Mass., has adopted in regard to its employees. The company has recently introduced the piecework system with the avowed intention of extending the same to all departments. Members of the machinists' local unions had been discharged because of their membership in the union. The convention referred the matter to the Executive Council and Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, that joint action might be taken to bring about conditions more satisfactory to the trades concerned.

At our January meeting we directed President Gompers to write to the company for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment between the company and the Machinists. The President of the company refused to meet representatives of the machinists' locals and further correspondence revealed the fact that there was a general misunderstanding, and when this was cleared up a conference was agreed to. At this conference a satisfactory understanding was not reached, but the chances are good at the present time for a conference which will probably result in some substantial gain.

FIREMEN—ENGINEERS

The Philadelphia Convention recommended that the President of the American Federation of Labor attend the convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen to be held in Cincinnati, August, 1915, for the purpose of urging upon the convention amalgamation with the Steam and Operating Engineers. The convention also requested the international officers of the Stationary Firemen to extend an invitation to the President of the Steam and Operating Engineers to be in attendance at that convention. The two organizations were asked in the meanwhile not to trespass upon the jurisdiction which the A. F. of L. had recognized as belonging to each.

In accord with this instruction, President Gompers attended the convention August 3, and urged upon the convention the benefit of amalgamation with the Engineers and he urged that if the convention was not willing to agree to amalgamation that they authorize the appointment of a committee to bring about better relations between the two organizations. The Firemen's convention unanimously voted against amalgamation but elected a committee of three to confer with a like committee from the Engineers if that organization should be willing to authorize a committee for that purpose.

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Since the time of its establishment, about twenty-two years ago, the *American Federationist*, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor, has had but one purpose, to explain and to champion the cause of trade unionism. Although there are matters of interest to the trade union movement, matters which indirectly affect it, even for these the *American Federationist* has never turned from the cause to which it was dedicated. The same clearness of thinking, the same understanding of fundamental principles that have characterized the leadership of the trade union movement of America have characterized the tone and the editorial policy of its official journal. Amid all of the theories of proposed reforms and all the efforts to guard or to mislead the working people, there must be one agency to which they can look for guidance and information, something in which they can place implicit confidence. This is one of the services which the *American Federationist* has performed. Through its editorial columns and its articles it has presented to its readers an interpretation of happenings and movements that will enable American workers to see what policies and what methods will best promote their own interests. The magazine judges everything upon certain well-known trade union principles and seeks to keep ever prominently before the minds of wage-earners the value and significance of the fundamental principles involved in their industrial and political freedom, so that the workers will be in a position to solve their own problems

and to promote their own interests. During the past year these principles have been presented with insistence and force.

In accord with the instruction of the Philadelphia Convention, there has been published at least every two months an article dealing with higher dues in unions, and with the experiences that have determined various organizations to increase their dues. These articles have been of more than usual value, and have been copied by many labor papers. The September issue of the *American Federationist* will be a valuable source of information for years to come. The central thought of that issue as developed in the symposium which forms the leading article, was "Labor's Mission, the Achievement of Freedom."

In order to give full recognition to the value and significance of the labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Act, men closely associated with the enactment of that law and those who held places of responsibility in the labor movement, and whose practical experiences in the labor movement had given them a very keen realization of the need of remedial legislation to protect the existence of organized labor, were asked to make contributions to that symposium. Those articles show how firmly there has been ground into the minds of the men of the labor movement an understanding of the value of human life and of those principles that humanize industry and industrial problems. The symposium will be invaluable to lawmakers, students, and all of those who wish to study labor legislation.

In addition to articles on the Clayton Act, were articles dealing with that legislation second only to the Clayton Act—the Seamen's Law—and others showing how the organized labor movement opens up opportunities for greater freedom and greater activity on the part of wage-earning women.

The issue is a fitting commentary upon the great progress made during the past year, and proclaims that every advance in human freedom is a significant event in history. It emphasizes the revolutionary force of that tremendous legislative declaration of section 6 of the Clayton Act, "the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." That is a principle, which, when applied, will humanize economic and judicial theory, and will abolish many of the fetters that have held the workers bound to their employers.

The *American Federationist* has been a tribune that has stood for human rights and human freedom, and has insisted that every other consideration must be subordinated to these. The influence of the magazine upon the labor press, as well as the general press of the country, is strong and helpful in all things, true to trade unionism. It is an influence that can not be bought, can not be diverted, and can not be silenced or ignored.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

It is a generally recognized fact that the chief sources of information for the masses of the people are the newspapers. This has given papers a commercial value that has frequently hampered the editorial policy. Work of publishing newspapers has been organized in the same highly specialized way as all other business undertakings. For convenience and economy, there have been established news agencies for the collection and the dissemination of current matters. Because these news agencies are established for profit, they serve best the interests of those who have financial and economic power. It has long been a matter of common knowledge that the things which are of greatest interest to the workers and which present their cause and contentions fairly or forcefully, have been suppressed in the interest of profits.

As publicity has become of increasing importance in dealing with industrial relations and problems which have become more complex and on a larger scale as industrial organization has developed, it has become correspondingly important that the wage-earners should have some instrumentality for disseminating labor news. Labor papers are hampered because they serve a cause that has little money, and consequently they lack funds to render this service. It was for the purpose of organizing the dissemination of news that the convention of the American Federation of Labor authorized the establishment of the *Weekly News Letter*. That publication has become the dependence of many labor papers. It is recognized as the labor news agency and furnishes to labor editors throughout the country current information ready for use.

In addition to the service the *Weekly News Letter* has rendered to the labor press of the country, it also furnishes a speedy and economical means of communicating officially with the local labor organizations. Declarations of the Executive Council and of the President

of the A. F. of L., published in the *Weekly News Letter* are given wide circulation and hence a still wider publication in the labor papers which are thus enabled to reprint them. This is of particular value in legislative matters in connection with which it is necessary to get information quickly before the members of the labor movement throughout the country in order to get action necessary to the securing of legislation.

This is demonstrated by the issues of the *Weekly News Letter* containing information which came into President Gompers' possession showing the influence at work to prevent the passage of the Immigration bill. Those two issues aroused the trade unionists throughout the country to present to their representatives in Congress in no unmistakable terms their desires for the passage of that bill. The *Weekly News Letter* has proved itself a valuable news agency, as well as a help in the educational work of the trade union movement.

LABOR PRESS

Unquestionably the newspaper is the chief literature of Americans. In form, in method and in spirit it is adapted to the needs of the times. The paper habit has become so firmly established as a national custom that every cause must have the means of publicity. It is the only way to get the news quickly and surely to those who must be reached. The policy of the paper depends usually upon the motives in the managing room. The ordinary daily paper is published for profit. There may be ideals in the editorial room and scattered among the reporters but these may be checkmated at any time by the decisions from the managing room based upon the balance sheet.

These conditions mean that the cause of the people is often neglected to make room for the special interests for those who can afford to pay. They mean that news will be edited, suppressed, perverted—for those who will pay. The cause of the toilers, the wronged of humanity, fails to secure space if its publication affects profits.

These conditions made labor papers necessary and they have struggled against tremendous obstacles—hampered by lack of appreciation, friends, facilities and opportunities.

Each year brings increases in the power and the number of the labor papers of the land. They are tremendous dynamic forces giving publicity to the cause of human welfare and the struggle of the workers for justice and a better life. They herald abroad the news of Labor—the ideals that touch the things of daily life and make them to glow with the glory of humanity. They tell the facts of the workers' lives and of the struggles for a better life.

Usually in a secluded office, work the labor editors who dedicate their lives to the cause of publicity for Labor. Their reward has been frequently but a meager living and the satisfaction of a great work done. The labor movement stands for fair wages—an ideal that must be extended to labor editors. Yet, on the other hand, great care must be exercised lest the power that comes through a labor paper should fall into the hands of those unfit to use it. Labor papers must be kept clean, free from outside or political partisan domination.

The labor papers by bringing about understanding of conditions are a powerful element in helping to unify and give direction to the labor movement. They journey throughout the length and breadth of the land entering into the mental life of each reader, expanding in some way his thought, and consequently his acts. They are an incalculable power in the labor movement and ought to be supported financially and morally by all the workers, and those who genuinely sympathize with the great cause of Labor.

ORGANIZATION OF TEACHERS

The schools of every country have an incalculable effect upon the mental life of the nation. The instruction given in the schools imbeds ideals and concepts in the minds of the boys and girls that in a large degree determine their viewpoints and constitute the materials according to which they will judge their experiences and determine their actions. Education means that training that shall enable people to take advantage of opportunity. It should inculcate self-reliance and independence that are essential for freedom. It is the public schools of the country that constitute the chief guardian of our free institutions, the spirit of independence and the love of freedom and justice that are in our people. This effect is cumulative. Instruction given to one generation enables that generation to live a broader life, to get a wider and deeper insight into the meaning of things, a keener

appreciation of the value of life, the rights that should belong to each, and what constitutes justice. The standards that are raised by one generation are made the basis for advance by the next generation.

Once give a people the power that comes through training acquired through the public schools and you have put into the lives of those people the force that will protect them against tyranny and unfreedom in whatever guise the attack may be made. The schools of our country are concerned with the raw, human stuff that constitutes our nation and can influence those human lives for good or for evil. No more insidious or more dangerous attack can be made on the freedom of the people than an attack upon institutions that control the fountains of information. The teachers, the human agents in instruction, have a power that is really terrific in its far-reaching consequences. They can make easy the access to truths or they can make that very difficult and indeed may turn the student astray by pointing out the wrong way and by incorrect interpretations.

It is for these reasons that a free people resent most emphatically and most bitterly any attack upon the educational institutions. They are greatly concerned whenever any undemocratic power or agent endeavors to get control over school management, over teachers or other instruction given in any of the educational institutions of the country. Perhaps the best planned, most dangerous efforts of this type are the great foundations that have been established by our captains of industry who have grown enormously wealthy and who subsidize foundations to be associated with the work of educational institutions. Since educational institutions are so closely associated with the lives of the people—in fact are a part of the lives of the people in every nation which has ideals of democracy, can we favor granting control over educational affairs to any agency that belongs or that is itself dependent upon the favor of a private individual or groups of individuals?

No one can contend for a moment that the viewpoint of industrial exploiters are the ideals and the viewpoint of the majority of the citizens of the United States. No one can contend that the fortunes of these men can ever be dissociated from the conditions under which they were accumulated. The types of some of our multi-millionaires will always carry with them the taint and the curse of the economic tyranny which their agents have exercised over their employees. The great millionaires of our country have resisted all ideals of democracy in their relations with their employees. They have maintained an industrial regime of despotism and tyranny in every detail where they were not forced to establish other relations through the economic power of their employees.

If the American citizens are to maintain their social, political and economic institutions free from the evils of autocracy, they must maintain in their own hands control over their educational institutions. Educational institutions touch directly the heart of the nation. We want more schools, we want better schools, but we want our own schools. Anything that savors of charity, whether it be termed "foundation" or some other euphonious name must be opposed, checked and rooted out of our educational system.

Domination of this sort has been particularly evident during the past year. The dismissal of Prof. Scott Nearing from the University of Pennsylvania, of Prof. James H. Brewster from the University of Colorado, the five professors from the University of Utah, the investigation of the University of Wisconsin ordered by the reactionary state legislature, are all evidences of effort to control or to pervert instruction given in those institutions and to prevent free and untrammelled discussion and search for truths by students. Every effort to suppress freedom of thought or freedom of discussion in a university or college means a lessening of the freedom of the people, not only of those directly concerned, but of all, upon whom their lives have effect through personal contact and otherwise. The professors and instructors in institutions of higher learning have felt and realized the importance of attempts to hamper their instruction and to deprive them of freedom to instruct and discuss. As an expression of this conviction on their part, more than a year ago they organized the American Association of University Professors. The organization has rallied to the defense of fellow-instructors who have been victimized by the universities. It is founded upon the same principle that underlies the trade union movement: namely, organization for personal self-defense and freedom.

The same spirit of unfreedom has characterized the policy of many of the boards of education of our cities. These boards of education consist of individuals who are either elected by the people or usually in the larger cities appointed by the mayor. As a general thing they represent not the masses of the people but the employers and the corporate interests. Their direction over school affairs is a "business administration" and is responsible for many policies that are out of harmony with democratic ideals. School manage-

ment is generally upon a despotic basis, and regulations are arbitrarily fixed for teachers who are required to submit without question. This autocratic regime has been bolstered up by fostering the notion that teachers are employed in so high a calling that they must sacrifice all of their own interest, all of their own welfare, rather than interpose their best judgment or in any way interfere with what is termed "school discipline" and school regulation. Of course no one denies the necessity of proper school discipline or regulation, but we insist, as do the teachers, that an association of teachers conducted in the interests of the teachers, for their proper protection and welfare, does not and can not interfere with such school discipline and regulation as concern the education and the character development of the pupils. On the contrary, we insist that the reverse has been and must result.

All of this has had the effect of introducing into school control the same concepts, the same system, the same policies, as factory employers and managers of commercial and industrial institutions have so unwisely established in factory systems, thereby reducing all business to a purely mechanical basis without heart, brain or spirit. This utter absence of individualism, absence of democratic relations and institutions, this formalism, this mechanical spirit, have had a terrible effect not only upon teachers in the high, grammar and graded schools, but upon the boys and girls who attend these schools. There has been a tendency to standardize education and individuals, to make every one conform to a conventional pattern that has been detrimental to the initiative, power, resourcefulness that ought to be cultivated at the sacrifice of everything else.

But the teachers of the present day are feeling the impulse of freedom. They are catching glimpses of new ideals, a wider and better life, a better and holier opportunity and they are at the same time beginning to understand how these new ideals can be realized and made agencies of power. They are beginning to feel the throb of independence and they know that they hold within their own hands the power to help themselves. And with it all are becoming better teachers, most competent, reliable caretakers of the children whom the people place under their direction. As a consequence they are turning toward organization. There have been organizations of teachers in existence for several years. The Teachers' Federation of Chicago was organized in 1897 and has proved beneficial and effective in bettering conditions for the teachers of Chicago. Last year the teachers of Cleveland attempted to organize and they met the despotic opposition of a school board that threatened to blacklist any teacher who belonged to an organization. The Cleveland School Board adopted rules requiring teachers to give up their right to belong to organizations they wished to join. As the result of that order of the school board, court proceedings were instituted and are still pending.

The Chicago Board of Education has recently adopted similar rules.

But the teachers of Chicago did not tamely submit to this unwarranted invasion of their rights as free men and women. They took up their fight for justice, for liberty and their rights. The Chicago Federation of Labor has and is supporting them in their praiseworthy purpose. The representatives of that organization and the President of the American Federation of Labor joined with the teachers in a mass meeting of the citizens of Chicago to protest against the action of the Chicago School Board and to demand for the teachers their rights. The executive head of Chicago has attempted to introduce another issue in the situation complicating it. He has charged the teachers' organization with undue political activity and attempting to interfere with and influence the actions of the city council. By so doing he has taken the same position as some of the administrative agents of our federal government, past and present, who have forbidden employes under the civil service to exercise their political rights and to take an active part in political questions. These policies deny to civil service employes the benefits and the rights of free citizenship and the franchise. In some departments it amounts virtually to a gag-rule.

This is the sort of policy the mayor and the council of Chicago are attempting to fasten upon the public schools of the city. It is a most pernicious system which if allowed to fasten itself upon the civic life, must surely undermine the institutions and freedom of the citizens.

The notion is altogether too prevalent among some public officials that when a citizen becomes a public employe he thereby renounces all rights of citizenship, particularly the right of the exercise of the franchise, and the right of petition for the redress of wrongs and for the attainment of rights. Against such a notion we can not remain quiescent but must and do enter our solemn and emphatic protest. There is no way to aim more directly at the freedom of the wage-earners and the masses of the people than through suppression of the individuality, the thought and the activities of the teachers.

The educational tendency is toward freedom and adaptability, independence, greater opportunity, not only for the teachers but for those who are taught. There are most splendid conceptions of the schools of the future, of an education that shall reach out and up to greater and broader things. That ideal can not be realized with a tyrannical system of school administration—suppressing and thwarting those who control and direct instruction.

The school boards must be big enough and broad enough in mind and heart to comprehend the ideals back of the schools of the future and to exert their influence in school management for the realization of those ideals. If the members of the school board are out of harmony with progress and democracy, it is the business of the citizens to see to it that others are substituted. If this can not be accomplished directly, it must be accomplished by replacing the one who has the appointive power. As the school boards become more powerful, it is essential that control should be democratic and that those in authority should be responsible to the people.

The vital relationship of the common life is industrial. Schools are more and more dealing with industrial problems and matters. Industrial instruction and vocational training are becoming more general. The industrial aspects and relations of all instruction are now recognized and are given greater thought and understanding. This again makes it all the more essential that schools should be upon a democratic basis. As free people we can not tolerate despotism or autocracy or bureaucracy in politics, in social relations, in industry or education. The teachers of our country must not be left behind in the great forward progress toward democratic ideals, greater freedom and greater opportunity. If they are not lost behind they must join in the effort. We can and we will aid, but they must do this thing for themselves.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The matter of providing better educational opportunities for the workers has been under consideration for a long time. The Seattle Convention referred the matter to the Executive Council to establish a lecture bureau and employ expert sociologists in order that the labor movement could make better contributions to the general information of the public, and at the same time furnish intellectual opportunities for the members of the trade unions. The E. C. reported another plan to the Philadelphia Convention which was approved. (See proceedings Philadelphia Convention, pp. 164-5.) But this plan had to be deferred. The great press of work during the year, the innumerable conferences and the many demands made upon the time of President Gompers, as well as away from headquarters, made it impossible to carry out the plan which had been endorsed by the Philadelphia Convention. When he realized that it was impossible for him to carry out this plan, he decided that by issuing circulars to the organizers and the various organizations in the A. F. of L. he would be able to give them information and assistance that would carry out the spirit of the instructions of the Philadelphia Convention, if not the letter. Accordingly during the year the following were issued:

1. To the organizers of the A. F. of L., circulars dealing particularly with the principles of the Clayton Antitrust Act and calling attention to the information throwing light upon that law and calling attention to efforts to discredit it.
2. A circular informing organizers of a pamphlet dealing with the makeup, achievements and aspirations of the labor movement, analyzed into subjects giving the pages on which the subjects could be found for the greater convenience of the organizers. This pamphlet was, as stated, issued and has been much in demand, not only by the members of organized labor, but by students and all those interested in the trade union movement.
3. Another circular called attention to the report of the legislative committee of the A. F. of L., which was published in the April, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist*. It is particularly desirable that organizers should be informed as to the important facts in this report, for it furnishes them with valuable material for presenting achievements of the labor movement and for answering opponents.
4. In July a circular was issued urging upon organizers the importance of organization, pointing out the peculiar fitness at that time of urging the work of organization and making a special inducement to volunteer organizers for new unions formed.
5. Another circular upon one of the important issues in the labor movement, namely, the attitude of the A. F. of L. upon the eight-hour day. This circular called attention to articles published in the *American Federationist* which would be helpful to organizers in

studying the issue and urged upon them the necessity for discussing this matter in such a manner as to promote a better and more general understanding of fundamental principles of the trade union movement.

We have reached the conclusion that the most important and most practical policy the A. F. of L. can undertake at present for educational work among the members of organized labor and to the yet unorganized workers is to put at the disposal of the organizers, information and assistance that will enable them to perform their work better, to keep in touch with discussions of affairs affecting the workers, to be better able to present matters in lectures, talks and discussions for the benefit of the labor movement, all the workers and the general public.

The officers and the organizers are the instrumentalities through which the ideals and policies of the organization to a large extent are carried out and made effective in the common life of the people. Every organizer constitutes a center of incalculable influence, radiating in all directions and having a determining effect upon the work for organization. We have been trying to work out ways to carry out this educational thought.

In a circular issued to the organizers in the month of August, President Gompers presented the matter to the organizers and asked them to write to headquarters whenever they were in need of information or materials for study or any special assistance in studying or understanding the policies of the trade union movement. He furthermore offered to render to the best of his ability assistance to organizers who wished help in preparing special speeches or preparing talks to be given in the regular course of their duties, and offered to secure for them all obtainable information.

The resources of the A. F. of L. are limited, and there are already many heavy demands made upon our officers, but despite a full appreciation of these difficulties, the great importance of the work determined President Gompers to make at least a beginning along these lines. The organizers wishing to avail themselves of this assistance in organizing work, were asked to designate the particular nature of their request by writing at the head of their letter "Information for Organizers." It is earnestly hoped that this plan will develop into an effective and a practical educational agency which will strengthen the general labor movement.

Seattle Plan

Another field for educational work has revealed itself during the past year. The Executive Council reported to the Philadelphia Convention a rather extensive plan for an A. F. of L. library as directed by the Seattle Convention. In view of the fact that the A. F. of L. had little money to expend for this purpose, the plan was formulated upon the theory that co-operation with existing organizations and associations would result in much helpful information and assistance with a minimum of expense. This plan provided for accumulation of information upon the relations between workers and art, poetry and literature generally. It suggested the possibility of establishing co-operation with students of economics, sociology and law and with organizations of graduate students of these various subjects, as well as with institutions throughout the country that gathered information of interest to the workers. However, the Philadelphia Convention considered the plan too elaborate for the present means of the A. F. of L., and recommended that something simpler be tried.

During the year there was developed in Seattle, Washington, an effort of the workers to solve this educational problem for themselves. As their plan had grown out of their own needs and is thoroughly democratic and practical, it will probably be a suggestion to other central bodies and organizations that are considering educational work. The Central Labor Council of Seattle was very favorably impressed with the report which the E. C. made to the Seattle Convention upon this subject and determined to follow out the work along the lines planned. The Central Body appointed an Educational Commission to devise plans and methods. The subcommittee on social science of the Commission provided for a lecture course on labor problems to be given by the members of the faculty of the University of Washington. These lectures were given in the Labor Temple and were under the joint control of the Educational Commission and the university extension division of the University. The Educational Commission, of course, was composed entirely of members of organized labor.

Another subcommittee had the subject of literature and arts. The work of this committee included music. A labor chorus and a music study club were organized. This

subcommittee wrote to the headquarters of the A. F. of L. for assistance in regard to securing art exhibits in Seattle and information about labor in art. The Educational Commission also wrote for suggestions and information in regard to the labor literature, choruses, poetry, bibliography, lists of art work, information in regard to organization of teachers, and various kinds of specialized information.

The A. F. of L. secured from the Library of Congress a bibliography of literature written by the workers. However, the bibliography is not at all complete or satisfactory. It seems that that work can best be done by interested students and by the workers themselves. One of the most feasible plans is to interest graduate students who are doing research work and enlist their co-operation in the compilation of bibliographies of labor literature. This can be done by the trade unions and central bodies in university towns or communities. A presentation of this matter to those in authority will probably elicit the sympathy and co-operation of humanitarian instructors and students. The great human value of this work is of an appealing nature that would inspire the enthusiasm and the industrious research of many. It is not easy work or quick work, but if many students can make even small contributions, the sum total of what each can contribute will make a valuable bibliography. Of course, the only way to secure a final compilation of the work of all of the students would be for every central body that undertakes work or secures information of this character, to forward copies of their information to the headquarters of the A. F. of L. where the whole could be tabulated and prepared for the use of all of the workers of the country.

Another practical method and one that would secure considerable valuable information is for every worker who has knowledge of a book, poem, an essay or any piece of literature written by a worker, descriptive of or dedicated to the workers, to send that information to the A. F. of L. offices. The same plan is practical in connection with music, songs, and art. There is a great mass of information in the minds of many of the workers, but it is so scattered that it is not available for general use. The problem is to collect the bits of information that are in the minds of many people and the result, no doubt, would be extremely valuable.

Workers' Educational Association

The Educational Commission of Seattle furthermore requested information in regard to the Workers' Educational Associations of England and Australia. We have at headquarters information through the newspaper clippings, etc. In order to secure more accurate and more comprehensive data of the organization and the operation of these associations, President Gompers wrote to Professor Meredith Atkinson, President of the Workers' Educational Association of Australia asking him to send information that would be helpful to the workers of the United States. A most sympathetic letter was received from President Atkinson in which he promised his fullest co-operation for the attainment of our common purpose. The information, of course, when received will be put at the service of all of the workers of the country who desire to undertake similar work. In addition, President Gompers endeavored to secure information from the English Association, as well as information of the relations of the workers of England to Ruskin College.

These Workers' Educational Associations are democratic organizations of workers who desire more extensive training, and wish to continue their studies while at work. The workers adapt the instruction to suit their own needs. They choose their courses and their instructors. In England and Australia this movement has opened up educational opportunities for all of the people, even those who have previously been debarred from such opportunities in their earlier lives, and because of their distance from educational institutions. It is of the nature of university extension work, only the extension work is under the control of the workers and adapted to their needs and interests.

Labor in Art

Efforts of the A. F. of L. to secure the co-operation of artists in this educational work resulted in an offer, both generous and practical, from Albert J. Kennedy of Boston. Mr. Kennedy offered to enlist the help of the authorities of the Boston Museum in securing bibliographies and other information. He proposed that he be authorized to get together an A. F. of L. subcommittee, or a committee to work under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. for the compilation of a descriptive bibliography of pictures, prints and illustrations dealing with workingmen, their wives, and families. He suggested that about half a dozen persons

would be a good number to undertake this research, and suggested the names of well-known men in this country. In his opinion this committee should consist of several representatives from America, together with representatives in the art centers of Europe. He thought that the information foremost in men's minds could be elicited within a few months, or perhaps a year, but that it would take several years to make an exhaustive study necessary to investigate the whole field.

The plan presented proposed that the committee give its services free and pay its own incidental expenses with no expense at all to the A. F. of L. However, it was deemed worth while, or at least helpful to have a simple letterhead as a credential for the committee, authorizing the use of the names of the A. F. of L. This plan was submitted to and approved by us.

Every effort to increase the educational activities of the labor movement and to provide new opportunities for information has met with a most hearty response from the officers and rank and file of the labor movement. The educational influences radiating from the headquarters of the trade union movement, have extended not only throughout the movement itself, but to various other educational and informational organizations. During the year there have been many requests from thinkers, students, public men and writers for information in regard to the functions and purposes of the A. F. of L. This all reflects an increasing appreciation of the power that exists in our economic organization and the tremendous influence that it wields upon the minds and the affairs of daily life.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF SCHOOLS

Vocational training and industrial education are an indication of the character and direction of the dynamic forces underlying twentieth century civilization. Power now consists in control over materials. Men no longer dominate by political or religious controls, but because of their superior ability to coordinate physical forces and material resources. Power, whether national or individual, is commensurate with the extent and the intensity of economic control.

The true function of education is to develop personal powers and to give the individual control over himself so that he may have confidence in himself and may use his ability to the best advantage. The previous educational methods which have not by any means been replaced by the newer ideals, dealt primarily with abstractions. That education dealt altogether with the ideational. It ignored the daily experiences of the girl or boy, or man or woman. It appealed to that small percentage of people who desired truths for their own sake, to whom only the esoteric appeals. The ideals for the schools of the future, the movement for the new education, includes even more than vocational and industrial education—it begins with the very fundamentals of mental training. This education begins with those things which appeal to the child and arouses his curiosity in the daily life, the actual material things with which he comes in contact. These things the schools of the future are to explain to the child in order that he may have full and complete understanding of his daily life and thereby be master of himself and his environment because he knows how to coordinate his own powers. Flowers, fruits, animals, pieces of furniture, are all marvelous and wonderful objects to the child; they appeal to his curiosity; they stir him because he knows they are real. These should be the first things with which education deals; abstractions should be introduced in connection with realities.

Arithmetic, reading, spelling, and knowledge of the forces that have created the earth and its present geological stage can all be reached by using materials and the surroundings of every-day life as starting points. As the child grows older these objects of study naturally lead up to productive activity and the next stage is reached which is industrial and then vocational instruction. The effect of this sort of education will be to lay the basis for economic democracy, a democracy in which each individual will have equal opportunity. It will develop the highest ability of which the individual is capable and will enable him to approach a realization of that ideal self that always urges the individual on to greater progress.

A comparison of the various countries of today shows that the country that has the greatest power is the country that has the best control over its material and natural resources, and whose citizens have the deepest and fullest earth-knowledge.

If men and women are to retain sound bodies and sane, wholesome minds, they must be close to the earth; if society is to base its institutions and relations upon true values, it must have a deep understanding and firm grip on the earth and its forces. Only this

knowledge can save from mistake, wasted national heritages and the fate that awaits all artificial superstructions.

National resources can be utilized, developed and conserved when each individual is a conscious, responsible participator, and has the surest coordination over his own powers and the best and surest grip on those things which are a part of his daily life, and on the tools of production. Previously, education in our country and in the majority of countries has been of the type that has produced the wasters and exploiters instead of creators, conservators, statesmen in all of the phases of life.

Financial and industrial control has been built upon a fictitious basis with little regard for real values. The demand for the new ideals of education is part of the world old struggle for freedom. Those who were denied opportunity are endeavoring to assert their claims to opportunities and rights. Whatever impairs educational opportunities impairs possibilities and opportunities throughout life.

The older ideals of education have stultified many and have maimed their intellectual existence. These older ideals have little regard for the masses, those who are the world's creators and producers. It is from these that the demand comes for an education that will open up to them great vistas of opportunities—opportunities that will lead out into a life of tremendous power that shall mean the subduing of the physical resources of the world, an absolute control over the tools of production, as well as ability to utilize the earth's materials, thus freeing the spirit by assuring the materials of a better civilization.

In our country the first educational demand of the workers was for schools for all of the people. As a result of that came our public school system. Now the people demand that the instruction given in the public schools shall be adapted to their needs and interests, to the needs of those who are the creators and producers. As a result of this demand there are throughout the country the beginnings of industrial and vocational education.

The leader in this movement for the mental freedom of the people, and for opportunities for them to coordinate their mental and physical powers so as to get the most out of life, has been the A. F. of L. Few realize fully what our Federation has done, but it has been the force to which the people and the teachers in the schools have appealed in their efforts to overcome the older methods, practices and standards that hamper efforts for greater freedom. Some of the evidences of the power and the efforts exerted by the A. F. of L. are found in our reports and various other documents upon the subject of vocational and industrial education.

In 1903 a committee of the A. F. of L. was appointed to consider what the trade unions themselves could do to secure from the public schools the sort of education needed to enable them to attain the greatest development of their own powers, the best coordination of mind and muscle, and to grow into the fullest and deepest appreciation of the meaning and possibilities of life.

Another committee on education was appointed in 1904, others in 1905 and 1906. In 1907 the A. F. of L. at its annual convention endorsed all efforts for the purpose of introducing better and more extensive industrial education, and for teaching the technique of various industries.

In 1908 the committee on education reported the splendid progress accomplished along the lines of industrial education, and submitted to the convention resolutions which stated that industrial education is necessary and inevitable for the progress of an industrial people.

Industrial education and vocational training were before the convention of 1909, at which time our President stated in his report that the A. F. of L. favored public industrial education, but opposed a narrowly specialized training under the control of private interests.

To the 1909 convention of the A. F. of L., the President again submitted that technical education of the workers preparatory for work in the trades and industries was a matter of national concern, and it should, therefore, not be regarded as a private but as a public function to be controlled by the public and at public expense.

In 1910 the A. F. of L. published a preliminary report on industrial education and vocational training in conformity with a resolution of the convention held in Denver, 1908.

The special committee on education appointed by the 1909 convention of the A. F. of L. asked for an extension of time in order that it might use its influence to have the United States Bureau of Labor undertake an investigation of the general subject of industrial and vocational training, not only in the United States but in other countries. The Bureau of Labor undertook that investigation and made a report.

In 1911 the A. F. of L. endorsed a bill in Congress providing for national aid in establishing vocational education in the public schools of the country. Since that date up to the present time, the A. F. of L. has consistently and unremittently advocated the establishment of industrial and vocational education in the public schools.

Documentary proof that organized labor has been actively agitating for the institution of public industrial and vocational education, is spread through the annual reports of every convention held by the A. F. of L. from 1903 to the present time.

In 1912 in accord with the recommendation of the A. F. of L.'s special committee on industrial and vocational education, the Executive Council authorized Mr. Charles H. Winslow, to prepare a final report for the committee. This report was submitted to the Atlanta Convention of the A. F. of L.

The United States Senate ordered the report of the A. F. of L. Committee on Industrial Education printed as a government document.

The A. F. of L. has repeatedly gone on record in favor of a nation wide development of industrial education and vocational training through schools supported and controlled by the public and adapted to the determined needs of the community.

It did this through its support of the Davis-Dolliver, Dolliver, Page, and Page-Wilson bills, all of which provided for educational co-operation between the state and federal government, and for state and federal control and supervision of public industrial education.

It not only favored, but strongly urged, the appointment of a national commission to study the question of federal aid to vocational education.

The A. F. of L. desires to direct public instruction according to the ideals that shall give the individual power over his abilities, make available his resources of mind and character, and shall result in ability to coordinate physical power at the same time as it aims at the culture of the mind and senses. It desires an education that will be practical, cultural and inspired by a reverent search for values. This new education necessitates teachers with the new ideals, teachers who understand not only the technique of the mind, but the technique of tools.

With every opportunity there is, of course, accompanying dangers. With this new education a menace may come through its perversion and through its manipulation to suit special interests and the ideals of the old exploiters. If the new education is to further democracy, to promote progress for all, it must be under the control of the people. It must be that which will give to the individuals a guide into the great world of life and work. The people must watch carefully that school management and school control do not permit the building up of barriers that shall make for separation into classes or the establishment of any set of customs that shall make invidious distinctions between types of education.

The school system of our country must be under unified control and must recognize as a fundamental and universal principle that it is to serve the creators and the producers, and that between producers there is little distinction because after all what gives a producer of any kind value is that he has been able to coordinate his mental ability with his physical ability. Our so-called distinction between manual and mental workers is of degree rather than kind. The value of citizens which all our national and social agencies seek to produce, is creative ability and power to interpret the things of life, and to use tools and materials so as to promote the best interests and welfare of themselves and their fellows.

We therefore recommend:

1. Continuance of the effort to secure the highest and best form of education—academic, industrial and vocational.
2. That education is a public function to be borne at public cost.
3. The passage of a law by the federal Congress embodying these principles.
4. The right of teachers to have the fullest opportunity for self-development and mutual aid.
5. The right of teachers to self-expression by association for their individual and collective protection and welfare.

Your attention should be called to the recommendations which the United States Industrial Relations' Commission made. We quote them as follows:

"1. Compulsory daytime continuation schools for all children in industry between the ages of 14 and 18 years, for not less than five hours per week at the expense of their employers.

"2. Night schools for all persons over 18 years of age, who are desirous of further educational opportunities either cultural or vocational.

"3. Standards of efficiency for teachers.

"4. Joint state control in administration of vocational education by public school authorities, organized labor, and organized employers, with equal representation.

"5. The Federal board to establish some model schools for industrial training in agriculture and vocations, as examples to the several states."

While the recommendations in a general way commend themselves, yet there is one feature to which consideration should be given, that is, that they imply a dual authority and administration of the schools. It is one for serious consideration, and the convention should authorize further investigation upon this feature before committing our movement to it.

REPORT OF UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The appointment of the federal Commission on Industrial Relations to investigate industrial relations, and to make recommendations for the purpose of removing evils and bettering harmful conditions, was recognized by the representatives of the labor movement as an unusual opportunity to get before the people of this country the problems and the issues with which the wage-earners have to contend, and to bring about a better understanding of the ideals and purposes of the trade union movement. It was for this reason that we insisted and secured representation on that commission for men who were of the labor movement and who understood it. These representatives were James O'Connell, John B. Lennon and Austin B. Garretson, who did splendid service for the cause of labor and humanity and whose ideals were so high and their insistence upon them so vigorous, that even the commissioners least favorable to provisions for human protection and welfare were forced to enlarge their concepts.

That we were not mistaken in our policy was demonstrated when the methods of the commission became manifest through their public hearings. The labor representatives on the commission refused to be bound by precedent and red tape, but endeavored to get at the heart of the matter by eliminating all unessentials. When the chairman of the commission endorsed their position and joined them, the investigations of the commission became direct, thorough and effective.

The labor commissioners and the chairman refused to be defeated by equivocation, refusal to testify or the mannerisms of witnesses. Other commissions had attempted to investigate similar questions but had failed because they followed conventional lines, and because they regarded academic information rather than the feeling and the motives that make the industrial world and its problems what they are.

The commission worked upon the theory that industrial problems can only be solved by arousing the will and conscience of the American people and conducted their public hearings in conformity with this policy. They proceeded upon the theory that not only their final report and their written declarations would be helpful in accomplishing the task assigned them, but that the most powerful influence could be exerted by enabling those individuals that had first-hand information to get their stories to the American people. This policy caused criticism from some sources because it was not molded upon judicial procedure, but the chairman as well as the members of the commission knew that judicial ethics and judicial precedents have thus far failed to establish industrial justice, and they knew that they had to do away with all formalism in order to get at the heart of the matter. The hearings that have been held in various parts of the country have been of tremendous human interest. They have revealed the daily lives of the people of all walks of life and their relations with their fellow men. The testimony given in these hearings carried with it the conviction of actual experiences and existing misery.

Because the commission did not follow conventional lines and so presented facts and materials that are usually carefully suppressed and are not available to the masses of the people, there was initiated against the commission and directed particularly against the chairman, a campaign for the purpose of discrediting in advance the final report and for placing a light valuation upon the work the commission was doing. However, the labor movement, as well as all citizens who have

sympathy and understanding of the lives of the wage-earners, united in a determined effort to defeat this campaign and to make known their approval of the policy that the commission had followed.

Few can appreciate the power of the forces brought to bear upon Chairman Walsh and the labor representatives, Messrs. O'Connell, Lennon and Garretson, to make them deviate from their sincere endeavor to present the causes that underlie industrial injustice in the country but they were true to their principles and to the cause of labor. Their practical experience, judgment and determination brought to light many wrongs and injustices that might otherwise have been concealed or overlooked. It was largely through the labor press of the country and the declarations of the representatives of the labor movement that the campaign to discredit the work of the commission was halted and its purpose revealed. It was particularly opportune that at that time the commission was hearing evidence showing how the power of the employers was used to influence the press, the informational agencies of our country and even our schools and universities. The report of the commission deals with so many different subjects and makes so many recommendations that it is impossible for us to make a definite and general declaration in regard to its specific recommendations. However, we can not endorse too emphatically the tone and spirit of the report. The fundamental thought is that the wage-earners must work out their own salvation according to their own best judgment and ideals, and that society must secure to them the right to organize to accomplish this purpose and the right to activities necessary in that effort. With many of the recommendations made in the report of the chairman and the labor members of the commission we are in most hearty sympathy and accord.

As was to be expected in a commission composed of representatives of various groups of citizens, there is no unity or agreement in their recommendations; however, so irrefutable and so convincing were the evidence and the facts educed in the hearings of this commission that even the commissioners who manifestly represented the interests of the employers did not venture to make recommendations condemning trade unions.

The work of the federal Commission on Industrial Relations has been of tremendous educational value. Their report and the hearings before that body constitute a valuable fund of information upon existing industrial conditions. This information ought to be available to all and should be given the widest possible publicity.

For this reason we recommend that this convention urge upon the Sixty-fourth Congress to make the report and the hearings before the commission public documents and have these documents published in such quantities as to be available for the use of students and all those interested in labor questions, readily accessible to all those desiring the information, and we recommend that the delegates to this convention be urged to present this matter to the organizations which they represent and to secure co-operation of their own organizations that shall add weight to the demands made upon Congress.

BOARD OF MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION

At the end of their report upon the various matters that have been referred to it by the Philadelphia Convention, the committee on adjustments recommended a resolution providing for the establishment of an American Federation of Labor Board of Conciliation and Mediation. The purpose that the committee had in mind was to conserve the time of the convention by adjusting jurisdictional disputes during the year and thereby reducing the number to be brought to the attention of the convention. The resolutions as proposed by the committee on adjustments provides for a permanent board of mediation and conciliation, consisting of three members.

After a general discussion of this resolution the subject-matter was referred to us for consideration and for report to this convention. We gave careful consideration to this plan, and are of the opinion that the proposition is impracticable and is not calculated to bring about the best results. It is not in harmony with the spirit that has characterized all of the work of the A. F. of L., and has insured its success and continued usefulness. That spirit upon which so much depends is the absolute absence of any element of compulsion. The plans, policies and decisions that are adopted and followed, are voluntarily endorsed by those whom they affect. There is a spontaneity and a flexibility about the trade union movement that enables it to adapt itself to every changing condition, every new development, and to serve the best interests of the wage-earners. It is so flexible and adjustable that it is part of their lives and changes as their daily needs change.

The plan proposed by the committee on adjustments provides for a permanent board whose functions shall be mediation and conciliation. The plan is modeled after various suggestions looking toward compulsory conciliation and mediation and government organizations for that purpose. There seems to be no reason to think that any permanent and more or less mechanical agency would be more effective in the work of conciliation and mediation between the various organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. than is the method that has enabled us to build up our present degree of power and success and to adjust difficulties as they develop between organizations.

At the present time, every officer every member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and the more than seventeen hundred commissioned organizers are conciliators and mediators whose duty it is to try constantly to adjust disputes and difficulties that may arise between the organizations united together in the A. F. of L. To establish a special board to perform this function would result in making all of these various active members of the labor movement who are in touch with it throughout the country feel that the responsibility had been located in the new agency and that they were more or less relieved from the duties that have previously devolved upon them. This could not but decrease the effectiveness of the work that is being done at present.

A great porportion of the time and attention of the officers is devoted to just the kind of work that is set forth in the resolution. Under our present system people are selected to act in each dispute for jurisdictional claims who are most likely to bring about an adjustment. The success of their work must result in their securing the consent and the co-operation of the organizations concerned. This element for success would be materially lessened in power and effectiveness by the proposed permanent department of conciliation and mediation.

There is no power vested in the labor movement to compel agreement of any organization to any finding or award of conciliators and mediators. Therefore, the proposed plan would weaken our present methods and would add nothing that would make for greater progress and better adjustment of relations between affiliated organizations.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Conditions and difficulties that could not have been foreseen have made it impossible to accomplish material results in regard to all of the matters that were referred to the Executive Council by the last convention. In order to secure the best results and make the greatest progress for the wage-earners, it has been necessary to use discretion in determining those things which were of greatest importance in order to concentrate efforts upon them.

Among the subjects upon which no substantial progress can be reported are:

- The Effect of Machinery on Unemployment.
- The Legal Department of the A. F. of L.
- National Bureau of Unemployment.
- Social Insurance.
- World Congress of Unemployment.

From this enumeration, it will be seen that some of these matters are connected with meetings that could not be held because of the European war. The problems that would have been discussed at these meetings and the plans that might have been proposed will be taken up at a later and more opportune time.

In regard to the other subjects requiring an investigation under the direction of the A. F. of L., it is only necessary to refer to the limited funds available for all purposes and to state that it seemed best to use whatever resources we had for immediate and direct purposes of organization.

CONCLUSION

The report that we make of the year's work is representative of the labor movement. It demonstrates the steady forward movement of the wage-earners; it indicates progress and the character, the qualities and the policies that insure progress; it reveals opportunities, unfinished work, new problems, and it shows that there is the will and the way to take advantage of everything that may aid the workers—the masses; and to deal with

situations, conditions and problems as they arise, in such a way as to make for the best progress of all. The trade union movement—the American Federation of Labor—is a living thing. It can not finish and finally decide upon anything; in its work and aspirations there is no finality—no stopping point; it must plan and do for today in order to create greater opportunities for the morrow. Everything is in a state of development, of progress, and the great thing is to keep open the way to opportunity and to retain freedom to do those things which shall enable us to reach out after and achieve the better and larger ideals of a truer justice, a fuller freedom, a broader humanity.

The work that has been accomplished during the past year would not have been possible without the co-operation of the organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L., and the members of these affiliated organizations. There has been a splendid response to every appeal and suggestion and most hearty co-operation to further the interests of all. It has been our purpose throughout the year to make every agency and every opportunity serve the economic organization and promote its growth and power. The power that the wage-earners have is due to their productive function in industry, agriculture and commerce. By controlling their productive power they can secure for themselves the place and recognition in society that they ought to have. Economic organization is the thing. Therefore, the direct purpose of all activities of the A. F. of L. has been to further economic organization.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President

JAMES DUNCAN
First Vice-President

JAMES O'CONNELL
Second Vice-President

DENIS A. HAYES
Third Vice-President

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE
Fourth Vice-President

JOHN R. ALPINE
Fifth Vice-President

H. B. PERHAM
Sixth Vice-President

FRANK DUFFY
Seventh Vice-President

WILLIAM GREEN
Eighth Vice-President

JOHN B. LENNON
Treasurer

FRANK MORRISON
Secretary

*Executive Council
American Federation of Labor*

APPENDIX

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Secretary-Treasurer William J. Spencer submitted the following report of the Building Trades Department for the past year:

There appears to be evidence of a revival in building operations from the slump prevailing in the industry last year, and an improvement in conditions will undoubtedly be general throughout the country. It is the announced opinion of all writers on the subject that an unusual and prolonged boom is imminent. A complete recovery from the paralysis that has firmly gripped the building business will be welcomed by all, and especially by the international unions known as the "Building Trades."

Without doubt the past year has been one of the most disastrous we have been called upon to face in recent years, and has produced a state of demoralization unknown since the panic in the early nineties, so that the promise of relief by an expansion of building operations is not only cheering but seems to be well founded. Increased activity at this time will make for stronger and better unions, with a correspondingly increased interest in the welfare of our organizations, while finally, and what is most essential, a period of more steady employment is in prospect for our members throughout the country.

In our last annual report mention was made of a prospective amalgamation of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers with the Operative Plasterers' International Association. The department has continued to exercise its efforts in this direction, and in consonance therewith General President McGivern of the Operative Plasterers gave assurance to the last convention that he would file with the Department a tentative plan of amalgamation for submission to the Cement Workers. This was done in due time, and the document was referred in turn for the approval of the Cement Workers.

While no detailed report has been officially communicated to the Department, still so far as we are able to learn a mutually satisfactory agreement has been reached by both parties, the terms of which provide that the Cement Finishers are to become members of the Operative Plasterers and the unskilled workmen, members of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers, are to join the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, in accordance with the decision of the American Federation of Labor. Practical confirmation of this report is contained in a communication from F. C. Gengenback, past president of the American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.

The accomplishment of our joint efforts to bring about harmonious adjustment of trade differences between the parties herewith referred to is the culmination of our purpose instituted but four years ago, in which time consolidation has been effected in the wood-working trades, the pipe trades, the plastic trades, and among important groups of building laborers.

During the past year a determined attempt was made to institute a series of dual or rival local councils to those chartered by the Department. Leadership in these movements is commonly believed to rest with parties having no affiliation with the A. F. of L. coupled with others holding membership in a few of our affiliated unions who have interpreted the much talked of "offensive and defensive alliance," as a plan to be duplicated locally in rivalry to our chartered councils.

So soon as the undesirable agitation was drawn to our attention, we requested the co-operation of the A. F. of L., and our affiliated internationals, which jointly rendered substantial assistance, with the result that the plan to divide our local unions in different groups hostile to each other was rendered abortive to such an extent that no serious effort has been put forth to disrupt or destroy the efficiency of the local councils that are working under a charter issued by the Building Trades Department.

On the presentation of our last report mention was made of the manner in which the Executive Council was selected by the previous convention of the Department. Necessarily the adoption of the general rules governing departments caused an abandonment of the experimental arrangements and a return to the plan previously in vogue, by which seven members representing seven different internationals are selected to officiate as the E. C. In so far as we are enabled to judge, there is no sentiment expressed against the original plan, and our return to it by direction of the last convention seems to give uniform satisfaction to all affiliated international unions.

Pursuant to direction of the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., held at Philadelphia, the Building Trades Department, whose yearly meeting followed, adopted the "General Rules Governing Departments of the A. F. of L.," as contained in Article XV of the General Constitution.

The belief prevails throughout the "Building Trades" that the rules governing departments were the result of deep and earnest study, in which the thought to be helpful to the subordinate bodies was uppermost. Especially was it felt to be the case that international unions which had previously refused to identify themselves with the departments to which they are eligible would be expected promptly to take up membership, for the greater development of the labor movement in general and for the encouragement of the several departments in the achievement of their proper functions in particular. In this sense the formulation and adoption of the "General Rules" has fallen short of the intent in so far as the Building Trades Department is concerned, as instanced in the following case.

It will be remembered that repeated reports have been made to the A. F. of L. that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners failed to affiliate with the Building Trades Department in accordance with the general law on the subject, and that organization has not yielded to the influence contained in the provisions of Article XV. Instead of the ready compliance to be expected of an international union, loyal to the labor movement as exemplified by the A. F. of L. the union in question has entered into and maintained reciprocal relationship with an organization whose course in many respects has been antagonistic to the A. F. of L.

The attitude of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners toward this Department, and to the "Governing Rules" as laid down by the last convention of the A. F. of L., is manifest in a communication from the general secretary, which I prefer in the interest of our movement not to quote. If necessary, however, it will be at the service of all who are interested.

To one feature of Secretary Duffy's letter it is necessary to refer. He on behalf of the brotherhood appealed to this Department from a decision reached by the Building Trades Council of Indianapolis, Ind. That council imposed three fines upon the Carpenters' local unions of the brotherhood. The E. C. of our Department decided that inasmuch as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was not a part of the Department, the right of appeal to the Department did not exist, since it had no jurisdiction. It should be stated that the letter of Secretary Duffy clearly indicates that the brotherhood has not become reconciled to the Department through the adoption of the general rules as was expected by the delegates to the last convention.

Furthermore, the general rules provide that an international union *may affiliate* with departments of secondary vocational interest, in which case it shall be required to pay per capita tax only upon 20 per cent of its general membership. The exercise of this option has embarrassed the Department by reducing its revenues without furnishing relief by the acceptance of voluntary membership on the part of organizations having primary vocational interest in the Building Trades Department. A deficit in our funds has resulted which must be made good either by the enforced membership of eligible unions on the part of the A. F. of L., or the imposition of a higher per capita tax rate by the Department. The adoption of either of these recommendations is necessary, for while the funds of the Department are ample to cover all routine expenses at this time, still our revenues are falling as a result of the restrictions placed upon the departments by the last convention.

Without doubt compulsory membership is the most desirable, since it will not only provide sufficient receipts for the maintenance of the Department, but it will at the same time cause each international union to bear its proper share of the responsibility which the continuance of the body involves.

It is admitted that the departments have rendered a valuable service to the A. F. of L., the statements of dissenters notwithstanding. In justice then to the departments, encouragement should be extended even to the point of enforced membership of eligible organizations, more especially when their only genuine reason for defiance of constituted law is studied refusal to comply with such decisions as may be rendered with regard to their particular jurisdictional claims.

The opinion is freely expressed by the rank and file of the unions of the building trades that there should be no hesitancy in dealing firmly with recalcitrant organizations when urging an observance of law, especially since a display of positive firmness by the officials of the A. F. of L. on two previous occasions resulted in enforced membership on the part of influential unions in this Department.

An application of the same rule at this time would doubtless be attended with similar success, and would put an end for all time to the argument that certain organizations, because of their numerical strength, can openly disregard their functional duties as members of the A. F. of L.

In compliance with the instructions of the last convention, the officers of the Department extended their fullest co-operation towards the submission of the federal Eight-Hour law for review to the Attorney General of the United States, and especially for an interpretation more in harmony with the intent of the law as passed by Congress.

President Gompers, though deeply engrossed with his manifold duties, gave freely of his time to the subject-matter, and conducted the negotiations through the many ramifications with commendable zeal and as rapidly as so complicated a case would permit. His report, which is contained in that of the E. C., covers the subject so thoroughly that there is no occasion for our dwelling thereon further than to say we are in complete accord with his presentation of the matter referred to.

Notwithstanding the backward conditions prevailing in the building industry, which have necessarily affected the work of organization, the department succeeded during the past year in organizing local councils in the following cities:

Billings, Mont.
Columbus, Ohio.
Hannibal, Mo.
Joliet, Ill.
Johnstown, Pa.
Long Island, N. Y. (rechartered.)
Mansfield, Ohio.
Shreveport, La.
Lynn, Mass. (rechartered.)

The financial condition of the department is shown in the following recapitulation:

Balance on hand August 31, 1914.....	\$7,998.08
Receipts from all sources August 31, 1914, to September 1, 1915.....	15,280.55
	\$23,278.63
Total current disbursements.....	18,756.80
Balance on hand August 31, 1915.....	\$4,521.83

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) WILLIAM SPENCER,
Secretary-Treasurer, Building Trades Dept.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Mr. Albert J. Berres submitted the following report of the work of the Metal Trades Department during the past year:

After the adjournment of the American Federation of Labor Convention, the constitution of this Department reconvened and the delegates adopted Article 15 of the A. F. of L. constitution in its entirety but not without some discussion for and against the amended article. Of course, no one could determine what effect the amended article would have

upon the Departments until it became a law. Since March 1 we have had an opportunity to know what internationals affiliated with this Department would take advantage of its provisions. The Engineers and Sheet Metal Workers decided to pay upon 20 per cent of their membership. The Machinists, Boilermakers and Blacksmiths elected the Railway Department as their principal affiliation; the former decided to pay upon 50 per cent of their membership, the latter two upon 20 per cent of their membership into this Department. However, I am pleased to report that upon reconsideration of this matter the last two named organizations have since decided to pay upon their full membership. There are other internationals affiliated, which, if they were so disposed, could take advantage of Article 15, and only pay upon 20 per cent of their membership, for they have elected other Departments as their principal affiliation.

If all that have elected other Departments as their principal affiliation decided to pay upon only 20 per cent of their membership, it would reduce the income of this Department to such an extent as to make it impossible to conduct its affairs as at present, unless the per capita tax was increased. If this was done it would destroy the principle that many had in mind when they voted in favor of amending Article 15, and they would again be paying an amount perhaps equal to one-fourth of a cent upon their full membership.

The lowest limit of the membership upon which internationals can pay per capita tax to Departments in my judgment is not founded or based on facts, because from what we know of the membership of the affiliated internationals to this Department, we believe in every instance there is a larger percentage of the membership or those eligible to membership engaged upon work of a character that focuses their interests in this Department. If the limit was 50 per cent as a general proposition, it would be more in keeping with the facts.

The San Francisco Eight-Hour Agreement

We have just been informed that the following agreement has been signed by the Metal Trades Council and the officers of the Manufacturers' Association of San Francisco, Cal.:

AGREEMENT made this 27th day of September, 1915, between the California Metal Trades Association and the Iron Trades Council of San Francisco, as follows:

WHEREAS, In a letter submitted to the organizations above mentioned said letter being dated March 30/12, and signed by William Matson, as chairman, and on behalf of the San Francisco Industrial Conciliation Board, there did appear the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be suggested to the Metal Trades Association Committee and the Iron Trades Council Committee that they meet together at the earliest possible date, and take as a basis for the purpose of discussing as a possible solution of the existing controversy the feasibility of entering into a five-year contract on an eight-hour basis with the present wage-scale and the privilege on the part of the employers to adopt existing shop conditions most favorable to employers operating in the east.

First: It is agreed that we do accept as a solution of the controversy between the respective organizations the suggestion offered in the resolution herein above quoted, and we do now enter into an agreement on the basis, and subject to the conditions therein stated, and to such other conditions as are set forth in this agreement.

Second: Such grievances as do not relate to the subjects of hours and wages covered by this agreement, which may arise in any shop of the California Metal Trades Association, shall be given consideration as follows:

Upon complaint being made, in writing, by either party to this agreement, the secretary or a duly authorized representative of the California Metal Trades Association and the business representative of the union, or the representative of the Iron Trades Council who may be selected to represent the union, shall immediately proceed to the shop or shops where grievance exists, and endeavor mutually to settle the same.

Any grievance that can not be settled in this manner must be referred to conference, the call and subject for such conference to be made in writing. This conference shall be called within ten days from receipt of notice for the purpose

of adjusting the question at issue, and the conference shall continue without unnecessary delay until the question at issue is settled.

No change shall be made in existing conditions nor any new condition established by either party to this agreement until the same has been agreed upon in conference.

Third: During the life of this agreement there shall be no lockout on the part of the employers nor strike on the part of the employees.

Fourth: The resolution which forms the basis of this agreement in so far as it deals with the wage-scale, shall apply to the machinists' craft, only for a period extending to October 4, 1915, when the minimum wage of that craft shall be raised to \$3.75 per day and continue until December 12, 1915, on and after which the minimum wage of that craft shall be \$4 per day during the life of this agreement.

Fifth: The term of this agreement shall commence on October 4, 1915, and terminate on September 15, 1917, and the signing of this agreement by the authorized representatives of the Iron Trades Council and the California Metal Trades Association shall be accepted as a cancellation of any agreement, that may now exist between the parties to this agreement.

Interpretation of the Eight-Hour Law

As has been reported on several former occasions, efforts to get the several heads of the Departments of the United States government to interpret the eight-hour law to apply to the production of more articles contracted for has been most difficult but it is pleasing to report after several years of activity and earnest effort on our part, the following decision was made by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy on a contract let for engines for submarine torpedo boats:

"NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
August 24, 1915.

"SIR: Referring to your inquiry of the 19th instant concerning the department's decision on the question as to whether the construction by the New London Ship and Engine Company as subcontractor of the Electric Boat Company of the engines for submarine boats for the navy is to be regarded as eight-hour work, I have to advise you that on the 19th instant the Department addressed to the Electrical Boat Company a letter saying:

"Heretofore the department, following opinions of a preceding attorney general, has held that the engines for submarines under construction by your subcontractor, the New London Ship and Engine Company, were excepted from the eight-hour rule by the second section of the act as being materials or articles that may usually be purchased in the open market, and not of a kind customarily manufactured by the government, but the view of the attorney general set forth in said opinion makes it plain, as you will see upon perusal thereof, that the engines of submarines fall within the eight-hour restriction, and not within the exceptions therefrom of the second section of the act.

"It is requested that you inform your subcontractor, the New London Ship and Engine Company, of the foregoing and instruct that company to observe the requirement of the eight-hour law in the construction of the engines they are now building for submarine boats under contract with you for the navy.

"Very respectfully,

(Signed)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
Acting Secretary.'

"Mr. A. J. BERRIS,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Metal Trades Department,
Washington, D. C."

We are hopeful of having other heads of Departments broaden their interpretations, so as to make the law apply more generally to contracts let by their departments.

The Label for the Metal Trades Department

To some extent each convention of this Department dealt with the question of a label for the Metal Trades Department but no definite action has been taken. Recently, however, a representative of the International Union of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Worker of America, in endeavoring to bring about organization in the W. A. Ives Manufacturing Company, of Wallingford, Conn., informed the management when the question was asked relative to the use of their label, that the use of the label would only be granted to them if each department was organized. An agreement was drawn up and the use of what they termed the metal trades label was given them. The following international organizations' names appeared on this label:

Metal Polishers, Brass and Silver Workers.
 International Association of Machinists.
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
 Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers.
 International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

The whole subject-matter of the agreement with the Ives Company, and the question of adopting a joint metal trades label was laid before the Executive Board of this Department at their recent meeting and it was decided that the label could be used and issued to the Ives Company, and would be recognized until this Department had further opportunity in convention to discuss the advisability of adopting a joint metal trades label. However, it was understood that if the Department adopts a label it could only be issued to employers or corporations where every department in the plant was organized, and in agreement with each international having men of their trades employed. The Executive Board will no doubt make certain recommendations to the coming convention of this Department with reference to the adoption of a joint metal trades label.

The Abolition of the So-called Efficiency System in Navy Yards and Arsenals

We have been actively engaged in assisting in the passage of legislation prohibiting the use of any of the so-called efficiency systems in navy yards, naval stations, and arsenals of the United States. While the bill introduced and fathered by Congressman Deitrick of Massachusetts was not passed, the following amendment was incorporated in the Navy and Army bills:

Provided, That no part of the appropriations made in this bill shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employe of the United States government while making or causing to be made, with a stop-watch or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employe between the starting and completion thereof or of the movements of any such employe while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this bill be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employe in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any government plant; and no claim for services performed by any person while violating this proviso shall be allowed.

However, this amendment has not been made to apply to the Watertown Arsenal where there was much unrest because of the trying-out of the so-called Taylor system. The work in this arsenal is authorized and the appropriations made for it in the Fortifications Appropriation bill. This bill did not include this amendment and hence it has been held that it does not apply to the Watertown Arsenal. It is, however, our intention to endeavor to place the amendment in the Fortifications bill this year.

Executive Order, January 15, 1915, Fixing Conditions of Employment Governing Employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Employees

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

By virtue of the authority vested in me, it is hereby ordered:

1. Pursuant to the provision contained in Paragraph 17, of the Executive Order of February 2, 1914, fixing the conditions of employment governing em-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

ployes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama, a charge will be made for rent, fuel, and electric current on and after March 1, 1915.

RENT

2. Rental will be based on a percentage of the value of the quarters occupied, the rate per centum to be the same for all quarters, and the value of the quarters to be appraised by the Governor of the Panama Canal. The amount to be collected should be sufficient to defray the cost of maintenance of the quarters and grounds, maintenance and renewal of furniture, collection and disposal of garbage, and, for bachelor quarters, janitor service. No charge will be made for water.

FUEL

3. Fuel will be sold to employes at cost delivered at quarters.

ELECTRIC CURRENT

4. The charge for electric current will be based on the cost of the current, delivered to the quarters. When practicable, the current used will be measured by meters; otherwise a charge will be made for each lamp or other device installed.

5. Where employes for the good of the service are required to live in certain designated quarters, one-half the rental will be remitted.

6. When an officer of the Army or Navy is detailed for duty with the Panama Canal, and the amount of extra compensation of the position he occupies over and above his official salary as an officer of the Army and Navy is not sufficient to cover his rent, he will not be charged for rent, but will receive no extra compensation.

7. The Governor of the Panama Canal is charged with the duty of issuing such instructions as may be necessary to carry out this order, and to fix and change from time to time, if necessary, the rates and charges herein outlined, subject to the general instructions provided.

8. The free use of quarters, free fuel, and free electric current are not, under the conditions of employment now governing, a vested or contract right of employes but revocable privileges, which it has been considered advisable to continue until the permanent force was organized. The revocation of these privileges shall not be made the basis for increasing salaries or wages or otherwise increasing compensation.

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 15, 1915.

(No. 2100.)

Conferences were held with the President of the United States and the Secretary of War on several occasions, at which we protested against these privileges being taken from the Panama Canal employes. Later on a committee arrived in the states from Panama and they too engaged themselves in the campaign to have the executive order set aside and the privileges continued. Later at a conference with the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Labor, and the committee from the Canal Zone, the following recommendations were made to the President of the United States and later was approved by him:

The two secretaries will recommend to the President that the executive order in question be modified by suspending the operations thereof relating to rent, fuel and lights during the period of actual construction of the Panama Canal, but not later than June 30, 1916.

The latter conference developed the fact that the suspension of this order meant a saving to the men of approximately \$259,000. We shall use every effort to have Congress continue the present conditions of employment on the Canal Zone as long as it is necessary to have men employed on the Isthmus.

Increase in Wages in Arsenal

The method of fixing the wage rate for employes in the United States Arsenal in a measure is not unlike the methods used by the Navy Department for fixing the wage rate in navy yards, with the exception that the question of an increase in wages in arsenals can be brought up at any time when industrial conditions justify it. Much activity has manifested itself in the arsenals during recent months because of the increase in wages given to the several metal trades engaged in the manufacture of war munitions and as a result wages have increased to some extent in certain arsenals.

In conjunction with the officers of the International Association of Machinists, a request was made of the Secretary of War to change the method to some extent by which the rate of wages is fixed by arsenals. After a protracted conference with him he issued the following order, which at that time was only to apply to the Frankford Arsenal, but later at our request it was made to apply to the Watertown Arsenal. We hope finally to have the order made general.

After giving this matter such consideration as I have been able to give it, I have reached the conclusion that the following would be a fair and just method to pursue:

To secure the information from the establishments in the vicinity, in order to arrive at a determination of the prevailing wage rate, the government will select a representative, and the men at the arsenal in the particular line of employment will select a representative, and they together will visit the establishments in the neighborhood and secure the necessary data. The employes may select their representatives in any manner that they desire, provided that if they can not agree upon any other method, it shall be by a majority of the votes cast at an election at which all of the men in the particular line of employment shall have the opportunity to vote. In any case where there is a disagreement between the representative of the government and the representative of the men as to the rate at any particular establishment, the matter shall be first taken to the commandant at the arsenal; and if he is not able to reconcile the disagreement, it shall then be brought to the Chief of Ordnance; and if he is unable to reconcile the disagreement, it shall come for final decision to the Secretary of War.

After there has been established, as above provided, the date from the various establishments in the neighborhood, the following procedure shall be pursued:

The government will select a representative, and the men, in the manner above indicated, shall select a representative, and they two shall go over the data secured with a view of arriving at the prevailing wage rate in the vicinity and the rate which should prevail in the arsenal in the particular employment in question. In the event of disagreements, the matter shall pursue the course above outlined, of the appeals to the various persons as above indicated.

LINDLEY M. GARRISON,
Secretary of War.

The same conditions that influenced the granting of an increase in wages in some arsenals had its effect on the Navy Yard at Washington, D. C. In addition to this, the Secretary of the Navy acting in accordance with a provision contained in the Naval Appropriation bill of last year, reduced the wages of 1,272 employes in the Washington Yard 8 cents per day in order to give the same percentage increase to the employes at the Indian Head Proving Ground, Indian Head, Md. The increase which had been given to the employes of the Washington Navy Yard by Congress was based upon what was found upon investigation to be the difference in the cost of living between the cities where data are collected, which forms the basis for the wage rate paid at Washington, D. C.

The action of the Secretary caused a united protest on the part of the employes at the Washington Yard. We were present at all the conferences held between the committees and the Secretary of the Navy, and later with the President of the United States. While the Secretary's position was sustained by the President, as a result of the protest the President and Secretary of the Navy decided upon a special investigation to determine if wages had been increased in plants manufacturing a similar work.

This investigation was conducted by the wage board consisting of naval officers of the Washington Yard, who were instructed to collect data, and to be ready to report

before October 1, 1915. The result of this investigation and the recommendations of the wage board have just been made to the Secretary of the Navy, which carry increases for the metal trades, varying from 8 to 32 cents per day, in effect October 9, 1915. The payroll is increased about \$136,000.

Executive Board Meetings

In former years we found it difficult to hold Executive Board meetings because the members are the presidents of their respective international organizations, and therefore very busy men. Realizing, however, that in order to do the things we were organized to do, regular meetings of the board should be held at least twice a year, and when possible of the Presidents of the affiliated internationals, the constitution was amended at the Philadelphia Convention which provides for two meetings of the board between conventions, to be held the third Monday in March and August. As a result we have had two excellent meetings and many matters of interest were discussed and disposed of, and a better and more general understanding reached.

Immigration Bill and Legislation in General Affecting Labor

We co-operated with the officials and the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. in their efforts to have the Immigration bill passed over the President's veto. We worked continuously in behalf of the bill at the Capitol until a vote was taken. We also used our influence to aid in having all measures advocated by the A. F. of L. passed. In fact, whenever and wherever the opportunity presented itself to assist the officers of the A. F. of L. we have willingly done so.

Increase in Dues and Per Capita Tax

We are pleased to report that our affiliated internationals in conventions are carrying out the wishes and the policy of this Department with reference to adopting a uniform rate of dues and per capita tax. Since the Philadelphia Convention the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance increased their dues and per capita tax. We intend advocating and agitating this question until we have established a rate of dues and per capita tax sufficient to enable us to carry on joint movements more frequently.

Local Councils

We have organized and reorganized five councils. I am pleased to comment upon the activity of some of our councils. Progress is being made in the direction of educating the locals in the various localities that joint action in most cases is essential. With the continued help of the A. F. of L., and our affiliated internationals, the time will soon come when organizations will recognize the advantage and the wisdom of at least conferring with one another before final measures are adopted to correct or to improve industrial conditions.

United States Department of Labor

It is most pleasing to report on the valuable assistance rendered to us and to our affiliated internationals by the United States Department of Labor. On every occasion when we have sought advice or asked his assistance, Secretary Wilson has not failed us. The readiness and willingness to be helpful is most gratifying to us and sincerely appreciated. We believe the Department of Labor under the supervision of Secretary W. B. Wilson, to be one of the greatest and most potent factors towards the establishment of harmonious relations between the employer and the employee. Certainly every one must say that the motto of this Department is "justice," for the interests of all receive full measure of consideration. We shall lend our aid in an endeavor to see that the Congress of the United States is as liberal in its appropriations to this Department as it is to the others.

This opportunity is accepted to express officially our most sincere appreciation to the Honorable William B. Wilson, and through him to his associates, for the valuable assistance they have so generously rendered to this Department and its affiliated organizations.

Respectfully submitted.

A. J. BERRER, *Secretary-Treasurer,*
Metal Trades Department.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Secretary Thomas F. Tracy submitted the following synopsis of the work performed by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor during the year ending September 30, 1915:

At the close of the fiscal year we had thirty-nine national and international unions affiliated with the Department, that have paid an average per capita tax on 409,663 members, which is a decrease in membership during the year of approximately 12,000.

During the year one international organization has affiliated with the Department, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

I hereby also submit the following figures of the amount of labels issued by our affiliated organizations during the year:

American Federation of Labor.....	9,910,000
Bakery and Confectionery Workers.....	630,170,000
Brewery Workmen, United.....	39,124,620
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.....	5,967,000
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	29,420,000
United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.....	7,955,000
Garment Workers of America.....	53,210,000
Glove Workers of America.....	2,140,000
United Hatters of North America.....	14,275,092
Metal Polishers, etc., Union.....	11,000
Molders' International Union.....	48,600
Stove Mounters' Union.....	30,000
Tobacco Workers International Union.....	446,794,950
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....	147,000
Textile Workers' of America.....	253,000

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union reports that there were seven union stamps issued for the year ending July, 1915, and the number of persons employed where the union stamps are issued for the year ending July, 1915, 4,500.

The Laundry Workers' International Union reports that 62 union stamps have been issued for the year ending July, 1915, and the number of persons employed where the union stamps are issued for the year ending July, 1915, 1,250.

The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union reports that 25 steel dies have been issued for the year ending July, 1915, and the number of persons employed where the steel dies were issued for the year ending July, 1915, 1,400.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America reports that there were issued during the year 609 shop cards, and there were employed where these shop cards are issued 1,653 people.

The American Wire Weavers report that they have distributed approximately 12,000 to 15,000 labels in the year, and that it is hard to determine the number each shop uses.

While a number of the organizations that have reported have made material gains above the preceding year, there are several organizations that have not issued as many union labels during the year past as were issued by them for the previous corresponding year.

During the year we have organized three local departments, located as follows:

Salt Lake City, Utah.
 San Rafael, California.
 Omaha, Nebraska.

In conformity with the action of the last convention, relative to working in conjunction with the A. F. of L. in connection with the Panama-Pacific Exposition, I desire to report that, on account of lack of space, the Department was unable to provide for a label exhibit, but in place of the same procured a stereomotorgraph at a cost of about \$400, in which were reproduced by slides various labels, store and shop cards of our affiliated organizations, as well as pictures of the Union Printers' Home, Printing Pressmen's Home and other matters of interest.

The Department continued its activity during the year in the distribution of literature and giving publicity and issued from this office about 200,000 pieces of literature by mail,

besides a large number of express packages. In addition to this 15,000 copies of the document entitled "The Union Label, Its History and Aims," were printed and distributed with good effect.

The last convention of the Department authorized the sending of a representative to the various state conventions that were to be held during the year, as well as to conventions of National and International Unions and in connection with this work the following conventions were visited:

State Conventions.

Chattanooga, Tennessee	Shreveport, Louisiana
Austin, Texas	Columbus, Georgia
New Haven, Connecticut	Louisville, Kentucky
Charlestown, West Virginia	Jersey City, New Jersey
Buffalo, New York	Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Gary, Indiana	Alton, Illinois
Omaha, Nebraska	Winona, Minnesota
Augusta, Maine	Moberly, Missouri

National and International Unions

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, Louisville, Ky.

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, Rochester, N. Y.

National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, Atlantic City, N. J.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, E. St. Louis, Ill.

Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America, St. Thomas, Ont., Canada.

Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association, Chicago, Ill.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Buffalo, N. Y.

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees of America, Chicago, Ill.

Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, Milwaukee, Wis.

Brotherhood of Railroad Freight Handlers, Minneapolis, Minn.

Woman's International Union Label League, Youngstown, Ohio.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, St. Paul, Minn.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, St. Louis, Mo.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Switchmen's Union of North America, Buffalo, N. Y.

National Print Cutters' Association of America, New York, N. Y.

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, New York, N. Y.

In accordance with the decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., an amendment to the constitution relative to the time of holding the conventions of the Department has been submitted to the convention for its approval, and if this amendment is adopted the conventions of the Department will be held prior to the convention of the A. F. of L., and at the conclusion of their work, they will then take a recess until the close of the convention of the A. F. of L., when they will again reconvene to take action on such matters as may have been referred to this Department by the A. F. of L.

The income and expenses for the year are as follows:

Balance on hand October 1, 1914.....	\$8,172 63
Income during the year.....	12,270 27
Total.....	\$20,442 90
Expenses for the year ending September 30, 1915.....	14,494 78
Leaving a balance on hand October 1, 1915.....	\$5,948 12

which is deposited in the Security Savings and Commercial Bank, in the name of the Union Label Trades Department.

This briefly outlines the work performed by the Department during the year, which I hope will meet with your approval.

Yours fraternally,

THOMAS F. TRACY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT

In compliance with the rule requiring the Departments to render a report of progress to the American Federation of Labor to be embodied in the report of the Executive Council to the annual convention, President A. O. Wharton submitted the following brief summary of the activities of the Railway Employees Department during the past year:

Following the close of the thirty-fourth annual convention of the A. F. of L., at Philadelphia, the E. C. members of the Railway Employees Department met to consider the amendments to the laws governing the Departments adopted by the convention, effective March 1, 1915, and to take action to comply therewith. We are pleased to state that all of the affiliated organizations in this Department have voluntarily agreed to pay per capita tax on their full membership; this action has insured ample funds to conduct the affairs of the organization properly, and has avoided the necessity of increasing the taxation.

The work of the Department for the past year has been chiefly confined to organizing the shop crafts on various lines throughout the New England and eastern states, and reorganizing System Federations. This work has been made possible through the hearty co-operation of affiliated organizations who have borne the expense of organizing crews who have been assigned to work under the instructions of the Department.

Although the past year has been one of exceptional depression, perhaps more noticeable in the railroad industry than in any other line of business, and many thousands of our members were thrown out of employment and practically all others worked very short time, we are pleased to report that notwithstanding the many obstacles the efforts of our organizing crews have met with reasonably good success, not only in reorganizing System Federations in accordance with the laws of the Department but in forming the nucleus of federations on other lines; eleven System Federation charters have been issued, and while the poor industrial conditions have been responsible for retarding our progress, more or less, yet the reports to hand of numbers of new locals recently organized among the various crafts would indicate a gradual return to better conditions.

By force of circumstances the usual yearly custom of presenting new agreements for the betterment of the shop crafts has, in the majority of cases, been deferred until business conditions seem to justify such action. At the present writing a few of the federated lines in the eastern states are negotiating for new agreements and wage increases, assisted by the officers comprising the organizing crews, and in close touch with the Department on all questions arising.

We have waged a successful warfare against all forms of dualism and particularly so against the so-called "American Federation of Railroad Workers" under the leadership of P. F. Richardson, formerly associated with the Association of International Car Workers, which went out of existence with the beginning of the year 1915, because of lack of support of its policies, and has since endeavored to create a source of revenue by masquerading under a new title seeking to beguile the unwary into the belief that it is associated with the bona fide American labor movement. It offers a haven of refuge for the secessionist of all grades and conditions. As usual the employer is ever ready to take advantage of any opportunity to divide the workers, and those who have allied themselves under the banner of the American Federation of Railroad Workers are contributing what influence they may have to the detriment of the movement as a whole, which we fully believe is primarily the aim and purpose of the promoters.

During the past year the Department has been called upon on numerous occasions to render assistance to federated crafts on various systems in opposing the introduction of obnoxious rules in direct violation of the existing agreements, such as the demerit system of discipline and personal record system proposed by the management of the Fort Smith and Western, requiring shopmen to come under the same discipline and regulations as that of the transportation employees. The physical examination required of all employees entering the service of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, whether shop or train service, was one of the most rigid and exacting possible for the mind of man to conceive, and if put into effect would nullify all of the existing agreements on the system. As a result of this attempt by the company to over-ride the rights of the employees, representatives from all branches of the service, transportation, office and shops, formed a compact together determined to oppose to the utmost any such infringement of their rights. This Department has gladly rendered all assistance possible during these negotiations, and we are glad to state that in the case of the Fort Smith and Western that an entirely satisfactory understanding

has been reached and all objectionable features removed, and that the old system has been restored on the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, which is eminently satisfactory to all concerned.

The policy of this Department is unalterably opposed to the piecework, bonus, or any of the co-called efficiency systems which have come into existence, and have gained more or less foothold on some of the railroads of this country. The railroad companies have quite generally advocated one form or the other, and in some instances forced the men to accept such conditions which are proving most detrimental to both the physical welfare of the employes and their social status. The new innovations we find are particularly favored by certain railroad managers where lack of organization has permitted the introduction and try-out of all manner of schemes to rob the worker of the fruits of his labor.

During the past year we have found it to our advantage to follow out the policies of the Railway Employees Department to use the good offices of a conciliator in seeking to bring about the adjustment of controversies and thereby avoid strikes and their consequent hardships. We can not speak too highly of the valuable services rendered by the commissioners of conciliation from the Department of Labor, and the prompt attention given to our requests for the service of a conciliator when required. We fully realize the great value to both the employer and employe through the intercession of mediation as a means of bringing them together to find some mutually satisfactory basis of agreement. One of the really important cases which threatened most serious results was occasioned by the absolute refusal of the management on the Kansas City Terminal to continue negotiations for a joint agreement with the shop crafts after several conferences had been held and matters were apparently progressing favorably to both sides. It developed that while apparently acting in good faith with the committee, arrangements had in the meantime been made to secure strike-breakers and these were shipped in and housed by the company. This action was soon followed by discharge of the old employes two to four at a time until the number had reached over thirty, for no other reason than that they were members of their respective organizations. The other members were also advised that they would be required to surrender membership in their organization if they desired to remain longer in the service.

That such an unreasonable and arbitrary attitude of the management did not precipitate a strike at that time was due to the prompt action of the Department in getting on the ground and taking full charge of the situation. The Kansas City Terminal Company is owned, controlled and officered by twelve trunk lines, each one of these twelve roads selecting one of the official staff to act as a board member, because of this plan of organization, and because the organizations affiliated to this Department had an aggregate membership of 45,000 working under agreements with these companies; the Department decided in furtherance of its policy to avoid strikes whenever possible, to place the facts before the Board of Directors. As a necessary means to this end, a meeting of all general chairmen on these lines was held in Kansas City, fifty in number being present, at which time our plans were mapped out and put into execution, resulting in the Board of Directors being fully informed of all the conditions surrounding the unjust discriminations against our respective members; a request was also sent to the Department of Labor for the service of a conciliator to act as an intermediary, as further negotiations were denied us by the local management. Every means at our command was used to avert trouble, but the persistent refusal of the Kansas City Terminal management to consider in any sense the rights of the men and the hesitancy on the part of the other board members to oppose that policy openly. After two months of negotiations and meeting with no better success, we were reluctantly compelled to order a strike for the preservation of our organizations, the order taking effect at 10 a. m., July 29, and remaining in force until August 10. After the strike was called we again placed the matter before the Board of Directors and we believe that the pressure thus brought to bear was largely responsible for the satisfactory settlement later secured, which we have every reason to believe will be adhered to. The value of approaching matters of this nature with the exercise of every possible effort to avoid drastic measures, should appeal to all, and will prove a more satisfactory and peaceful solution of the many questions that heretofore have brought about serious situations. It also affords a striking example of what can be accomplished by proceeding through legitimate channels and observing the organization laws pertaining to such matters.

The commissioner of conciliation worked assiduously during the entire period of these negotiations, exercising every influence and effort to bring about an amicable adjustment, and to his able efforts much of the credit is due for the successful results obtained.

Whether due to the business depression or other causes, on several railroads, attempts were made during the past year to abrogate agreements with shop crafts; notices were served to this effect. We are pleased to say that in each case we were successful in avoiding any such action and have retained the agreement and friendly relations.

Agreeable to the recommendations of the Department convention held in April, 1914, we appeared before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, in support of Bill H. R. 17894, to provide for the inspection of locomotives as a whole. The measure was later approved by President Woodrow Wilson on March 4. We also attended conference held by the Inspection Bureau during the week of August 23-28 in the offices of the Chief Boiler Inspector at Washington, D. C., representing the interests of the shop crafts and working in harmony and conjunction with the A. F. of L., and representatives of the transportation organizations, at which time a suitable code of rules was drafted to govern the inspection of engines and tenders to be submitted to the Interstate Commerce Commission for their final approval.

The Department was instrumental in securing and having secured valuable data in connection with the cause and effect of the Harriman and Illinois Central strike, inaugurated September 30, 1911, and presented same at the hearings before the Commission on Industrial Relations, which consumed four days in taking evidence. We feel assured that through the report of the Commission to Congress, the public will learn the truth and the position of the men will be vindicated, and it is our hope and belief that their report will result in the enactment of legislation that will make for industrial peace, and that will make secure the rights of the wage-earner. The total cost of compiling data and presenting the case before the Commission was prorated and paid by the five organizations involved.

The Department endeavored in every manner possible to promote the passage of the Immigration bill, and used its full facilities and influence in conjunction with the A. F. of L. in the promotion of legislation favorable to organized labor.

MINING DEPARTMENT

Mr. James Lord submitted the following review of the work of the Mining Department during the past year and of conditions of mining in general:

Never, in my recollection, have conditions surrounding the mining industry been so dull as they have during the past two years. Our best organized districts in the coal fields have witnessed more unemployment and have been called upon to furnish more relief to their members, than at any other time, and the effects of the European war have proved almost disastrous to the metal mining industry in some localities.

At the present time, however, there seems to be an upward trend in the industrial life of the country, and conditions are growing slightly better.

The International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen have become affiliated with the Mining Department during the last year.

In spite of the severe industrial depression that has been so long manifest, a splendid campaign of organization and education has been carried on by the affiliated unions. The seven weeks' campaign of organizing and education in the anthracite region has been fruitful of great results, and gives every indication of bringing in a 100 per cent organization in the hard coal fields.

The efforts of the Western Federation of Miners in the great zinc belt of Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma, have resulted in a good strong district union being established there, and the indications are that a joint agreement will be worked out which will insure the future of unionism in that field.

A dual organization to the steel workers was inaugurated in the vicinity of Wheeling, W. Va., April 4, 1915, but the seceders came back into the regular movement June 17. Organizer John L. Lewis, of the American Federation of Labor, rendered splendid service in this fight.

The International Association of Machinists has made splendid progress in the way of organizing, increasing wages and reducing hours of work in Connecticut, Louisiana, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Delaware, New York, and other places.

The miners in some localities have alleviated the double burden of slack work and the high cost of living to some extent by starting co-operative mercantile stores on the Rochdale plan. Especially in the state of Illinois, where the United Mine Workers and the State

Federation of Labor have lent their aid and encouragement, has the movement forged ahead, and there are now in the neighborhood of two dozen local co-operative societies, and a State Co-operative Union formed that will be the means of establishing a wholesale society, or some method whereby wholesale buying can be conducted on the largest possible scale.

These societies are operating under the Rochdale plan, that is, limited stock, and a vote for each member, with such local additions or changes as seem best suited to their locality. They are not engaged in cutting prices, but charge the standard prices for their goods, giving preference to honest weight and measure, the best quality, and, of course, union-made wherever possible.

John R. Lawson is still in jail at Trinidad, Colo., awaiting trial by the Supreme Court of the state. About five hundred more are indicted. The place or time for these trials is entirely problematic, as the appropriations of the different counties where the alleged crimes were committed and likewise those of the state, are now exhausted. The judges living in the counties have all been disqualified by the Colorado Supreme Court from trying these particular cases.

Burke would not have given utterance to the saying, "you can not indict an entire community," if he had had any knowledge of or connection with Colorado.

The unions at present affiliated with the Mining Department are:

The United Mine Workers of America.

Western Federation of Miners.

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America.

International Association of Machinists.

We hope and trust that the brotherhoods will ultimately become a part of the federated labor movement of America, and make it possible to work out the affiliation and working agreements necessary for the success of each and all of us. The sooner they realize the fact that they need us and we need them, and the sooner they learn and profit by the example of organizing, interlocking and affiliating now carried on by their employers, in relation to other industries, the more progress we shall all make and the better off we shall be.

This also seems nearer of realization now than ever before, and it is encouraging to note the occasional "getting together" of the representatives of the brotherhood organizations and the A. F. of L. organizations on matters of policy, legislation, etc.

If, as Hugo said, "the twentieth century will be the people's century," then working for a greater co-operation and closer affiliation on the economic field will be the most interesting, useful, and really constructive purposes that can engage the efforts and attention of men and women.

PORTO RICO

Mr. Santiago Iglesias, President of the Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico, makes the following report of the year's work in Porto Rico and other Spanish-American countries:

The invasion of Porto Rico by Americans and the infusion of the principles of the American Federation of Labor into the life of the workers have led to considerable change in the attitude of the people toward work and toward the workers. The A. F. of L. has tended to strengthen in many ways the position of the laborers.

The forces of reaction and greed of employers have shown great aggressiveness during the last year. All that could be done to destroy existing labor organizations and to prevent the organization of new ones in the island has been done.

In spite of that, during the year past the toilers have advanced along the road of progress toward the achievement of a better social, economical, and political independence by means of a methodical and persistent labor fight, both collectively and individually. The effects of this effort will prove in the near future to be highly beneficial to the producing people of the island at large, and specially to the agricultural laborers so much exploited in this country.

The efforts of the A. F. of L. are being antagonized by those who have interests in keeping this island as a large factory worked by slaves.

On the other hand, the workers are realizing that only by an active economic organization and a persistent effort the social and economic progress could reach the masses of the workers in the agricultural fields where the crops are collected, and those of the indu

trial pursuits where they are suffering an intolerable economic exploitation. Certainly they are striving to sweep out the old form of Spanish peonage now aggravated with the American form of plutocracy in its new form of feudalism.

It is true at this time that the landholding conditions involved in most of the agricultural districts of the island have enabled the employers to keep what amounts to a feudal system for the operation of the sugar as well as the tobacco fields and manufactures.

The most important event during the past year brought about by the labor movement was the greatest strike of agricultural workers that ever occurred in this island.

Strike of Agricultural Workers

About 40,000 agricultural workers of the sugar-cane fields and from some of the mills, men, women and children, went on strike during the early days of February of this year. The bulk of them lack necessary resources for striking. However, it was the most favorable occasion we had to teach the peasants the principles and the aims of trade unionism, and the best way to create the most powerful organization of the agricultural workers.

After taking into consideration the deplorable conditions prevailing in the country, the low wages and long hours, and taking into consideration also the high prices for sugar which the companies obtained at that time in the American market, it seemed to us that no better opportunity would present itself to advance and strengthen the position of the workers getting for them better wages, shorter hours of labor and the right to organize themselves.

But the old, old story that happens in this island when workingmen entertain any plan for freedom was repeated over again. As soon as the bosses realized that the labor movement afforded an opportunity to be heard and the chance to create a powerful organization, repressive measures were undertaken and a rule of terrorism inaugurated among the working people by the police authorities, by the mayors, judges and other officials of the government. In time of strikes the masters assumed the power of police in many ways to force the poor laborers to go back to work on the terms of the employers. Of course, real freedom under such conditions is impossible and industrial tyranny prevailed.

The labor men were prosecuted, jailed, wounded and killed in the streets and highways with the purpose of stopping the advancement of the labor movement, and of cutting in the bud the aspiration of the peasant folk for freedom, who produce the wealth of the island.

According to the old policy of tyranny the government supported the employers and the privileged, the police force were put at their disposal to force the agricultural workers to return to work, or to compel them to leave the houses where they were living, if they would not go to work under the old conditions. All the public police force, under the pretense of keeping order and guaranteeing the properties, was in the service of the private corporations, landlords and capitalists, to break the strike, to force men to work, while they enjoy their banquets and drinks. In almost all the towns where the workingmen were on strike, the local headquarters of the police force were installed within the sugar mills, or under their premises, the men of the force were fed by the plantations' owners, and the horses and automobiles used by the police to hunt the strikers were also furnished by the bosses.

The Governor turned over to the police the whole rural region, and these in their turn had forbidden that there should be any public meeting, gatherings, parades, and groups of not even ten persons should gather on the highways and barriers of the whole island, though it were shown that such gatherings were of an orderly and peaceful character. So, practically a species of martial law was declared by the police, and attacks upon strikers were very common. It was very common to force the labor speakers down from the stands and afterwards to disperse the meetings, the workers being brutally attacked with revolvers, carbines and clubs.

Thus it is that the wish of the employers was secured by the police force; namely, that of breaking the strike of the poor country workers through fear and intimidation, through persecution and murder.

Upon request from every union of Porto Rico, we asked President Gompers to help the workers of this country. The A. F. of L. after being informed of the many sad incidents of the agricultural strike in which poor laborers had been killed and many others imprisoned and clubbed asked for and obtained that the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations would investigate the labor troubles of Porto Rico. In pursuance of advices from President Gompers, Mr. Rivera Martinez, President-Organizer of the Cigarmakers' Unions of this island, and I went to Washington to be heard before the Commission. This hear-

ing took place about May 26-27 of this year. The Insular Government sent also two representatives to appear before the Commission to defend the government officials. Mr. Martin Travieso, Secretary of Porto Rico, and Mr. Bills, of the Bureau of Labor represented the government.

In summarizing the matters presented before the Commission on Industrial Relations by the labor representatives I desire to mention those of more importance.

Our island of Porto Rico is one of the West Indies which occupies an important place as to agricultural production. It had been a possession of the Spanish monarchy for more than four hundred years and had a governmental regime brutalizing in its results, and the regime of this government was deeply rooted in Porto Rico. The island has about 1,200,000 inhabitants, 25,000 industrial workers and about 600,000 agricultural laborers.

From and after 1898, Porto Rico became a possession of the United States of America. It has progressed in many ways. It is true that the conditions of the toilers have improved somewhat, relatively speaking, though not in proportion to the vast wealth that this same class has produced, and much less in comparison with the great improvements made by the monopolists of commerce, industry, the political power, the financial power, and the possessors of privileges and franchises.

Some of the deplorable conditions of the peasant of Porto Rico are the following:

Men working in the sugar and tobacco plantations, engaged in cutting cane, labor an average twelve hours a day for the wage of 45 to 55 cents.

The system of paying the men with checks is much in vogue. The check-system operated in conjunction with the "pluck-me" stores enables the company or the tools of the company to gather in all the money paid. Checks are, of course, redeemable only at "pluck-me" stores, or like stores.

Woman labor is even more exploited than that of the men. Women and girls work as a rule from ten to twelve hours a day in sugar fields or selecting tobacco or coffee in the large houses, for which they make an average of 30 to 40 cents a day. Other laborers can not make more than 30 to 40 cents a day for twelve and fourteen hour's labor.

Housing conditions are almost indescribable. Families of ten and twelve live in one room, and a small room at that. This is the rule rather than the exception. It can be found in thousands of cases. Lucky are the families that boast of having a two-room shack. Few, indeed, have three rooms.

The houses in the suburbs are, as a rule, built on hills. As they are difficult to construct they are built as small as possible. Thus an entire family has to dwell in a small shack measuring ten by twelve feet in width, and less than eight feet in height.

Now, in the early days of February, more than 40,000 of these poor workers went to strike demanding a flat scale of pay of \$1 for an eight-hour workday.

At several points, Fajardo, Juncos, Humacao, and other places, agreements involving 9,000 laborers had been closed with the employers, resulting in the winning of important advantages to the men. But when the police of Porto Rico were placed at the disposal of the corporations, then not only did the corporations give up the idea of reaching terms of agreement with the laborers, but the corporation which had already signed and made peace with its workers broke the agreements and entered fiercely into the contest to establish the old conditions of wages, etc.

At a meeting of the Sugar Producers' Association, held in San Juan, representatives from most of the large sugar interests all over the island discussed means of handling the situation and finally requested the enlistment of at least 200 more insular police. At this conference Governor Yager was told that in various sections cane fires had followed meeting of strikers at which threats were made by strikers against the property of cane men. Most of those who attended the meetings were inclined to oppose a basis of settlement which the Fajardo Company had reached with its laborers, which provided for a sliding scale of wages to be based on the price of sugar. Since this agreement was entered into it was found unsatisfactory by the laborers, and after a trial of but two days it was dropped, in so far as the field laborers were concerned.

The Bureau of Labor was helping the employers in breaking the agreements. The following telegram was signed by Chief of the Bureau of Labor:

"Domingo Santos, Fajardo, P. R. Mr. Bird, Manager of the Fajardo Sugar Company, has officially informed the government that workmen are not fulfilling their part of the contract, which makes it therefore neutral. I trust all differences will work out regardless of strike. (Signed) Bills."

This telegram was sent after the Sugar Growers' Association and corporations had agreed not to sign any terms of agreements with the workers and not to agree upon any wage-scale. More than 1,000 country workers in Fajardo filed complaints duly sworn to before a judge protesting against the attitude of the Chief of the Labor Bureau, and the same thing happened at Juncos, Humacao, and other places. Since the Sugar Growers' Association refused to sign any terms of agreement with the agricultural workers police violence commenced all over the island to break the strike, as has been proved by many exhibits.

Some of them are as follows:

Exhibit No. 1.—Contained the casualties of Juncos, where a parade of strikers was violently dispersed with shots by the police and the men were beaten.

It was generally known that the man who started the attack against a peaceful parade of agricultural workers at Juncos was an officer of the Sugar Central who, with a revolver had been trying to intimidate and violently disperse the assembly of the workers and, notwithstanding (twelve peasants having been injured by the police and the officers of the Sugar Central), no arrest was ordered against the officer of the sugar company, nevertheless the workers were sentenced to six months in the Municipal Court, and how they were acquitted by the District Court, where they filed an appeal. While this trial was in progress in the District Court, the justice had to call attention to one of the corporals and to two of the guardsmen on account of their perjury before the court.

These men of Juncos who were released on the appeal had been put in jeopardy by preferring charges against them for the same crime and with the same evidence. The flags which the strikers carried in the procession, even the American flag, were torn by the police from the hands of those who bore them.

Exhibit No. 2.—Contains several documents regarding the deplorable incidents which occurred on the Island of Vieques where a parade of strikers was violently dispersed and five men killed and others wounded; a legal report of the attorneys for the strikers, and some affidavits. It was demonstrated by those documents how some of the men were sentenced by the judge in the local headquarters of the police, which was not a legally constituted court. The writs for imprisonment were amended, some of them were originally used, charging the men with assault and battery, with intent to deprive other persons of life, and in order to deprive them of jury trial these writs were amended and the cases were brought before the Municipal Court in which a severe penalty was imposed upon them. The dates of the sentences of some of the men were illegally amended to prevent the appeals to the superior courts. The so-called concealed weapons and arms of the laborers were sticks at the ends of which were flags. The same exhibit contains the manner in which the offices of the Federation were closed by the police and how the meetings were prohibited; how the liberty of these men was jeopardized by denial of habeas corpus. When the workers protested against those actions they were brutally wounded, jailed, and killed. Three laborers defending themselves wounded two policemen with their machetes. More than one hundred arrests followed. In the town the police scattered the people with shots and blows. There was a great dread in the town.

Exhibit No. 3.—Contains an affidavit sworn to and signed by about 300 persons, stating that the one responsible for the occurrences that took place in Ponce was only the Captain of Police, Ramon Fernandez Nater, and those guardsmen under his command, who without cause insulted the people and disbanded a meeting of strikers without cause, which was being held near the market. The meeting was opened in the evening at half past seven, by the members of the organized labor movement. After I had spoken for about an hour, and was making the statement that the police could not be placed on an impartial and independent position while having their quarters in the premises of the sugar mills and plantations, while eating and drinking with the bosses, while using the horses of the sugar mill owners under the pretense of guaranteeing the properties, I was brutally ordered to leave the tribune, while the Captain of Police Fernandez Nater cried: "This meeting has finished." Then the police were ordered to dissolve the meeting, the workers were shot and clubbed. The result of this social crime committed against the people was a man dead and several wounded. Organizer Rivera Martinez, myself, and all my fellows from San Juan in the commission were arrested and placed under bail of \$2,000.

Ultimately, the District Court of Ponce, where our trial took place, released my colleagues and me of the charges preferred by the Captain of the Police against us.

In an affidavit signed by Juan Cruz Piris, Secretary of the Free Federation of Workingmen, who after the meeting disbanded came near the headquarters of the police to offer his service to us and he was beaten by Captain of Police Fernandez Nater and some of the

guardsmen; he was then taken to the Prosecuting Attorney. The Prosecuting Attorney asked the Captain of Police why he had beaten Mr. Piris, and the Captain of Police answered that he had beaten him by mistake. Some of the police without any warrant entered the offices of the Federation at Ponce, broke up some of the desks and took with them some of the documents and papers of the strikers' committee.

Exhibit No. 4.—Contains 14 affidavits intended to prove how Policeman Quiles illegally killed the workman named Robledo at the meeting in Ponce, and how the man was killed while he was running, and how Captain of Police is also responsible for this crime. Policeman Quiles was set free on bail, and he is as yet in active service, not having been suspended as policeman or, from payment. He is serving duty and as a man he has the confidence of his chiefs. The commission of the police has just demonstrated its good feelings in regard to Policeman Quiles by voting an appropriation of \$100 of the funds of the same force to defend him, and also have requested some of the local headquarters to help this policeman in his defense before the court. This initiative is due to the activity of the Chief of Police of Ponce, Fernandez Nater. This same Police Commission granted gold medals to those who killed the strikers of Vieques.

Exhibit No. 5.—Contains fourteen affidavits to prove how the right of meeting, no matter how peaceful, was absolutely denied by Chief of Police who exceeded the order received from the Governor of Porto Rico. The right of meeting in Arecibo was denied to all of the representatives of the A. F. of L. in or outside of the urban zone.

Contains seven affidavits signed by several persons to prove assaults, abuses, and searches by the police in the town of Arecibo, and to prove the number of men who were wounded by the police, and how the people were terrorized. To prove how 19 workmen were held for trial, and how they were sentenced to 30 days by the Municipal Court without being given the necessary time to speak to their lawyers and to produce evidence in their favor. These 19 persons were acquitted on the appeal that they filed in the District Court and no further action taken.

Exhibit No. 6.—Is an affidavit signed by Mr. Andres Orellano, of the Bakers' International Union, stating how he was thrown from the platform while addressing a meeting in the town of Barceloneta. Charges were preferred against him by the police before the Municipal Court and he was released. He was compelled to leave the town and prohibited from speaking within the jurisdiction of that municipality.

Exhibit No. 7.—This is in regard to the unbecoming conduct of the Captain of Police in Cayey, and the persecutions of the Labor Press. On March 20 the police violently disbanded a meeting, clubbing the people. A local representative of the Federation was arrested after being taken down while he was speaking. The annual labor convention which was in session at the Baptist Church was closely watched and disturbed by police. The labor press men were also arrested for protesting against the brutality of the police officials. The same kind of brutalities of the police and violent dispersion of labor meetings occurred at Anasco, San Lorenzo, Bayamon, Humacao, and other places. Public roads were illegally closed to the agricultural strikers in order to prevent them from going from their homes to towns and vice versa. Contains the original letters and telegrams of mayors, prohibiting the free exercise of the right of meeting.

Exhibit No. 8.—Is to prove the conspiracy of the employers trying to destroy the A. F. of L. in Porto Rico, and how to place discredit upon this labor organization.

The Sugar Growers' Association have issued a circular relative to the creation of funds with which to form an association against strikes with the purpose to destroy the Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico, which is the state branch of the A. F. of L. The sugar men solicited checks of \$15 to be contributed by each member of the Sugar Growers' Association, and at the same time recommended the so-called "Liga Obrera" and "Federation Regional" as sister organizations to counteract the strikes brought on by the "Free Federation," and in order to carry on this work money is urgently requested of each member.

In another circular, pecuniary assistance is also asked of the rich merchants of the island, possibly with the same purpose of working against the A. F. of L.

The whole island was placed in the hands of the police and there occurred many dispersions of meetings, speakers taken down from stands and the entire sugar and tobacco fields were terrorized and workmen practically forced to go back to work.

The martial law was declared by the police, and attacks upon the people were accumulating rapidly to the discredit of the police who kept on terrorizing the country people.

When the House of Delegates was informed by one of its members that a meeting had been disbanded by the Insular Police in Ponce while I was addressing the gathering, the matter was in the first moment discussed and one of the members of the House moved that a special committee be appointed to investigate the facts and inform the House of the truth because one man who had been present in the meeting had been killed by the bullets of the police and some more seriously wounded. A resolution presented was as follows:

"Be it enacted that the most energetic protest of the House be brought to bear against the violation of the law of defending the rights of the people committed at Ponce by members of the Insular Police while they caused a man to come down from the speaker's stand or rostrum while he was in the full exercise of his rights of censure."

When President Gompers received the news by cable in regard to the strikers' conflict and the killing of men he called these matters to the attention of General McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and asked for information. He was informed that no information as to the killing or wounding of any one or that the constitutional rights of the people were invaded had been received. Then President Gompers requested General McIntyre to send a cable under his name to Iglesias, Porto Rico, when McIntyre said he would take pleasure in doing it. Mr. Gompers could not get my answer because the government declared it was not in strict accord with facts.

Governor Yager was requested to appoint a commission to investigate the incidents of the strike. All we wanted was an opportunity to present publicly and impartially the facts. The reasons we had for insisting upon the appointment of this commission was that we were firmly convinced that in no other way could the government obtain the absolute truth of the deplorable facts of tyranny and oppression brought about by the public officials of the government during the strike.

After our appearance before the Commission on Industrial Relations, upon our request, President Gompers and Secretary Morrison introduced us at the White House, helping the people of Porto Rico by handing to President Wilson through the courtesy of Secretary Tumulty the memorial which we had prepared portraying the deplorable situation as it exists in Porto Rico.

Congressional Investigation

At the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Philadelphia, Pa., was adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved by this convention of the A. F. of L. assembled that the President of the American Federation of Labor be earnestly recommended to request the President of the United States or the Congress, or both, to appoint a commission as soon as possible with authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the island, especially in the questions affecting education, health, and sanitation, economic and living conditions of the working masses of Porto Rico; land and financial resources, and to ascertain if it is true that the federal, as well as the organic law has been continually violated by the big corporations which exploit the people of the island."

It is the earnest wish of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico that such commission may visit our island to make a thorough investigation as the resolution urges; that the commission may be composed of men who will not, as several commissions in the past have done, accept mere courtesies and official declarations as sufficient evidence upon which to base their attitude, but that the commission be composed of men who will go to the heart of things, to get the real points and views of men of labor, of business, who know, who feel, who understand.

Organic Law and Citizenship

That a new organic act or constitution for Porto Rico is necessary, all Porto Ricans agree, and all who studied the subject recommend. It is therefore respectfully urged that a new organic act or constitution for the government of Porto Rico should be recommended to Congress and enacted, and it is urged that whatever form the new organic act should

take, great consideration should be given regarding the power, the influence, and the capacity of which the working people of the island are capable. The existing political vices, the pernicious effect of false system of education by which the children of the poor are impressed with the idea that they occupy an inferior position in society, the overt conduct of employers, should be considered and indeed under every circumstance the almost defenseless position in which the laborers of Porto Rico are now placed should be regarded as a feature for the consideration and protection of the law and its administrators. The workers should be given the fullest assurance and guarantee of protection in the enjoyment and exercise of constitutional rights equal with those of other citizens of Porto Rico.

At present the people of Porto Rico occupy an anomalous position. We belong to the United States and yet are not citizens of the United States. We are a people belonging to the Island of Porto Rico, part of the United States, and yet are a people without a country. Citizenship should be conferred upon the people of Porto Rico, not individually but *en bloc*, collectively, and thus make for a more complete Americanization of the people of Porto Rico, in full touch, sympathy, and co-operation with the people of the United States. The possessors of capital should be obliged to pay their full share for what the government needs for public education, for sanitation, for roads, and for improvements on the island, as well as the security of justice for all.

Organization

Last year were organized twenty-six local unions of different crafts in this country. We have now the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico with 121 local organizations. We have one daily and three weekly labor papers.

A general assembly of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico took place at the House of Delegates, in San Juan, with delegations from 113 trade unions of the various localities of the island, representing about 10,000 laborers and passed resolutions protesting against the unjustifiable raising of the prices of foodstuffs by the merchants, and also discussing the unemployment problem, and other labor matters of great importance.

At that time the big labor parade was organized by us in San Juan to present our bill of grievances to the Governor. More than 10,000 people took part in this imposing demonstration. Also the eighth annual convention of the Federation took place at Cayey, March 18 to 24, 1915.

The principal matters considered and favorably resolved and adopted in behalf of the organization of workers and the defense of their social and economic rights, were to help the declaration of another strike in the agricultural fields if it was of absolute necessity to better the conditions of the men, women, and children, and to raise funds to defend before the courts the hundreds of workers that are being persecuted and jailed by the oppression and tyranny of the employers and the government. The labor convention also protested against the crimes committed by the police and the government during the last agriculture strike.

During the sessions of legislature the message of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico was solemnly discussed and was ordered to be printed.

A circumstance worthy to notice is the fact that after all, never before in the history of this island has there been introduced such a large number of bills tending to protect the laboring people, nor were the problems affecting the country workers discussed with such a great interest and enthusiasm throughout the island. This goes to show most splendidly the degree to which Porto Rico, through the action of the Free Federation has advanced, aided by the American Federation of Labor.

Of course, all the labor bills died in the committees except an important measure enacted by the legislature, the substance of which is to provide for the sale on easy terms to the Porto Rican laborers of small parcels of land. Such a law, nevertheless, has not been put in operation at this time since its enactment last February.

Labor in Cuba

In spite of the continuation of the European war, it is my belief that affairs in Cuba are now being carried to their normal state and that conditions of business on that island are rapidly becoming normal, due to the fact that sugar will maintain the high prices.

A report on the Cuban situation that had been prepared by labor leaders of Habana, described conditions as to lack of proper unification and direction among the workmen

which still persist and will continue, until the American Federation of Labor shall establish a federation throughout that country, uniting all groups and giving them the necessary strength and influence to obtain permanent, immediate, and practical improvements.

I think this is the proper time to initiate a campaign of systematic work for a good and practical organization in Cuba. There is lack of combination and concentration, and proper direction of purposes. The radical and political are causing a division to be made among workingmen more and more.

An agricultural strike was declared for more wages in various sections of the Island of Cuba. More than 15,000 workers went to strike for more wages. The government took repressive measures against the strikers and several casualties occurred. Five labor leaders were expelled from the country by order of the government accused of being "anarchists." One of these men is now working for the Free Federation of Labor in Porto Rico, and after being several months in the Island of Porto Rico, he was arrested by order of the authorities of Washington under the same accusations brought about by the government of Cuba of being an "anarchist." The case was investigated by the Commissioner of Immigration of Porto Rico and by the U. S. Department of Labor. Secretary Wilson countermanded the order for his deportation.

Mexican Situation

General Carranza and his party, as appeared in the manifestos that we have received and read, has promised many good things for the workingmen for their protection, for their elevation and progress, but I fear that when the revolution is ended, if then workingmen have not enough organization and power to protect and defend their position, and to see that these promises are made good, the labor people of Mexico will find themselves in the same position that they were in before the revolution.

General Carranza and his party offered to the labor organizations, represented by the General Federation of Labor, the following government grants:

"The liberty of the wage working class to organize and to strike is recognized by our constitution which declares that nobody may be prevented from associating peacefully for any legal purpose. If it is legal for capital to associate I do not find any reason why it should be illegal for labor to organize."

"The constitutionalist government will distribute the national lands and will recover for distribution those tracts of which private individuals and communities have been illegally dispossessed, as well as acquire by purchase and other legal means more land should it be necessary for the solution of the problem. It will also place the agriculturist in a position to acquire farming instruments and to withstand the loss of crops by means of a system of agricultural credits."

"To better the condition of the working class a maximum time of labor and a minimum wage will be fixed by law. Special measures will be enacted to regulate the labor of women and children. Labor organizations that comply with the law will be recognized by the government. An accident indemnity law will be enacted to protect workmen and due care will be taken for the hygienic life of the workmen in the factories, shops and in general in all the centers of industry."

"The complete abolishment of labor as a means of paying debts is one of the conquests already realized by the revolution—a conquest that has won us our most numerous and stubborn enemies."

"Reforms of a social and economic character rather than those of political character. A change in the personnel of the government or the realization of political reforms is of small importance."

"I am in favor of universal suffrage without any more restrictions than those absolutely necessary to make effective the vote of every citizen."

Pan-American Labor Convention

In view of the close relations that are being cultivated by the big financial interests of the country through the governmental authorities of Washington among the various governments and financial corporations of the Spanish speaking republics, it seems both wise and necessary that the A. F. of L. should invite the labor federations of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile, and of the other southern as well as central American republics to meet together in a great Pan-American Labor Convention, which should be

held in Washington for the purpose of considering the economic problems that are to confront in the near future the various labor people owing to the fraternization and combination of the biggest capitalist representations of Wall Street and those of the said republics, which are ready to be mutually helpful to themselves, and to control as much as possible the business of those countries. That is to say, shipping companies, railroads, mines, banks, telegraphs, telephones, and the general combination of industrial, commercial and financial interests.

The masses of the people of those republics know very little about these great schemes and the working classes of these countries can not see now what the result will be. It seems to me that as bankers, financiers and manufacturers of the United States and the government officials of the various countries and merchants called and held a conference of all financial and political interests, the A. F. of L. should call a conference of the representatives of all the Pan-American Labor Federations in order to meet the new conditions in a comprehensive manner and in behalf of the common ideals of liberty, justice, and the development of the spirit of the true American and true to the service of mankind.

Conclusion

In 1901 all the importations from the United States to Porto Rico amounted to \$8,918,136, and in the year 1915 the importations amounted to \$33,884,296.

The exportations in 1901 amounted to \$8,583,967, while in the year 1915 the exportations amounted to \$49,356,907; being in total the bulk of commerce 1901, \$17,502,103, while in 1915, \$83,241,203.

This leaves a supposed balance of trade in favor of the island, amounting to \$15,471,611 as compared with \$6,695,975 for the last year previous.

Nevertheless, the wages in Porto Rico for the agricultural workers who produced those millions of dollars, range about as follows: Children working ten hours a day, 1901 to 1915, 15 cents; women, 30 cents; men, from 45 to 55 cents per day, for a workday of ten to twelve hours. The cost of living went up 40 per cent.

On the other hand oppression and brutality terrorized the workers. There have been committed against the people social crimes that were unknown before.

Daring onslaughts have been attempted and carried out against the aspirations of the people.

The corporations have been given all the power that could be given to them to exploit the masses of laborers.

The right of free speech and assembly had been almost practically abolished at the time of the strike, and all sorts of abuses have been resorted to against the workers, whose aim is to live like human beings and not like animals.

Under "self-government," or rather its pretense, the gravest of conspiracies has found expression, both publicly and privately against popular education.

An attempt has been made to minimize the teaching of the English language in the public schools, and there has been a desire for demoralizing vocational education, such as trying to make the pupil hate the American methods of teaching and even to hate the American teachers.

More than 200,000 children of school age have been left without school accommodation.

About three hundred teachers have been dropped from the teaching force because the school appropriation had been cut down last year.

Increased school appropriation is badly needed to such an extent that the children of school age (404,211 in 1914, and of whom about 160,000 could be admitted at this time into the schools) may receive the benefits of a public school education.

The government of Porto Rico is borrowing money in the United States at the rate of 4 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for public works, but in Porto Rico the rates of loans to the people are 12 to 20 and in some instances even 100 per cent interest for the poor people. The government should stop the system of usury and financial exploitation against the people of Porto Rico.

In conclusion: The enormous wealth produced by the agricultural and industrial workers of Porto Rico is taken over the seas or is kept in strong boxes in the shape of rents and earnings, to be expended, perhaps, in other more fortunate communities. It is estimated that 60 per centum of the earnings derived from the work of the producers in the country periodically finds its way to foreign countries while the island remains an open factory producing new earnings and accumulating new fortunes that are not to benefit the island and still less the hard-working peasant producers.

CANADA

Mr. P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, made the following report for the year:

An industrial depression preceding the declaration of war, and a state of war during such industrial depression, have made it impossible for the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to give the encouraging outlook respecting the future of the labor movement that otherwise would have been anticipated by the delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is the consensus of opinion that orders for war munitions have tended to improve industrial conditions, and had it not been for the improvement in the clothing, agricultural and particularly the metal industries, the industrial and commercial depression would have been much more acute. Apart from the state of war in which Canada now finds itself, there were symptoms of the approaching depression manifest during the latter part of 1913, and towards midsummer of last year, 1914. The acuteness of these symptoms made a depression an actuality. This depression is largely the result of speculative investments in unimproved land, where the productive value of labor did not accompany the speculations. This applied particularly to the western part of Canada, where the borrowings from other countries had contributed materially in burdening the country with an annual interest debt of over \$150,000,000. Only productive labor could support such borrowings, and when that was not employed, the logical outcome was a serious financial and industrial depression which was reflected in the conditions in all parts of the Dominion.

During the latter part of 1914, and the early part of 1915, there was a very serious unemployed problem in all parts of Canada, and had it not been for the call for recruits to join the army, and for workmen in the metal, clothing, and other trades to man the factories, this problem could only have led to a social upheaval that would have evidenced the serious discontent of men and women who had been denied the right to live by their own labor. The conditions forced the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, through its executive officers, to make representations to the federal government favoring the extension of the principle of the moratorium to mortgages on the homes of the workers, financial assistance to municipalities to provide relief-work for the unemployed, financial assistance to workers anxious to return to the United Kingdom and assured of employment, increased control over the banking institutions, to force extension of credit to industries willing to keep their workmen employed, if such credit was extended, and the commencement and completion of public works in all parts of the country, to provide work for the unemployed. The question of extending the principle of the moratorium to mortgages on workmen's homes was referred to the provincial (or state) legislatures, and a measure of relief along that line was given in several provinces. The banking institutions were given privileges, under the Banking Act, to enable them to facilitate production, by extending their credit, but did not accept the opportunity given them to produce the maximum of benefit in the interest of the unemployed, doing nothing to assist workmen to get back to the United Kingdom. The early part of this year the British government furnished financial assistance to men in the metal industries who were competent to fill vacancies in similar industries in the United Kingdom. Fully one thousand men availed themselves of the assistance offered.

While the Trades and Labor Congress was giving its attention to matters affecting the whole Dominion, provincial executive committees of the Congress were active in pressing for provincial assistance for the unemployed, and local trade and labor councils were securing splendid results in forcing municipal councils to provide work for those who needed it. Several attempts were made to establish lower rates of wages for this relief work, but the influence of Labor's representatives on these councils, with the co-operation of the central labor bodies, was sufficient to prevent the stampede towards the low-wage rate.

To meet the situation in a more comprehensive way the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada urged the federal government to appoint a federal commission to investigate conditions in the Dominion and to recommend measures to relieve the situation immediately. Other organizations suggested different means to meet the issue, but three months ago a conference of the mayors of the cities in all parts of Canada memorialized the government to adopt the course suggested by the Trades Congress, and the Premier has now asked for information from the provinces and municipalities to justify the appointment of such a commission.

There has been an insistent demand from many parts of the Dominion that all encouragement of immigration be discontinued until the industries of the nation have assimilated those who are out of employment. With over 150,000 men enlisted for the war, and orders for war munitions totaling \$150,000,000 on hand, the outlook has been made a little brighter, industrially, but the approaching winter bids fair to exceed the winter of 1914-15 in its bitter experiences for the workers who have been either unemployed or only partially employed during the summer. Workmen in the building trades are the greatest sufferers owing to the refusal of the banks to extend their credit to builders, and owing to the increased number of vacant houses which make building unprofitable for the builder.

Owing to war conditions the governments of the various provinces have not been very sensitive to the appeals of organized labor for improved social legislation and few legislative changes have been made that will directly benefit the workers during the present year. In the enactment of legislation improving the Workmen's Compensation Acts now in force the Province of Nova Scotia has taken a step in advance of the position it has held for many years, and an act is now in force that gives a greater measure of justice to the worker and his or her beneficiaries. In British Columbia, workmen's compensation has been a live issue, and the organized labor movement is pressing for changes that will guarantee more liberal compensation in the event of accident, death, or sickness to a larger number of the toilers. Organized labor in Manitoba is also pressing for improvements since the benefits of the act now in force in Ontario have been made known.

It has been left to the labor organizations in all parts of the Dominion to hold on, as best they can, to what they have, and notwithstanding the reduction in membership, owing to the enlistments for the war and the large number of unemployed, the movement generally displays signs of vitality that predicts an early revival at the close of the war, when the country has recovered the financial and commercial balance it maintained previous to 1913. Legislative demands for the shorter workday, mothers' pensions, old-age pensions, minimum wages, etc., must stand during the war, but the organizations of the organized workers that have for their object the obtaining of working class legislation, will continue their efforts with greater aggressiveness and persistency when the minds of the legislators are more susceptible to the reasonable claims of those who voice Labor's demands.

A commission, appointed by the government of the province of Ontario, to investigate the causes of unemployment in the province, and upon which organized labor has representation, has recently presented an interim report in which it strongly recommends the establishing of a Labor Department as a separate department of government, or a branch of some already existing department with a minister. The commission also recommends a number of employment bureaus in the leading industrial centers of the province, to assist unemployed workmen and working women to obtain available positions without being exploited by the private employment agencies, which are scrupulously unscrupulous, some times, in their dealings with men and women out of work.

Owing to the financial and industrial depression there have been few strikes during the year, and in the majority of cases, where agreements have expired, there has been a renewal of the previous agreements without change. It has been remarkably encouraging to organized labor to note that where there were agreements between employers and workmen there have been few demands from the employers for a reduction in wages, and in the metal trades, where war munitions are being made, the tendency has been marked towards a higher wage rate. The machinists' organizations are in a healthy condition and demands for increased wages have been met without disagreements. Employers have admitted that the government is paying good prices for war supplies, and therefore the workers are just in their demands for a better share of the profits.

SECOND DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

The convention was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, November 9th, in Eagles Hall, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Conway, Corbley, Feeney, Galvin, Hammerschlag, Riley.

President Gompers asked the pleasure of the convention in regard to completing the reading of the abstract of the report of the Executive Council, begun by Vice-President Duncan before the close of the preceding session. He stated that printed copies of the complete report of the Executive Council had been distributed.

The convention decided to dispense with the further reading of the abstract.

The Committee on Credentials presented the following supplementary report, read by Chairman Moser:

November 9, 1915.

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Credentials from the following organizations have been presented and we recommend that their delegates be seated:

Vancouver, B. C. Trades and Labor Council—Harry H. Spear, 1 vote; United Laborers' Union, No. 14,113—F. P. Lamoreux, 1 vote; Flat Janitors' Union, No. 14,332—William Quesse, 1 vote; Cemetery Employees' Union, No. 10,634—John Sullivan, 1 vote; Astoria, Oregon, Central Labor Council—H. M. Lornitson, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER,

Chairman;

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) asked if a protest had been presented against the seating of Frank Broden, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

President Gompers stated that as a delegate from the Cigarmakers' International Union he had received a copy of a resolution from the Cigarmakers' Union of Indianapolis, and had asked the delegates of the Cigarmakers' Inter-

national Union to meet for the purpose of determining the course necessary to pursue.

Appointment of Committees.

The following committees were announced:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—Thomas A. Rickert, J. M. Tobin, E. Wm. Weeks, J. D. Cannon, Samuel Grimblot, Edward Menge, E. H. Sliassman, R. C. Schneider, S. Polakoff, Frank Butterworth, John Sullivan, James H. Hatch, Geo. J. Schneider, Alfonso D'Andrea, J. N. O'Brien.

Committee on Report of Executive Council—T. W. McCullough, Andrew Furuseth, James Wilson, Owen Miller, T. W. Rowe, Martin Lawlor, T. V. O'Connor, Thos. F. Tracy, Thos. Kearney, Frank X. Noschang, Jere L. Sullivan, Homer D. Call, Geo. L. Berry, Wm. L. Hutcheson, W. D. Mahon.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, John P. Frey, Matt Comerford, G. W. Perkins, B. A. Larger, E. M. Ware, J. Fischer, J. A. Franklin, Hugh Stevenson, A. P. Sovey, John A. Voll, J. W. Morton, Edw. J. McGivern, J. J. Deviny, J. J. Glass.

Committee on Laws—John B. Lennon, Daniel J. Tobin, John Moore, J. W. Kline, S. G. Heberling, Hugh Frayne, P. H. McCarthy, Henry J. Wessel, Thos. F. Flaherty, E. W. D. O'Dell, F. J. Klerman, Chas. P. Ford, Timothy Healy, Robert Baxter, Ford A. Allen.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, A. J. Kugler, Michael Casey, Frank J. Hayes, Benjamin Schlesinger, A. Hinzman, Thos. S. Farrell, John T. Taggart, O. M. Partelow, Herbert R. Schneider, Leonard Kraft, P. W. Dowler, Wm. J. Brennan, Jos. V. Maresch, James Roberts.

Committee on Labels—Max Zuckerman, Victor Altman, J. Mahlon Barnes, J. Goldstone, F. A. Scoby, Max S. Hayes, Thos. J. Mahoney, Geo. Abernathy, M. F. Greene, John A. Metz, P. F. Ryan, James F. Brock, A. Letroadec, Phillip Bock, J. Thomas Beasley.

Committee on Adjustment—James O'Connell, John Golden, John H. Tobin, J. C. Shanessy, Rezin Orr, H. J. Conway, D. A. Carey, E. Lewis Evans, John T. Smith, Chas. Anderson, Edward Flore, John P. Duffy, R. H. Curran, Maier Schwarz, James Smart.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—H. B. Perham, H. S. Marshall, J. J. Barry, Em. Koveleski, Andrew J. Gallagher, Chas. W. McFarland, S. B. Marks, F. C. Hanson, Wm. MacPherson,

John A. Dunachie, P. H. Triggs, Chas. A. Gunther, Jas. G. Brown, Jas. A. Short, Thos. Clohessey.

Committee on Education—Joseph F. Valentine, C. C. Shay, M. M. Donoghue, Matthew Woll, John H. Ferguson, Margaret C. Daley, Joseph Obergfell, Chas. A. Sumner, E. B. Boyden, A. J. Howlett, John O'Hara, John J. Sullivan, H. L. Morrison, John J. Fitzpatrick, Frank W. Cotterill.

Committee on State Organizations—John R. Alpine, Stuart A. Hayward, John H. Walker, Frank Spiegl, Ed. S. Alden, Hugo Ernst, John T. Dempsey, Sam Tobin, R. L. Woodmansee, P. J. Ryan, John F. McGrath, H. G. Alexander, Frank M. Coffey, Fred L. Bourne, Harry P. Corcoran.

Committee on Boycotts—D. A. Hayes, Jas. J. Freel, John M. Gillespie, Wm. H. Johnston, T. M. Daly, W. W. Britton, C. M. Felder, A. A. Myrup, Thos. O'Hare, John Rader, Wm. Christman, Phil. H. Mueller, W. L. Funder Burk, Henry Altman, Joseph Cozzolino.

Committee on Building Trades—Thos. J. Williams, F. J. McNulty, Geo. Hedrick, D. A. Post, Wm. J. McSorley, Jos. E. McClory, Domenick D'Alessandro, Jas. O'Connor, Chas. Rau, Sam Griggs, Frank Feeney, John J. Hynes, Jeremiah T. Hurley, J. M. Gavlak, Geo. E. Blakeley.

Committee on Ways and Means—John P. White, J. C. Skemp, A. O. Wharton, John Donlin, Chas. E. James, Newton A. James, John H. Kennedy, W. F. Kramer, A. M. Swartz, Thos. J. Dolan, John Kean, H. Irwin, Jas. Moriarity, Schuyler Lent, Wm. Kent.

Committee on Shorter Workday—Wm. Green, John Williams, M. G. Scott, C. L. Baine, Chas. R. Case, Henry Abrahams, Geo. Leary, Thos. Redding, M. J. McGuire, John F. Hart, J. H. Baker, Wm. Taber, John Carney, D. G. Ramsay, C. W. Woodman.

Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building—Geo. L. Berry, J. C. Skemp, Jas. G. Hannahan, C. L. Shamp, Wm. W. Campbell, William P. Clarke, Edmund Raleigh, J. B. Etchison, Chas. MacGowan, Chas. H. McKenna, C. F. Foley, J. A. Taylor, J. M. Suarez, M. E. Decker, Jas. L. Forrest.

Committee on International Relations—Geo. W. Perkins, Jas. Duncan, C. L. Baine, D. J. Tobin, J. H. Walker, B. A. Langer, Jas. O'Connell, Max S. Hayes, J. E. Frey, T. F. Tracy, T. V. O'Connor, G. L. Berry, Jas. Wilson, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, Martin Lawlor, Andrew Furuseth, Samuel Gompers.

The Committee on International Relations as read by the Secretary contained seventeen members. Vice-President Duncan moved that the name of President Gompers be added. The motion was seconded and carried.

The committees appointed by the President were confirmed by vote of the convention.

The following references of subjects

contained in the report of the Executive Council were read by the Secretary:

Reference of Subjects in Executive Council's Report.

"Introduction"—Committee on Education.

All reference to finances—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"International Peace and War"—Committee on International Relations.

"International Federation of Trade Unions"—Committee on International Relations.

"British Trades Union Congress"—Committee on International Relations.

"Protection of American Citizens' Rights"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Pan-American Labor Relations"—Committee on Resolutions.

"A. F. of L. Exhibit"—Committee on Education.

"City Central Bodies—State Federations of Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Organization of Women Wage-Earners"—Committee on Organization.

"History of the A. F. of L. Departments"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Affiliation of International Trade Unions"—Committee on Organization.

"Labor Forward Movement"—Committee on Organization.

"A. F. of L. Organizers"—Committee on Organization.

"Shorter Workday"—Committee on Shorter Workday.

"Labor Day"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Colorado Mine Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Hatters' Case"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Detective Agencies and Pseudo Employment Offices"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Dick Military Law, Report on"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"New Legal Opinion of Eight-Hour Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Panama Canal Rules and Regulations"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Report on Legislative Progress"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Anti-trust and Injunction Limitation Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Seamen's Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Public versus Private Construction of Naval and Other Vessels"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Bureau of Labor Safety"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Employer's Liability—Workmen's Compensation for Injuries"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Political Liberty of Civil Service Employees"—Committee on Resolutions.
 "Eight-Hour Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Model Anti-trust Injunction Limitation Law for State Use"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Convict Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Child Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Piece Work—Taylor System—in Government Service"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Immigration"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Amendment to Hours of Service Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Minimum Wages for Federal Employees"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Industrial Education—Vocational Training"—Committee on Education.

"Prevention of Accidents Among Longshoremen"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Prohibit New York Boat Owners from Compelling Captains' Families to live on Boats and Barges"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Government Ownership of Mount Vernon and Monticello"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Old Age Pensions for Government Employees"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Popular Government"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Amendment to Postal Savings Bank Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Citizenship for Porto Ricans"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Proposed Welfare Amendments to State Constitutions"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Municipal Housing"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Denatured Alcohol"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Manufacture of Stamped Envelopes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Suffrage in the District of Columbia"—Committee on Education.

"Teamsters in Post Office Employ"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Locomotive Inspectors"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Bureau of Mines"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Safety Appliances and Regulations"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Impeachments"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Agricultural Credit Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Post Office Clerks—Night Work—Salaries, etc."—Committee on Resolutions.

"Summary of Legislative Measures of Interest to Labor which Failed to Pass During the Last Session of Congress"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Mother's Day"—Committee on Education.

"A. F. of L. Office Building"—Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building.

"Registration of Titles and Labels"—Committee on Labels.

"Journeyman Tailors' Union"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carpenters-Brewery Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Cigarmakers-Stogiemakers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Carpenters-Sheet Metal Workers-Building Trades"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Carpenters and the Building Trades"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Chicago Building Trades Council Appeal"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Tunnel and Subway Constructors-Compressed Air Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Blacksmiths-Tunnel and Subway Constructors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Proposed Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Proposed Miners' Amalgamation Failed"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Flint Glass Workers and Machinists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Machinists-Carpenters"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Machinists-Elevator Constructors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Plumbers and Steamfitters-Machinists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Brewery Workers-Coopers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Teamsters-Brewers-Bakers-Laundry Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Engineers and Longshoremen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Steam Shovelmen-Steam Engineers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Lithographers-Lithographic Press-feeders-Printing Pressmen-Photo-Engravers-Poster Artists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Jurisdiction Over Single Wrapping"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Hodcarriers-Cement Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers-Seceding Local Unions"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Bridge and Structural Iron Workers-Boilermakers-Hodcarriers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Dock Builders of New York City"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Painters-Carmen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carpenters-Railway Carmen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carriage and Wagon Workers-Blacksmiths-Upholsterers-Machinists-Metal Polishers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Electrical Workers-Theatrical Stage Employees"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Application of Retail Clerks for Change of Title"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Metal Lathers-Plasterers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Amalgamation of Glass Workers with the Brotherhood of Painters"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Longshoremen-Marine Warehousemen"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"United Hebrew Trades"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Capmakers-Hatters and Straw Hat Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Marble Workers and Slate Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Marble Workers"—Committee on Building Trades.

"The Coopers and Barrel-Stave Industry—Resolution No. 80"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"The Holt Manufacturing Company"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Detroit Cigar and Tobacco Trust"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Resolutions 79, 92, 154 and 161 (Abraham S. Cox Stove Company, Victor Talking Machine Co., U. S. Broom and Brush Co.)"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Ward Baking Company"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Telegraph Companies"—Committee on Organization.

"L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Co."—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Firemen-Engineers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"American Federationist"—Committee on Education.

"American Federation of Labor Newsletter"—Committee on Education.

"Labor Press"—Committee on Education.

"Organization of Teachers"—Committee on Organization.

"Educational Activities"—Committee on Organization.

"Democratization of Schools"—Committee on Education.

"Report of United States Commission on Industrial Relations"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Board of Mediation and Conciliation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Unfinished Business"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Conclusion"—Committee on Education.

Appendix.

"Building Trades Department"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Metal Trades Department"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Union Label Trades Department"—Committee on Labels.

"Railway Employees' Department"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Mining Department"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Porto Rico"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Canada"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Secretary Morrison read the following supplementary report:

Supplementary Statement to the Executive Council's Report—Page 125:

"Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics."

Since this section of the report was prepared, information has been given us by President P. H. McCarthy of the California State Building Trades Council that the Carpet Mechanics' Local Union of San Francisco has been unseated, and deprived of representation in the organized labor movement until it shall have become a part of the Upholsterers' International Union, the body under whose jurisdiction it rightfully comes.

Secretary O'Connell of the San Francisco Labor Council, speaking for the Entertainment Committee, announced that invitations had been received from the Fraternal Order of Eagles and from the Knights of Columbus tendering the use of their club rooms to the delegates. Secretary O'Connell further announced that at two o'clock sightseeing cars would reach the convention hall to convey all the delegates and visitors on a sightseeing tour through Golden Gate Park, to the Presidio, Cliff House and the business section of the city.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.) moved that prior to adjournment all the delegates arise and stand in silence for the space of one minute in memory of the de-

parted members. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram and telegram:

Vera Cruz, October 25, 1915.

Secretary General of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

The Confederation of Labor Syndicates of the Republic of Mexico fraternally acknowledges the interest taken for the Union Labor of this great Republic in the recognition of constitutional government, being the incarnation of our ideals of liberty, union and emancipation.

AUSTIN GONZALEZ,

Secretary General.

E. A. QUINONES,

Secretary of the Exterior.

New York, Nov. 8, 1915.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor.

Heartiest congratulations to your thirty-fifth convention. Sorry can not be represented. Wishing you success in your deliberations to further the cause of the laboring class.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION OF U. S. A. & CANADA.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 7, 1915.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor.

I regret that it is impossible for me to attend. Accept my best wishes for the success of this convention in the interest of the labor movement of America and the emancipation of the workers of the world.

Fraternally, ANDRIES MEYER,

President Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 7, 1915.

Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L. Convention, Hall, San Francisco, Cal.

To the delegates in session, greeting. Joint Board of United Garment Workers of America of Baltimore in regular session extends to your honorable body hearty congratulations and best wishes and hope you will uphold the loyal Garment Workers against those who are destroying the good work accomplished for organized labor.

JOSEPH GILLIS, Secretary.

New York, Nov. 7, 1915.

American Federation of Labor Convention, San Francisco.

To this Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor I extend fraternal greetings and good wishes to all in attendance. Congratulate your officials on their wonderful achievements during the past year in improving the conditions of all the toilers. May that power for good never cease.

H. WAXMAN,

General Treasurer United Garment Workers of America.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from Mayor Joseph H. Gainer, Provi-

dence, R. I., and from the Secretary of the Providence Central Federated Union, in which a cordial invitation was extended the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

Letters containing an invitation to hold the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in the city of Baltimore, Md., were read from the following bodies: Merchants & Manufacturers' Association of Baltimore, Maryland (Charles H. Falconer, President; Robert J. Beacham, Secretary); Bureau of Conventions, Baltimore (Robert E. Lee, Director); James H. Preston, Mayor of Baltimore, and Hon. Phillips Lee Goldsborough, Governor of Maryland.

Letters from the Conventions Bureau of the City of St. Louis (F. L. Schleicher, Acting Secretary-Manager); Associated Retailers of St. Louis (K. F. Niemoeller, Manager); Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis (Roger B. Annan, Jr., President; Eugene Smith, Secretary); and from Mayor Henry W. Kiel of St. Louis, were read. All the letters contained invitations to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in the city of St. Louis.

Delegate Altman (V.) announced that articles made by members of the organization he represented, The United Garment Workers of America, could be purchased in San Francisco in all grades, and all bearing the union label; that the members of this organization on the Pacific Coast were well organized and enjoyed union conditions. He stated that an exhibit at the Exposition bearing the title "Koveralls" was composed of articles not made under union conditions.

President Gompers said: The delegates and the friends of our movement will, of course, give their patronage as far as possible to the men and women who are making the fight for better conditions and who have to bear the responsibilities and make the sacrifices. We owe it to ourselves and to each other to help wherever we possibly can by the purchase and patronage of union-label products, shop cards and buttons.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.): I move that when we adjourn we adjourn to assemble here for the entertainment

this afternoon, and adjourn the convention to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate McGuire: I would like to announce that the San Francisco Examiner is on the unfair list of our Central Labor Council here, and I sincerely hope no delegate to this convention will purchase a copy.

President Gompers: A motion has been adopted unanimously that we arise and remain standing for a moment in memory of the dead,—the men and the women who have taken their leave from the ranks of labor; the men and women, big and little, occupying positions of trust and honor, and those unknown to us by name but who have played their part in this great world struggle for justice and liberty and humanity.

All the delegates and visitors arose and remained silent for the space of one minute in memory of the dead.

Announcements of committee meetings were made by the various chairmen.

The following resolutions were introduced and referred by the President to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States of America are prohibited from entering into competition with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, The then Attorney General, Charles Bonaparte, decided that this act of Congress did not apply to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., because the Marine Corps, so he alleged, was not a part of the navy; and

WHEREAS, Since this decision the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., the best-paid and provided-for enlisted band in the world, has continued to practically monopolize the music business of the civilian musicians of the District, and is continually interfering in the District of Columbia, to the detriment of the musicians of the whole country, by offering its services for expositions, state fairs, and other prominent functions, with a view of excluding the civilian musicians of the various states from such employment; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the Marine Band, or sections thereof, is frequently furnished free for social functions given by men prominent in the affairs of the nation, high political

and social influence is always brought to bear to defeat any effort to confine this band to its legitimate duties as every other enlisted band is; and

WHEREAS, It is within the prerogatives of the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue an order restraining the Marine Band from entering the competitive field against civilian musicians in or out of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, respectfully requests His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue the necessary order prohibiting the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., from interfering with the professional engagements of the civilian musicians, either in or out of the District of Columbia, as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, which was arbitrarily set aside by a decision of the then Attorney General of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the Federation, in conjunction with an official of the American Federation of Musicians, endeavor to secure a personal interview with the President to lay this matter before him.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The civilian musicians of the United States of America have for the past 25 years made every possible effort to secure legislation which would absolutely prohibit the enlisted musicians of the army and navy of the United States from entering into the competitive field, and more particularly the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, In this effort the civilians were supported by the National League of Musicians, which has since developed into the American Federation of Musicians, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and after 25 years of agitation a bill, approved May 11, 1908, was passed by Congress prohibiting enlisted musicians in either the Army or Navy from competing with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, When this bill was approved and about to be enforced the commander of the Marine Corps did not apply it to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, This being a question of law, was referred to the then Attorney-General of the United States, Charles Bonaparte, who in June, 1908, took the matter under advisement and did not come to a decision until the day after the general election, November of that

year, and then he made the astounding decision that the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., was not a part of the Naval Service of the United States, which decision resulted in this band, which was really the objective point to be reached by the law, being allowed to continue in the competition with the civilian musicians of the country; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the absurdity of such a decision, the American Federation of Musicians, through its proper officers, made an appeal to the President of the United States to have the matter again referred to the Law Department of the United States, with a view of exactly defining the relationship of the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., to the United States Government, which decision was by the President referred to the Attorney-General, and to which no answer has to this day been received; and

WHEREAS, To forever settle this question, a joint bill was introduced in the House and Senate, which, if passed, will forever end the competition of enlisted musicians in the United States service in any capacity with civilians, to engage in any pursuit, business or performance in civil life for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment of local civilians in their respective arts, trades or professions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby records and declares itself in favor of the said bill, as appended to this resolution, prohibiting the said enlisted musicians from competing with civilians for civil employment and instructs its Legislative Committee to do everything in its legitimate power to have the said proposed legislation enacted.

JOINT RESOLUTION.

In Reference to the Employment of Enlisted Men in Competition with Local Civilians.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter no enlisted man in the service of the United States, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private, shall be detailed, ordered, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire, or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in their respective arts, trades, or professions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The machine has finally invaded the field of music, and today there are concerns manufacturing machines that are displacing musicians all over the United States and Canada. In many instances such machines have displaced orchestras of as high as fifty musicians, and the American Federation of Musicians has determined to do as the printers did with the Mergenthaler machine when it was introduced, namely, control it; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Musicians passed a resolution at their convention, held in San Francisco, Cal., May, 1916, to the effect that all Locals of the A. F. of M. were instructed to resist, not the use of these machines, but their displacement of musicians. The American Federation of Musicians has absolutely no more objection to the music machine than the printers had to the Mergenthaler, but have decided that wherever these machines are placed that they shall be operated by members of the A. F. of M., and that they shall not be permitted to displace musicians; that is to say, where the rule is that a certain minimum number of musicians shall be employed, that minimum shall not be ignored; and

WHEREAS, These machines are being placed, more generally in picture and vaudeville houses. In many instances the regulation in picture houses is but one musician; from that on up, according to the size of the building, seating capacity and price of admission; and

WHEREAS, In this critical moment, the A. F. of M. needs the support of organized labor; therefore, recognizing that their demands are just, be it

RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor extend every possible assistance to the American Federation of Musicians in enforcing their demands on the employers of music where machines are placed.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 4—By the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many Unions at the present time are unable to properly protect the interests of their members or protect their cause, and

WHEREAS, The introduction of modern machinery and methods of doing work is rapidly bringing a number of the crafts so closely together that it is practically impossible to define the line of demarcation in relation to the jurisdiction of said crafts, and

WHEREAS, Federation by affiliation, as under the present system, will not solve the problem, but only by amalgamation of all trades into groups that can be known as the Mason Group, Iron Group, Pipe Trades Group, Building Finishing and Wood Working Group, Print-

ing Trades Group, Tobacco Industry Group, and the Leather Industry Group, etc., can this condition be met and the solution found, and

WHEREAS, This amalgamation should be brought about without undue friction, but by mutual consent; all trades amalgamating to cover jurisdiction and members..lp, and

WHEREAS, Said amalgamation can be perfected by establishing a district or divisional form of organization, working under one general constitution and one set of general officers and by granting to each division the right of self-government to the fullest extent, subordinate to the constitution of the division of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the twenty-third annual convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, assembled, in Superior, Wis., recommend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held during the year 1915, that the General Executive Board be instructed to take this matter up with all affiliated International Unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of any organizations being agreeable to said plan of amalgamation, the Executive officers of the American Federation of Labor shall proceed to work out such plan of amalgamation with the favorable organizations at the earliest possible date and that all affiliated organizations be requested to support said amalgamation whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate James Roberts of the Western Federation of Miners:

Amend Section 11, Article 3, Constitution, as follows:

On line 5, page 15, before the word "Work" insert the words "go to" and after the word "work" strike out the word "at" and insert the following words, "in the jurisdiction of".

The full paragraph will then read as follows, from line three:

And it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union, go to work in the jurisdiction of any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the Union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There are approximately 220,000 Butcher Workmen in this country who are unorganized and whose

working conditions are deplorable; and

WHEREAS, The A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. have since the 1904 strike been waging an unequal struggle with this most powerful combination ever known in history (The Meat Trust) to reach and organize their men but without avail; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the present gigantic European struggle, which is creating a large demand for meats of all kinds, both for home and export trade, we feel that the present is the opportune time to effect a more thorough organization of the people working in the meat industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to assign some one organizer to devote his entire time and energy to this work and to confer with the Executive Council of the International A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. and outline a policy to be followed until success shall crown their efforts.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There are now certain organized crafts that are opposing the efforts of the Butcher Workmen in some localities in their efforts to secure the closing of Meat Markets on Sunday; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at several conventions gone on record as favoring one day's rest in seven; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in their efforts to secure the Sunday closing of Meat Markets in all localities and pledge them their moral support in their efforts.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose charter of affiliation was granted in the year 1897, has jurisdiction over all persons employed in the meat industry; and

WHEREAS, There are at the present time small dual organizations posing as Butcher Workmen, to the detriment of the labor movement as a whole, in violation of the recognized and admitted jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and which is injurious to the welfare and progress of the men

engaged in the meat industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the International Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America is the only organization having jurisdiction over the Butcher Workmen, and recommend to all men engaged in the trade to affiliate themselves with their fellow workmen by becoming members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify the general and special organizers of the federation to organize the men in the meat trade into the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate F. H. Ainsworth of Federal Labor Union 14,374:

WHEREAS, It is a fundamental principle for which democracy has long struggled against the powers of autocracy, that no one man might decide the right of another man in matters pertaining to life, liberty or property; and

WHEREAS, This principle finds expression in our courts of equity and criminal procedure by the provisions for appeals from the decision of any tribunal of original jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the military branch of the Government, findings of courts-martial are subject to review and appeal by superior independent authority; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Civil Service Law is found the only organization wherein the members may be deprived of the fruits of years of faithful and valuable service by the judgment of one man; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Civil Service Law there is no appeal from the decision of the head of the Department reducing or dismissing any subordinate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the principle of appeal in any case of decision or ruling affecting the welfare of any public employee; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor are empowered to take such steps as they may deem advisable to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States to the end that an appellate tribunal, upon which the employees shall have representation, be created for the purpose of reviewing appeals from the decisions of Department heads in demoting or removing public employees from office.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Fred L. Bourne of the Oregon State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is a well recognized fact that organization of the workers in the industrial field is a necessity; and

WHEREAS, Such organizations of the workers have to contend with powerful industrial organizations of employers for the just portion of the product of their members' toil; and

WHEREAS, This continuous struggle makes imperative the most strong and efficient and non-frictional organization among the workers; and

WHEREAS, The development of our modern industries, and the activities of employers' associations makes the craft union, with its jurisdictional problems and the possibilities therein for the employer to array one set of craftsmen against another set or sets of same, inoperative in many instances, and slow of results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the State Federation of Labor, That this Convention instruct its delegate to petition the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in San Francisco, 1915, to elect a committee of twelve representative men of labor, whose duty it shall be during the period elapsing between conventions of the A. F. of L. held in 1915 to investigate the feasibility of Industrial Unionism vs. Craft Unionism to get the sentiment on this question insofar as possible, of the individual unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and if said commission finds Industrial Unionism is practical and popular with the general membership of the A. F. of L. it shall devise ways and means whereby the A. F. of L. may gradually change from a Craft Union organization to one of Industrial Unionism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate H. O. Gossett of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The union label is a mark of distinction "union made" and should not only be requested but demanded on all articles of our purchase and use; and such demand and purchase should not be confined to any special few of any personal choice, but to all union-made articles of whatever craft and kind, and

WHEREAS, The universal purchasing power is compiled through the individual demand and purchase and as, approximately, ninety per cent., or more, of our membership do not know the designs of all the various union labels, and, for the want of such knowledge, the concentration of our universal purchasing power is but a small per cent. of what it should be, and

WHEREAS, We, the American Federation of Labor, as a unit for the universal good and betterment of unionism and mankind, believe that simplified aid should be given to utilize a progressive universal purchasing power among all trade unionists and friends; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the adoption of a Universal Monogram Label for all union-made goods and that the Label Committee submit an appropriate design of such a label for the adoption of this convention.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employees upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in this condition: men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service, or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employees is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the position taken by previous Conventions by indorsing the efforts of affiliated civil service bodies to secure the enactment of a satisfactory retirement law for superannuated Government workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist representatives of affiliated civil service employees in calling the attention of the Sixty-fourth Congress to the urgent need of this legislation.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postoffice clerks throughout the country are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks is endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the

postal service by securing a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m. and prior to 6 a. m. for postoffice clerks and letter carriers—a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor indorse the efforts of affiliated postoffice clerks to effect a reduction of night work in the postal service and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in seeking legislative relief from the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate R. A. McGarry of the Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, Local officers of unions, and of the Central Federated Unions, are versed in conditions and affairs pertaining to their respective local communities, and are in possession of knowledge relevant to the well-being and welfare of organized labor, which a visiting brother could not be aware of; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make it a law or rule of the American Federation of Labor, and also that the said American Federation of Labor recommend to all national, international and Federal unions affiliated with them that all officers and organizers of the aforementioned bodies be instructed, when making more than a temporary stay in a town or city, to seek the officers of the Local Central Federated Union and find out the condition of affairs existing in that city. Also that all national and international unions, when planning to hold a convention in a city or town, be instructed to get in touch with the local officers of the Central Federated Union of said city or town. This would prevent the possibility of patronizing hotels, halls or places of industry or business that are unfair to organized labor.

Referred to the Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates E. William Weeks, E. M. Ware and W. J. Adames of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen:

WHEREAS, The men engaged in the repairing and building of cars, trucks, and other railway equipment, are compelled to work a large part of the time in rain, heat and other inclement weather because of inadequate shelter to protect them from same; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions are injurious to the health, safety and comfort of such employees; and

WHEREAS, In several states in the Union efforts have been made to have remedial legislation enacted, requiring

railway companies to provide adequate shelter for such employes, and have failed because of the combined opposition of the railways; and

WHEREAS, The railways are Interstate Concerns; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we in Convention instruct our President and Legislative Committee to have introduced in Congress a bill requiring the railways to build adequate buildings over their repair tracks for the protection of the men engaged in the repairing or building of cars, trucks and other railway equipment.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate R. A. McGarry of the Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, An increase in dues among the labor unions is a dire necessity, due to the growing expansion and importance of the Labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to all national, international and federal unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that whenever a subordinate union obtains an increase in wages, that they cause to be put into operation an increase in their dues amounting and equivalent to 10 per cent. of said raise in wages.

Referred to Committee on Local or Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Charles W. McFarland of the Wallace (Idaho) Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, We have no State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The State of Idaho is a fertile field for the work of skilled organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to transfer one or more organizers to this district; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in this work of organization to the full extent of our ability.

Referred to the Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 18—By the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The welfare and progress of our nation depends upon the welfare and progress of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The welfare and progress of Labor are best promoted by a thorough organization of the workers into trade unions as chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such organization would be given a decided impetus by the establishment of labor newspapers containing

telegraphic news and a correct interpretation of current events and world happenings (particularly of those directly concerning Labor); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity in regular meeting assembled October 22, 1915, that it petition the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, to direct its Executive Council to, as soon as practicable, organize and establish an International Labor Press News Service, said service to be owned and controlled by a corporation whose stock and bond holders shall be confined to labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation, and papers and journals published and owned by same, and having in its articles of incorporation a provision making it impossible for any one such organization to control the physical properties of the corporation or its policy.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 19—By the San Francisco Labor Council:

RESOLVED, By the San Francisco Labor Council, that it hereby places itself on record as opposed to any interference with our present Coastwise Navigation Laws. These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards and to protect the vessels in their operation on our sea coast. The whole of the present merchant marine of the United States is the product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition. Having faith in the protection of those laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would be not only unjust to permit the injury to their investments by allowing cheaper, because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but also highly impolitic, because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; and further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, California Metal Trades Association, California Foundrymen's Association and the Press.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 20—By the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity, in an effort to abolish involuntary unemployment in Oregon, has drawn up for submission to the people thereof by the initiative

and referendum a measure designed to accomplish this purpose and make the land and natural resources accessible to the people, said measure being known as the "People's Land and Loan Measure;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we petition the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to aid us in placing this measure on the ballot and passing same at the coming general election, as follows:

(1) By commending the measure to the workers and producers of Oregon and urging their undivided support of same.

(2) By recommending to all affiliated organizations voluntary moral and financial assistance.

(3) By instructing the organizers of the American Federation of Labor who may be in Oregon during either campaign to aid us insofar as they may without interfering with their specific duties.

(4) That the convention urge all affiliated internationals to aid us by instructing organizers and officers when in Oregon to co-operate with us insofar as they may without interfering with their specific duties.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 21—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, On July 24th, 1915, the excursion steamer "Eastland," her decks packed with human beings, capsized while lying at her dock in the Chicago river, drowning nearly 900 men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, Four officials of the Chicago-St. Joseph Steamship Company, owner of the vessel, are named in an indictment returned by the grand jury in Cook County, said indictment containing five counts charging substantially the following:

1. That they knew the "Eastland" was unseaworthy and had no stability.

2. That they permitted 2,500 passengers aboard the vessel, which is more than its carrying capacity.

3. That they were negligent in hiring an incompetent engineer, and that because of his lack of skill he was unable to control the boat properly.

4. That there was not sufficient help on the ship to manage and control her properly.

5. That the ballast tanks were allowed to be out of repair, and not filled with water.

WHEREAS, The United States Steamboat Inspection Service, a bureau of the United States Department of Commerce, is, under the law, charged with the duty of correcting the very faults mentioned in every one of the five counts; the officials of the inspection service are required by law to examine into the sea-

worthiness of such vessels; they are required by law to determine the maximum number of passengers to be allowed on board; they issue and may revoke the licenses under which the engineers and the master serve; they are required by law to determine the number of crew in the deck and engine departments of such vessels; and it is their duty, under the law, to see that the vessels are kept in proper repair; and

WHEREAS, It is proper that the owners should be brought to the bar of justice to answer for the terrible loss of life, but the government bureau which permitted the owners to operate the vessel under such dangerous conditions should also be made to answer for its negligence; particularly since it is the same laxity and disregard of the law made possible the terrible disaster in New York some years ago, wherein about 1,000 persons lost their lives in the burning of the excursion steamer "General Slocum"; it is the same bureau, with exactly the same personnel, whose disregard of the law was admitted by its officials after the disasters on the Great Lakes in November, 1913, when twelve ships were lost with every person on board; it is the same bureau that remained inactive while many other disasters have occurred; and

WHEREAS, The uselessness of the Steamboat Inspection Service cannot be justly charged to underpaid subordinates, but must be laid at the door of the higher officials, particularly to those whose decisions have affected the actions of the subordinates; and

WHEREAS, The law is such that the higher officials cannot be reached under the criminal statutes; and

WHEREAS, It has been announced by the Hon. Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, that as soon as Congress convenes steps will be taken to bring about a general and thorough investigation of the entire United States Steamboat Inspection Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois be requested to insist upon the selection of an impartial commission to conduct such investigation, and to oppose the creation of any alleged investigating body having in its membership any official of the inspection service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 22—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

RESOLVED, That this convention reiterates the position taken at the Philadelphia convention in the following resolution which was there unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The registration laws have been so altered as to permit foreign vessels to come under the American flag and to sail for two years without inspection, and for seven years with officers not citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Those vessels so admitted thereby become able to sail with no inspection whatsoever, to the danger of human life and property; and

WHEREAS, Those vessels have no rights, other than those mentioned, that they would not have enjoyed under any foreign flag; and

WHEREAS, That part of our registration laws which prohibit foreign-built vessels from being engaged in the coastwise trade acts as a deterrent on the building of American merchant marine; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to so change our registration laws that any vessel rated in the highest class of any responsible classification society may be registered as an American vessel to sail in any trade, provided that she be compelled to carry citizens of the United States as licensed officers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Senate Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates John B. Lennon and James O'Connell:

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

A Committee on Industrial Relations has been organized to act as the agency through which all who agree to the fundamental principles embodied in the main report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and who desire to see its recommendations carried into effect, can act to the best advantage.

The final report of the Commission, which expired August 23rd, by statutory limitation, will be laid before Congress when it meets in December. Congress and the nation then, for the first time, will be officially advised of what many citizens have known for a long time: that vast numbers of the nation's workers receive wages too low to maintain a decent existence for themselves and their families; that the economic power of the employer in industries where the wage earners are unorganized either has made him the political and social dictator, as well as the industrial dictator, or has left the workers with a political freedom of little immediate value, and in glaring contrast with their economic subervency; and, finally, that only through organization among themselves, and with their own leaders, can the wage earners rescue not only themselves but the community from a situation that is repugnant to and subversive of American ideals.

Because of the wide public interest in

the hearings and proceedings of the Commission, which in every instance has shared with the public the evidence and disclosures on which its report is based, there now exist probably a larger body of citizens than ever before who are alive to the need of improving our industrial situation as regards the well being of the men and women wage earners. Both before and during the life of the Commission on Industrial Relations, it became evident that a very large proportion of the country's citizenship was awake to the injustice, dangers and cruelties of the prevailing industrial order, and prepared to support, with zeal and enthusiasm, any movement that, to them, gave assurance of substantial results.

The Commission's conclusion is unanswerable, that genuine and lasting improvement must be achieved through the collective action of the workers themselves—the toilers and producers in field and factory, and elsewhere. This committee bases its existence on that fact. But we believe, also, that there exist many opportunities for the general citizenship to aid in the working out of a solution for this most important and pressing of all our social and political problems. On the public as a whole must be laid the important duty of removing governmental obstacles to the efforts of the wage earners to organize, and of insisting that wage earners and their representatives have a fair and free field. We believe that the best public opinion of the nation has failed of effective expression in regard to the industrial problem chiefly because it has never yet done justice to the importance of the labor union as the only effectual means yet devised by which the principles of democracy can be realized in the political field, and extended to the industrial field. Trade unions, economists, sociologists, public officials, and the disinterested public in general, long ago accepted the principle of collective bargaining. But in the application of this principle, we too often have strained at gnats in finding reasons for either opposing a particular union, or for withholding influence and support during a specific struggle for industrial democracy.

The Committee on Industrial Relations asserts that no alleged or actual altruism of more fortunately circumstanced classes will avail to remove existing injustices and to lift the workers to the place to which they are entitled within the circle of those who enjoy the fullest possible measure of freedom and well being. It condemns the doctrine that an economically superior class should justify and perpetuate its existence by assuming and discharging the responsibility of benevolent control. It shares labor's distrust of so-called welfare work where such work is not in the hands of men representing the interests of the workers and directed primarily to fitting the workers to exercise an ever-increasing measure of control over the industry in which they are engaged. It repudiates,

as a contradiction of the fundamental principle of democracy, the conception that any group of wage earners is unfit to exercise a voice in the management of the industry, and holds that only through exercise of the power of political and industrial self-government can the capabilities of the workers as citizens of a democracy be developed.

The committee declares that government intervention to control, or at all to affect, industrial relations, is warranted only to prevent special privilege, and to prevent the undue use of usurped governmental powers on behalf of special privilege and the wrongfully organized accumulations of wealth. It asserts that in industrial facts, as well as in political forms, government must wield only, in Jefferson's phrase, "the arm of the people." With government exercising only its own proper function, the committee believes that the problems of industry, or of capital and labor, are not largely problems of legislation, but are to be adjusted by the voluntary action of the people themselves. The few laws that the committee will press on Congress, and at various times on the State legislatures, are for a fair field to labor and to the producing farmers. They are as nothing in number to the great welter of rules and laws annually enacted and constantly urged alike by politicians, special interests and bureaucratic "experts."

The Committee on Industrial Relations recognizes the need for constant striving after improvement inside the unions. It sees the organized labor movement as the rise of a democracy in the field of industry, a democracy with some of the faults of other democracies, but nevertheless, as the medium through which the vital idealism of the age is finding expression, as the movement that in this century is to be the most potent factor in the upward progress of the race, translating democratic ideals into realities. This Committee is prepared to give its whole hearted support to a labor union in any contest where the existence of the union is at stake.

A chief duty, as it comes home to us, after studying the evidence and findings of the Commission, is to insist that any struggle between employers and employees be accurately and fairly reported by the press; that the public authorities, including police, courts, administrative officials and militia, act with absolute impartiality as between capital and labor, and that the importation of armed guards, gunmen and strikebreakers be prohibited.

We believe that non-participants who discharge this duty will be called upon more often than not to combat an unconscious but strong and persuasive caste feeling, or class consciousness on the part of the great body of comfortable and well-to-do citizens, a prejudice rooted in misunderstanding and lending itself to the success of attempts to foster this very prejudice by the use of such catch words as "outside agitators" and "ignorant foreigners," and under it to pervert the use of governmental power.

In pursuance of the principles we have

adopted, the Committee on Industrial Relations will give its support to every effort made by Trade Unions and individuals to extend the benefits of organization to the unskilled and the unorganized, and more especially to the vast number of wage earners in this category in the employ of the great corporations that conduct our basic industries. The greatest obstacle to the organization of the employees of large corporations is the feudalistic control which such corporations exercise over the communities in which their plants are situated. Through their suppression of free speech, of orderly assemblage of citizens, through their all-pervading spy system, through their power and practice of ejecting from the community any persons whom they deem undesirable, or of procuring their commitment to jail on false or trumped up charges, through their power of arbitrary discharge, they have made it difficult, or even impossible for organizers to work effectively in such communities. The aim of this Committee will be to break down the feudalistic power of the corporations, to expose every case of abuse, and to work unceasingly to protect the rights of those who carry the message of organization to such communities. The Committee hopes to aid also by calling attention to the economic as well as the political evils that exist in those communities, in which the poorly paid individual wage earner pits his feeble and entirely negligible bargaining power against that of the huge corporation.

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION.

Those recommendations of the Commission on Industrial Relations contained in the report of Basil M. Manly, director of research and investigation, that have been adopted by the Committee as the most immediately practicable and urgent, are all designed to aid the efforts of organized labor, rather than to substitute governmental action for such efforts. They are in line with the conviction of leading economists that, in the words of Prof. Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University, "Any effective attack on the evil of poverty means, first of all, a decided revulsion of opinion toward trade unionism."

1. More important than any program of legislation is the accomplishment of this "revulsion of feeling" on which Prof. Hollander insists. Therefore, the first effort of the Committee will be to urge the printing and distribution, free of charge, of final reports of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and also of the testimony taken at public hearings. It believes a reading of these reports by the vast number of men and women who already are vitally interested in the industrial problem would go far toward the creation of the understanding that is necessary if public opinion is to do its share in the great task of translating our democratic ideals into reality.

2. The Committee believes there is unusual need this winter at Washington

for cooperation with the Trade Unions, and all organizations and persons favorable thereto through which democratic thought on industrial problems can make itself felt. The subject of national preparedness is to the forefront, and many powerful influences are at work to create an enormous military organization and to increase the prestige of the kind of force represented by a large military establishment. The Committee, while taking no part in the discussion regarding the size of the army and navy, will endeavor to keep to the forefront certain fundamental principles that should govern in any program for preparedness. These are:

a. That all munitions, warships and military supplies should be manufactured, as far as possible and as soon as possible, in government plants, except in cases of emergency. Apart from the evidence that such manufacture can be more cheaply performed and under better industrial conditions in government shops, the removal of private profits in this field strikes down the strongest single militaristic interest.

b. That the militia system or any new system of citizen soldiery be organized on a democratic basis, with equal opportunity for wage earners and those without means to obtain commissions on a merit basis, and that the use of these forces shall be confined to purposes of national defense, and shall never be used against workmen on strike. The importance of these provisions to labor and the rights of citizens generally is obvious.

c. That a healthy, well-organized, well-paid industrial force be insisted upon as a paramount factor in any plan for national preparedness, that the dangers inherent in an unorganized and underpaid labor force during times of national danger be kept in mind at all times, and that the service of the labor union as the most potent force for training immigrants in collective action and enlisting them as responsible, capable and loyal citizens be emphasized at all appropriate times. The European war has demonstrated sensationally not only the military importance of the condition of the industrial workers, but also the absolute necessity for strong labor organizations as the basis for effective cooperative action in the workshops of the nation, and as a means of enlisting the intelligent support of the workers.

3. To urge that, if additional revenue is required for the needs of the government, it shall be secured by the passage of an inheritance tax, as outlined in the report of the Commission, or by making the income tax more effective, and not by heavier taxes upon the necessities and small luxuries of the workers, such as sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, and the like.

A scheme of taxation which burdens labor and discourages enterprise is wrong. It is part and parcel with the control of money and credits by banking monopolies and "captains of finance." It is

bound up inextricably with the bad distribution of wealth and the control of economic power by the favorites of special privilege. But until a radical readjustment of taxation and of wealth control is reached the true test of taxation is the ability to bear the burden. Upon the workers, already groaning under the weight of an ever-increasing cost of living, and the burden of indirect taxation, which is multiplied fourfold in being transferred to their backs by merchants and manufacturers, heavier taxes should not be imposed.

4. To secure the passage by Congress of a statute, or, if necessary, the initiation of a constitutional amendment, providing specifically that the courts shall exercise only the powers granted by the Constitution, and shall not be permitted to declare laws unconstitutional.

To every believer in true democracy, the veto by the courts of legislation through the unwarranted assumption of the power to declare laws unconstitutional by a bare majority vote, must stand as the great barrier to progress and as the greatest bulwark of privilege.

Through this judicial veto the Fourteenth Amendment, enacted as the supreme protection of personal liberty in the United States, has been used almost uniformly to protect property rights to the detriment of the rights of men. In thirty-nine out of fifty-five cases before the Supreme Court, private corporations sought and received protection under its cloak. With the sole exception of cases involving the rights of negroes in jury cases, the Fourteenth Amendment has not acted to secure or protect personal rights, but only as a shield for property and privilege. In all the other numerous cases in which the Fourteenth Amendment was invoked to protect personal rights, the attempt failed. It stands today as the Magna Charta of accumulated, organized, predatory wealth.

Through this judicial veto, assumed by the Supreme Court and later transmitted even to the lower courts, judges appointed for life, and removable only by the slow process of congressional impeachment, have become the real rulers of the nation. The blow which will restore the rule to the people and their representatives, must be struck directly at the source of their power,—the unauthorized and unwarranted veto of legislative acts.

5. To secure the passage of laws providing for the selection of juries by an impartial method from a list containing the names of all qualified voters.

The demand for a democratically chosen jury is fundamental, and rests upon two great considerations. First, in a civilized community, the decision of the jury is the final arbiter of every man's freedom. An universal suffrage is essential to the democratic making of laws and the preservation of the rights of the people as a whole, so a democratically chosen jury is essential to the just enforcement of laws and the protection of the rights of the individual. In a democracy the privilege and duty

of jury service must be co-extensive with the suffrage, or justice is a mockery. The present jury system based upon property qualifications, upon selection from among the acquaintances of the judge, or upon selection by the sheriff of whom he pleases, must be done away with. Second, in important labor cases the life and freedom of the accused has depended solely upon whether the jury was democratically chosen and representative of the sympathies and opinions of the people as a whole or was selected either deliberately or by the provisions of the existing law to represent an antagonistic class.

Democratic requirements for empanelling juries exist in only a few communities. In Chicago there are about 200,000 mechanics belonging to the different labor organizations, yet out of 3,440 jurors only 350 mechanics and laborers were drawn, or about ten per cent., when the percentage ought to be about 70 per cent.

The most foul case of injustice now in the public mind, the sentencing of John R. Lawson to life imprisonment in Colorado for his activity in leading the coal miners' strike, was possible only because of the use of a jury picked by a sheriff subservient to and acting as the agent of the coal companies. All the unjust rulings of a prejudiced and unfit judge, all the machinations of the special attorneys furnished for the prosecution by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., all the specious testimony of the Baldwin-Felts detective-spies, would have been unavailing if Mr. Lawson had had the protection of a jury truly representative of the county in which the trial took place.

A list of the other cases in which the life and liberty of men have been sacrificed in the fight for better industrial conditions as a result of an unfair jury will suffice to show the tremendous importance to labor of the method of jury selection. You who are enlisted in the fight for a better day—your own name may conceivably be added to this list, if action is not taken to provide for the cornerstone of justice—a jury chosen impartially and representative of all the voters.

6. To secure the enactment by Congress of laws prohibiting the interstate shipment of armed guards, and of cannon, machine guns, and other similar weapons, except when consigned to the military authorities of the State or nation.

One need but recall Homestead, Pullman, West Virginia, Colorado and Roosevelt to appreciate the pressing need for such legislation.

7. To secure the passage of an act requiring the Federal Trade Commission to consider as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages, unsafe or insanitary conditions, or through the refusal to meet and deal with the authorized representatives of employees. The Secretary of Labor to be expressly authorized and directed to prosecute such cases before

the trade commission, either on his own initiative or upon the request of any organization or individual.

The Federal Trade Commission was created to prohibit or regulate "unfair methods of competition" between corporations. The Commission was created and regulations have been drawn up for administering the Act, with the idea, apparently, that the injury through unfair methods of competition falls either upon competitors or upon consumers.

The most cruel, unfair, and socially dangerous form of unfair competition,—the exploitation of labor,—was entirely overlooked. Neither Congress nor the Commission, apparently, sufficiently understood the workings of the industrial world to provide for either the regulation or elimination of such exploitation.

Congress must do two things to remedy this grievous omission:

First, direct the Commission to interpret as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages, unsafe or insanitary conditions, or through the refusal to meet and deal with the authorized representatives of employees. The recognition by Congress of the fact that labor exploitation is unfair competition, would, alone, be a great step forward.

Second, authorize the Secretary of Labor to present and prosecute such cases before the Trade Commission, either on his own initiative, or upon the request of any labor organization or individual employee.

The Federal Trade Commission, created to deal specifically with commercial problems, is not the ideal tribunal for the consideration of the exploitation of labor. Nevertheless, the value of recognizing labor exploitation as the crudest form of unfair competition, and the value of having a forum where the Department of Labor can present such specific cases of exploitation, seem to far outweigh any disadvantage due to its organization and character. The big necessity is to keep the evils of modern industry vividly before the public. The Commission on Industrial Relations offered such an opportunity; it has dissolved, but the Trade Commission seems to offer a real opening for keeping this big issue alive in the public mind.

Mention may be made of two striking cases of such unfair competition which might with great propriety be presented to the Trade Commission; first, the competition of non-union garment manufacturers and sub-contractors, which is a constant menace, not only to the lives of their own employees, but also to the existence of the Protocols, which have helped to raise the sweat shop workers of ten years ago to a plane of some comfort, some leisure, and a measure of independence. Second, the competition of the operators in the non-union coal fields, not only undermining the safety, health, and welfare of all workers in the bituminous field, but has been di-

rectly productive of the dreadful labor wars of West Virginia and Colorado.

8. To resist the repeal of salutary labor legislation, such, for example, as the Seamen's bill.

9. To keep the grievances of unorganized workers, such as the Pullman and Western Union employees, which were brought to light by the Commission, constantly before the officials and directors of those companies and before the public, until they are redressed.

10. To keep the nation informed through the daily press and the magazines of all important developments affecting industrial relations.

There is hardly a month that passes in which a forceful, accurate exposure of specific cases of unjust and oppressive treatment of labor would not result in both a measure of immediate relief, and also a better understanding on the part of the public of the wrongs under which the working men, women and children of the nation patiently bear, or against which they revolt in sheer desperation.

There is every indication that the next few years will be critical years in the history of American labor. Whether labor shall be ground down by the pressure of rapidly concentrating capital, or whether, from the bitter travail of the nations, labor shall achieve, in some degree, the freedom, comfort and leisure to which it is entitled, before any other class, will be determined. The Committee on Industrial Relations will bend every effort and use every means to enable labor to reap the harvest of its ages of fruitless planting, with absolute assurance that the result will be a happier, stronger and more truly civilized nation than the work has ever conceived.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

Frank P. Walsh,
James O'Connell,
Frederick Howe,
Amos Pinchot,
Helen Marot,
John Fitzpatrick,
John B. Lennon,

Austin B. Garretson,
John P. White,
Bishop Charles D.
Williams,
Agnes Nestor,
Dante Barton.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at San Francisco, that we most heartily indorse the work of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, and pledge our support and cooperation in every way possible in harmony with the fundamental principles of trade unionism to further the securing of legislation by Congress as set forth in the foregoing declaration of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Oscar Joss of Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861:

WHEREAS, On account of certain resolutions passed by the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of

San Francisco, Cal., all dairies were removed from and out of the city limits; and

WHEREAS, On this account Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861 is unable to control the membership throughout the State of California without the assistance of its parent body to effect a thorough organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled this . . . day of November, 1915, pledges its fullest support morally, and if necessary, financially, to Milkers' Union No. 8861 of California; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Organizer of the A. F. of L. of this district be and hereby is instructed to give all assistance possible to Milkers' Union No. 8861 of California.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 25—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Shipowners and their associates insist that they cannot operate vessels under the American flag in competition with vessels under the flag of some other nation unless they be permitted to run their vessels in their own way without being hampered by laws and rules that exist for the purpose of protecting the freedom of the seamen and the lives of passengers; and

WHEREAS, After more than one century of practically such condition, the United States, at the opening of the present war in Europe, found itself with very few vessels in the foreign trade and practically no native or naturalized seamen in any trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we favor the so-called McAdoo shipping bill and urge its enactment into law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; to the proper committee of Congress, and to the press.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 26—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The shipping on the Sound now centers in such manner as to make the City of Seattle the most convenient port to be reached by any seaman who is sick or injured; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the petition of the International Seamen's Union of America with reference to the establishment of a Marine Hospital in Seattle, Washington.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 27—By the Delegates

of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Recent events have again conclusively demonstrated that in practical application there is one criminal law for the rich, and another criminal law for the poor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at San Francisco, California, that we earnestly and solemnly warn the judiciary and the entire legal fraternity against the obvious grave consequences of a prostituted justice which sends an innocent workingman like John R. Lawson to the penitentiary for life and permits a guilty, degenerate millionaire like Harry Thaw to purchase his way to freedom by liberal use of mammon; and be it, further

RESOLVED, That for the sake of free republican institutions, which cannot possibly be maintained except through a free and untrammelled judiciary and an impartial administration and enforcement of the law against rich and poor alike, we earnestly plead with all liberty-loving men and women to protest against the incarceration of John R. Lawson and to insist upon even and exact justice for every man, no matter how lowly the accused may be, and no matter where the trial may be held.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union, and Delegate M. E. Decker of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers:

WHEREAS, Asiatic Immigration and the resultant competition has for many years past been a menace to the industrial welfare of our people, especially in California and the Pacific Coast States, and also affects in no small degree certain other localities in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Because of this menace, it is the duty of the people to refrain from patronizing or employing Asiatics in any manner, as well as to demand extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law so as to apply to all Asiatics; and

WHEREAS, A sufficient appropriation by the Congress of the United States is needed for the purpose of registration and identification of Asiatics in order that exclusion laws may be properly enforced, thereby preventing illegal entry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in thirty-fifth annual convention assembled, reaffirm its former position, to the end that every effort be put forth to secure extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law so as to apply to all other Asiatics; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the

United States be also requested to set aside such an appropriation as will permit of the establishment of a system of registration and identification for the enforcement of Asiatic exclusion, thereby preventing illegal entry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention opposes the patronizing or employing of Asiatics in any manner.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Phillip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The International Photo-Engravers' Union has sought to enter into the jurisdictional controversy now existing between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, We believe their entrance into the jurisdictional controversy has very largely added to the difficulties and confused the issue; and

WHEREAS, Photo-lithographic plates and the making up of transfer plates are the questions at issue between the Photo-Engravers' Union and Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, The method classed as photo-lithographic plates and transfer plates has been in existence many years before photo-engraving, as now conducted, was known, and which is recognized everywhere; and

WHEREAS, The difference between a photo-engraving plate otherwise known as relief surface, and the difference between photo-lithographic plates, also including transfer plates and known as flat surface plates is very easily distinguished; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize the Executive Council either as a body or by the appointment of sub-committee whose duty it shall be to visit a lithographic plant and a type printing plant, and to then observe the difference in the two methods; and that representatives from the Photo-Engravers' Union be requested to be present with the committee from the Executive Council in order to demonstrate the wide difference between the two processes involved.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Phillip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The representative of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association had offered a resolution at the Seattle Convention, and which resolution referred to the action of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union in employing non-union lithographers to act as instructors in the technical school of Printing Pressmen, and that these non-

union lithographers as instructors were engaged to instruct type printing pressmen to operate a lithographic press; and

WHEREAS, This action on the part of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union was a direct encroachment upon our rights and privileges as guaranteed under our charter granted by the American Federation of Labor, said resolution was approved by the convention and referred to the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, This matter has now been more or less in the hands of the Executive Council without in any manner being adjusted or removing the wrong inflicted upon the lithographers; and

WHEREAS, The injustice as charged against the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union has not been denied, but to the contrary, openly admitted; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers have offered the most substantial evidence not only as to the charges made, but also to the fact that the offset press, the jurisdiction over which is the main question at issue, is being operated by lithographic pressmen throughout the country, with possibly a few exceptions. This evidence is in possession of the secretary of the Executive Council and shows conclusively the justice and equity of our claim; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as the contention of the lithographers has been satisfactorily proven, that the wrong committed on the part of the printing pressmen is an injustice, that it be the sense of this Convention that the offset press be classed a lithographic press, and that the Printing Pressmen Association, through their executive officers, be instructed to discontinue their actions where it relates to jurisdiction over the offset press, and their continued instruction of apprentices at their school in Rogersville, Tenn.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 31.—By Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had

granted a charter to the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, granting charter rights to organize and maintain organization in the lithographic industry; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association were practically organized 100% in the different branches or crafts which they then had jurisdiction over; and,

WHEREAS, It was deemed advisable both by the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Lithographers' Association to include all employed in the lithographic industry, and who produce and complete lithographic work into one organization; and,

WHEREAS, A number of conferences had been held, some of which were called through the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor, who continually advised and encouraged amalgamation; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association having found it necessary, in complying with the wishes of such whom we sought to amalgamate with, that the title of the Association be changed to read "The Amalgamated Lithographers of America"; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, finding it to be for the best interest of all engaged in the lithographic industry and to follow the advice and encouragement given on the part of the Executive Council, then entered into amalgamation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this Convention that the resolution be approved and that a charter be issued by this body to the workers in the lithographic industry under the title of the "Amalgamated Lithographers of America," carrying with it whatever change it makes in the jurisdiction, which, however, shall be confined to the lithographic industry.

Referred to the Committee on Adjustment.

At 11:30 a. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Wednesday, November 10th.

THIRD DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

San Francisco, Nov. 10, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, November 10, 1915, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Absentees—Adams (B. A.), Anderson, Barnes, Bastes, Blakeley, Bock, Boswell, Boyden, Brennan, Brock, Castro, Coffey, Comerford, Corbley, Corcoran, Curran, Dolan, Doyle, Fletcher, Ford, Galvin, Gavalak, Garvey, Gesber, Hammerschlag, Hanley, Harris (W. W.), Harrison, Hart (J. W.), Hayes (F.), Holm, Jennings, Johnson, Kean, Keller, Kranefeld, Letroadec, Mahoney, Mareschi, McGovern, McSorley, Miller (E. D.), Morrison (H. I.), Mueller, O'Brien, Pettit, Spligl, Steldle, Sweek, Triska, Walker, Warden, Wessel.

Chairman Moser, of the Committee on Credentials, read the following supplementary report:

November 10, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

Your Committee on Credentials reports that the Farmers' National Congress has sent Mr. J. H. Patten as its fraternal delegate to this convention, and we recommend that he be seated.

Respectfully submitted,
R. G. MOSER,

Chairman.
JAMES O'CONNOR,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Tobin (J. M.), Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

We, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the convention:

Rule 1—The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 a. m. to 12:30.

Rule 2—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3—Should two or more delegates

rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks except it be to call to a point of order.

Rule 5—A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6—A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7—Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention.

Rule 8—A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9—At the request of five members, the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10—When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motion shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11—Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 12—A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13—That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14—Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15—It shall require at least 30 members to move the previous question.

Rule 16—All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17—No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

Rule 18—No resolutions shall be received after Thursday's session, November 11th, without unanimous consent of the convention.

Rule 19—When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20—When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21—Robert's Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 22—The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Reading minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Report of Regular Committees.
5. Report of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS A. RICKERT,
J. M. TOBIN,
E. WM. WEEKS,
J. D. CANNON,
SAMUEL GRIMBLAT,
EDWARD MENGE,
E. H. SLISSMAN,
R. C. SCHNEIDER,
S. POLAKOFF,
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,
JOHN SULLIVAN,
JAMES H. HATCH,
ALFONSO D'ANDREA,
J. J. O'BRIEN.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Report of Auditing Committee.

Chairman Moser read the following report:

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Nov. 8, 1915.

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

We, the undersigned, having been appointed according to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor to audit and examine the books and accounts of the American Federation of Labor for the term beginning October 1, 1914, and ending September 30, 1915, herewith submit for your consideration the following report:

The total receipts and expenditures during the year ending September 30, 1915, are given in the following tables:

RECEIPTS.

Per capita tax.....	\$176,372.31
Supplies.....	8,028.54
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	\$90.53
"American Federationist"	36,731.27

One-cent assessment	121.71
One-cent Hatters' assessment.	15,655.53
Interest on deposits.....	2,340.00
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	5,373.95
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	5,190.74
Initiation and reinstatement fees	5,804.47
Money received not receipted for	858.50
Defense fund	14,257.98

Total	\$271,625.53
Balance on hand October 1, 1914	102,492.81

Gross total

DISBURSEMENTS.

General	\$193,595.26
"American Federationist"	35,294.06
Premiums on bonds.....	5,052.66
One-cent Hatters' assessment.	11,982.43
Initiation and reinstatement fees refunded	145.35
One-cent assessment for organization of women workers	9,192.62
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions...	48,723.57

Total	\$303,985.95
Balance cash in banks.....	70,132.39

\$374,118.34

RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts for the year ending September 30, 1915...	\$271,625.53
To balance on hand October 1, 1914	102,492.81

Total

Total expenditures during year ending September 30, 1915...	303,985.95
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915.....	70,132.39

Total

Cash balance in General Fund	12,744.56
Cash balance in Defense Fund	57,387.83
Loan to Building Trustees...	40,500.00

Total

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor safely disposed of as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Lennon in McLean County Bank of Bloomington, Ill., amounting to.....	\$ 50,000.00
One open checking account in McLean County Bank by Treasurer Lennon certified to by President of McLean County Bank	18,132.39
On deposit on open checking account by Secretary Morrison in Riggs National Bank	\$3,656.27
Outstanding checks ..	6,656.27
Loan to A. F. of L. Building Trustees from Defense Fund	40,500.00

\$110,632.39

We audited the accounts of moneys received from the appeal issued by the

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor December 3, 1914, for the International Glove Workers' Union of America to assist the Glove Workers on strike in Gloversville and Johnstown, N. Y., the United Textile Workers to assist the Textile Workers on strike at Atlanta, Ga., and the Western Federation of Miners to assist in the legal defense of 39 members of the Western Federation of Miners in Calumet, Mich. We found that there was received at American Federation of Labor headquarters \$6,371.91 in response to the appeal. This amount was disposed of as follows:

Forwarded to the Glove Workers' International Union...	\$2,126.25
United Textile Workers.....	2,084.90
Western Federation of Miners	2,137.76
Refunded	23.00

Total \$6,371.91

We have compared the printed statement with the amounts received and forwarded and found same to be correct.

OFFICE BUILDING FUND.

We have examined the account of the Office Building Fund, and find as follows:

Receipts—

Received from Defense Fund,	
Local Trade and Federal	
Labor Unions	\$40,500.00

Expenses—

Paid for lot.....	\$40,000.00
Resurveying of Building Lot	7.00
Title Fees and Expenses, \$143.50; less	
Accrued Taxes, \$42.00	101.50

Total expenses..... \$40,108.50

Recapitulation—

Total Receipts	\$40,500.00
Total Expenses	40,108.50

Balance on hand in Riggs National Bank, September 30, 1915 \$ 391.50

We find that the above balance, \$391.50, on deposit at the Riggs National Bank, to the credit of Frank Morrison, Trustee.

The foregoing tables correspond in all detail with the books of the American Federation of Labor and we therefore pronounce them correct in all respects.

In conclusion, your committee takes occasion to say, that we found the books of Secretary Morrison in first-class shape, receipts having been given for all items of income and warrants are on file for all items of expenditure. The voluminous record necessary to the proper care of the financial affairs of the American Federation of Labor demands an efficient system which we find creditably installed.

We were extended every courtesy by Secretary Morrison and his efficient office force, thereby greatly facilitating

the work of your committee, which we appreciated greatly.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER,

Chairman.

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Vice-President Duncan: It has usually been arranged that a specific time was named to hear from the fraternal delegates. If it is agreeable to the fraternal delegates and to the convention we might hear them now or we might hear them this afternoon at 2 o'clock. I understand they are ready to proceed now.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.): I move that we hear from the delegates from the British Trade Union Congress. (Seconded and carried.)

Vice-President Duncan: The delegates composing this convention, excepting those who are here for the first time, know about the fraternal relations which have existed between the American Federation of Labor and similar organizations in other countries, especially with Great Britain, owing to fraternal delegates having come from them for many years and delegates from our country going to theirs.

There has recently been a break in connection with that arrangement because of affairs, over which we at least have no control, and it is a pleasure, I am sure, to the delegates assembled this morning to have with us the delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. We are hopeful that their coming here will be the beginning of closer relationship between all the working people in Europe. In the troublesome times on the continent there seems to be among the different nations there but one paramount feeling of apparent brotherhood, or a link in that direction, as closely as men in combat can have relations of that kind, and that is the feeling of brotherhood which exists among labor organizations.

Just prior to the great conflict in Europe there appeared to be a feeling among all organized working men who knew anything about the conditions there, that the working people of Europe were becoming closer together than ever before. The old feeling which had existed

between Germany and France was being more quickly eliminated by the working people than by any other class of the people in either country and everything looked hopeful; in fact, it had been asserted that through the economic and political organizations of labor in Europe it was expected that those organizations might be helpful, through a general understanding common to organized workmen, even to prevent war. Nobody having that thought, however, even ever dreamed about the colossal war conditions which have occurred since then interfering with racial feelings, stirring up thoughts of national contest perhaps of the past; and the break occurred. It is hopeful to us, however, from the available information we have on the subject, that although they are still in conflict that the people of Europe look to the working people as being the militant associations who will most quickly weld together the old fraternal comradeship among labor organizations. It may be the beginning of a great era of peace when the present contentions among the people on the continent of Europe or elsewhere may be the means of instituting a condition of a pacific nature, which make their countries great through the cultivation and practice of the arts, sciences and industries rather than by and with the rule of force and the sword.

I am sure our fraternal delegates from Great Britain have not come here to talk war, but I thought a mention of these things by us who are not directly involved would not be amiss. We have no reports from delegates from this country to the British Trades and Labor Congress this year, but we now have these fraternal trade union ambassadors from Great Britain. It affords me great pleasure to introduce to you at this time Brother C. G. Ammon, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, a member of the Postal Clerks of Great Britain.

Fraternal Delegate C. G. Ammon: Mr. Chairman, Comrades and Friends—It is with peculiar pleasure this year, above all years, that as a representative of the British Trades Union Congress I bring you greetings from your brothers across the sea. I want at the outset, to express my appreciation of the hospitality and the kindness and the many things I have seen and learned during the few days I have been on your shores. Com-

ing from a little island of some account, one marvels at the distances one can travel in your land. I have looked upon what to me are the wonder cities of Denver and Salt Lake—reared, as it seemed to me, in the midst of deserts; and upon this city in which we are now gathered, but a few short years ago wiped away by a terrible catastrophe and now risen phoenix-like from its ashes more brilliant and beautiful than ever before. As I recite this I am reminded that, after all, great as these wonders are, without the skilled hand and brain of labor they would never be. The laborer of this land and all lands is the man and the woman who rears society, who will ultimately mold society, and in whose hands and in whose lap is the destiny of the whole world.

Since I have been on your shores I have heard it remarked that you did not expect there would be a representative from Great Britain this year. I venture to say, sir, that never before in the history of the whole of organized labor was it more necessary that a fraternal delegate should come from one country to another. At this time when nations are at war and ambassadors of all nations are in the courts of neutral countries, why should it be different in regard to labor? For my part, I see no reason why representatives of the working men from Germany, and Austria, and France, and all the countries, should not be gathered on this platform in neutral territory today.

I want to make it emphatically clear that whatever may be the causes that may sunder us for the moment, the British working men, like the working men of all countries, have no quarrel with their fellow working men, for the same forces operate in America as operate in the old country; it is necessary that some contradiction at least be given to the various false reports that I know have been circulated in your midst. The people who will traduce and attack the name and the cause of labor know no geographical boundaries, no racial separation; they are to be found in America, England, Germany—the whole world over. So when I hear that you have had reports about drunken workmen, so drunken they would not go on with their work, I tell you most emphatically there was never a greater lie forged on the devil's anvil than that. When they charged us with that the labor people said: "Very well, if drink stands in the way, let the nation take over the drink," but they did not rise to the challenge; the vested interests were too powerful.

The delay of munitions. None have spent themselves more, none have given more of their help than the working men. When mistakes are made by diplomats and by politicians an excuse must be found somewhere. You can fill the rest for yourselves.

Now the two strikes. I will only refer to them, because my colleague and myself have arranged to divide our address. He will deal more particularly with questions arising from the war. The strikes that have been waged over in the old country during the period of war,

have arisen out of the very highest and loftiest ideas of patriotism. They have been waged by men, not for selfish interests, but by men who have said: "If our country is in danger we will serve, but we are not going to work that more bloated profits shall be made out of the needs and necessities of our time." And the result has been that the government had to step in and take control and limit the profit made by the profit-mongers.

Voluntary service has not failed. It is essential to America that you should know this. More men than they want, more men than they can equip, more men than are necessary if we are to carry on industry can be found, and are found, under the voluntary system. Conscription is wanted, not for the war, but for the period after the war, so that a strangle-hold can be had on labor.

Labor has increased the pay of the fighting man in the trenches; labor has forced the government to make provision for the widows and children of the men who go down; labor has forced the government to set up tribunals of arbitration to deal with disputes arising between working men and their employers. Now the government has come to this, they have had to declare that "without organized labor we cannot go on," and they have had to come to organized labor to endeavor to bring the people together. We are learning lessons from the war, and there is this one lesson: At first when war broke out it was said no man, woman or child should want for the necessities of life. If that thing is good in war time it is doubly good in times of peace, and should not be lost sight of.

The Trades Union Congress of this year was held in Bristol and was the greatest on record. There were six hundred and ten delegates representing upward of three million workers. The two chief topics of discussion were conscription and the industrial or craft organization. The challenge was thrown down by the National Union of Railwaymen who, as you know, have the men in the railway yards, the office and the shop, but here and there are found scattered units very difficult to organize or even get in contact with. It was also found almost impossible for the management of the railroad companies to hear the representatives of the thousand and one different societies. The railwaymen claimed jurisdiction over all crafts working in the railway sheds or upon the railway. This was brought before the Trades Union Congress, and after a very strong and vigorous debate the craft organizations won by a very small margin. Sufficient to say that will not be the end of the matter.

Perhaps you would like to get some further idea of the strength of trade unionism in Great Britain. A day or two before I left I received the latest government report of those organizations which register under the Trade Union Act. It is not compulsory to register, but it gives certain assurances and safeguards, and many do. The number registered were 696. Of these 655 made

returns. They represented a total of 3,600,000. It is safe to say there are at least 4,000,000 organized trade unionists on the other side, roughly speaking, one-tenth of the whole population. The trade unions funds increased by some \$4,000,000 during the year. The total funds amount to \$32,500,000. The income for the year amounted to \$23,000,000. The expenditure for unemployment amounted to \$2,500,000; disputes, \$2,300,000; sick and accident, \$3,500,000; miscellaneous, \$2,500,000. So far the trade unions are fairly well fixed and well established and, believe me, they are needed for in years to come there will be a trial and testing of organized labor in all countries as well as our own which will put their funds and their organizations to the severest test.

Now while this war is going on, when the whole world seems to have run mad, it is well that we gather together in conventions of thoughtful men and women to give attention to the other questions and the other problems which are as vital and which are more enduring even than the most devastating war. The unending war between capital and labor still goes on and it will be well not to lose sight of it. If anything is necessary I will appeal to you, my comrades, that although for a time we are sundered, we shall not allow by any means that the light of the International shall go out; we must keep alive the International if we would keep alive our organizations.

May I say in passing just a word of tribute to the memory of one who was a great figure in the International movement, and to whom the seeming collapse of the International movement brought death. I refer to Comrade Keir Hardie. I suppose there is nothing I value more in this life than the memory of a fairly close friendship with Keir Hardie. No man more trusted, no man more maligned, yet no man more faithful to the working class ideal, no man has kept his faith more untarnished, and there was no price this world could offer that could buy Keir Hardie. His memory, I hope, will ever be kept green, at least on the part of labor, as one who ever marched breast forward with his face to the foe fighting the cause of labor and those who struggle and toil.

Let us remember the war in which we are particularly engaged. Our foe—organized capital—knows nothing of sentiment, knows nothing of geographical or racial division, although they do know sufficient to use all of these as a means of dividing the workers when it suits themselves. But we need to be alive to see that under no circumstances and under no conditions shall we allow them to play us one against the other any longer. How long before the workers of the world realize that between them there is no difference? We are all of one flesh and blood, we are all striving for the same ends, the same ideals and the same aspirations are ours. Shall it not be that we shall sweep aside those

who would seek to divide us, that we shall

"Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number,
Shake to earth your chains like dew,
Which in sleep have fallen on you
Ye are many, they are few."

It needed the war to bring home to those in authority the truth and the power of many of the causes and the remedies we have been advocating for years. The nationalization of railways, for instance, was pronounced to be absolutely impossible. When a war broke out it was accomplished by a stroke of the pen. Munition factories, which were the monopolies of capitalists, were nationalized, and, best of all, the great healing art of the medical profession was also nationalized and taken over by the State. History has taught us that anything taken over by the State worth retaining never reverts to private enterprise; and it will be up to the labor organizations on our side to see that a good fight is put up and that these shall never again go back into private hands, but that as now, so in the future they shall be run in the interests and for the advantage of the whole community.

I should be sorry, and it would be discourteous and impertinent of me, to dare to make any suggestions to a gathering like this as to what you should do or what you should think, and I am not going to attempt any such thing, but I don't think it would be wrong if I were to say it is up to the men of America to be on guard, to see that you are not caught the same as the men of Europe have been caught. It is for democracy to keep clear vision and steady hand and brain unclouded, that those forces that have divided us shall not divide you, because you are needful to us on times past, side. And democracy has in times past, not often, been able to sweep aside the machinations of diplomats and politicians.

I was interested the other day in reading in one of your libraries the "Life of John Bright." Therein I read again a part of the story of your great war between the North and the South. When the ports of the South were blockaded it brought destitution and sorrow to the men of my country, the men of Lancashire, of Manchester and the big cotton towns. We are all so linked one with the other! The politicians and the diplomats and the masters said: "Now is our opportunity, let us step in and while America is divided seek to get our way." And the people of Manchester, three hundred and twenty odd thousand, led by John Bright—the people who suffered and were suffering—said: "No, in democracy's name we will not allow any such interference; we will starve sooner than interfere with a people struggling to be free."

And with all her faults and with all her mistakes and with all the crimes that may be laid to her charge, I would not be human if I did not recognize the great liberty that the old country whence I come has won for the world; but, in spite of all that, I want you to believe me—I am here for this purpose—that my heart goes out to the whole people, to

the whole working people of the world irrespective of geographical boundaries or languages. I look for the time, I long for the time when again we will gather together and confer one with another on our common difficulties and look forward with the hope of realizing our common ideals; hope for the time when again we will clasp hands, look into each other's eyes and think what a mistake it has all been; that we are still brothers and underneath the veneer of so-called civilization, underneath all the folly and wretchedness with which we are surrounded there still beat hearts high with hope, with a faith unquenchable, with a courage unconquerable that will still press forward to realize the ideals of humanity. I am looking, for the time, and, America, we want you in this—

"When the war drums throb no longer
And the battle flags are furled."

When the time comes to sit down to devise ways and means of peace it must not be left to the politicians, it must not be left to the diplomats; labor must be there, labor must demand its place in all the deliberations, in all that shall be done, to see if we cannot find a way whereby such folly and such wickedness shall be impossible in the days to come. America, yours is the place to help, to guide, to lead that way if you will. We appeal to you.

Now my message, my greeting to you I bring to conclusion. Let me tell you that over on the other side—we cannot hear from some of the countries—but no doubt in those other countries there are men who are saddened and sickened at heart, who realize they are in for a terrible business that must be gone through, but who are longing to return to the ways of peace and the ways of concord and the ways of comradeship, that again we will gather in our international gatherings and take part and lot in molding the destinies of men and nations; that the lessons we are learning, aye, that we have learned, shall bite deep into our hearts and our consciences and we will say: "Never again shall this thing be possible, never again shall civilization, humanity, our international, be outraged by such a spectacle as this." And who shall say the poet was wrong who sang:

There shall come from out this noise of
strife and groaning
A broader and a juster Brotherhood;
A deep equality of aim postponing
All selfish seeking to the general good.
There shall come a time when each shall
to another
Be as Christ would have him be—
Brother unto Brother.
There shall come a time when Brother-
hood grows stronger
Than the narrow bands which now con-
tract the world,
When the cannons roar and the trumpets
blare no longer,
The ironclads rust, the battle flags are
furled;
When the bars of speech, of creed and
race which sever
Shall be fused in one humanity forever.

Vice-President Duncan: It now affords me equal pleasure to introduce to you Brother E. Bevin, from the British Trades and Labor Congress, a member of the Dock Workers' Union, one of Ben Tillett's boys.

Fraternal Delegate E. Bevin: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Trade Unionists—I, too, want to endorse the remarks of my colleague in thanking the good people of America for your kindness to us since we landed in New York. We were rather elusive in arriving, and our letters arrived after us, due to the war; but still, since we have been in your country we have been surprised at the many kindnesses that have been shown us as we traveled across your continent. It is rather curious to note that it was my colleague of the same union who addressed you in San Francisco the last time your convention was here, my friend James Wignall.

On this occasion we find ourselves in a rather difficult situation. If we tear the mask away I am confident that every man and woman in this hall would like to hear all about the war. I know from the conversations with you privately that everybody is anxious to know the exact economic situation arising out of the great European struggle. I don't want to appear in any sense a propagandist, and I place myself absolutely in the hands of the chairman and you as a convention to pull me up in a moment if I go over the border of what ought to be said in a neutral country.

Vice-President Duncan: The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are the freest forum upon the face of the earth. He can say what he has a mind to say and say it in his own way and at his own length.

Fraternal Delegate Bevin: I thank the chairman for that. Another great difficulty at this moment is coming from a country whose relatives are wounded and whose friends are on the fighting line, it is very difficult to talk with one's head, one is apt to talk with one's heart. In the old country I know it is very, very difficult to coolly sit down and logically reason the great problems which face the labor movement, when all the time our own flesh and blood are out in those horrible trenches fighting. On the other side in the central empires the position must be very similar. Whenever one talks of the consequences of the war or what is happening during the war the one thing which rises uppermost is what is the best way to end the war in order that peace may be re-established.

The great issue—and it will arise in this country if ever you are faced with a great war, and if I may use a vulgarism, one never knows the future or your luck—the problem is that as labor grows stronger so its responsibilities get greater, and the very strength of our movement in Britain calls from the Trade Union Congress and from the

representatives of labor the exercise of the greatest responsibility that any labor movement has ever been called upon to exercise since its inception, as you will realize from the figures given by my friend Ammon, representing, as it does, 4,000,000 out of a population of 44,000,000.

When the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Federation Executive of the Labor Party and the Management Board of General Trade Unions, which now constitute the Joint Labor Board for the old country, was convened, representing this mass of humanity and further representing 96 per cent. of the men who would have to do the fighting, I ask you to imagine the serious and terrible responsibility that had to be exercised in that conference room before they decided to support the Government.

What was the position prior to this outbreak? I want to say to you, as American trade unionists, that we were coolly and deliberately planning for the perfection of a large organization in order that we could come to death grips with the great social problems of the old country. We had nearly completed our plans; and in spite of the war we have since completed an arrangement between the miners and railwaymen and general transport workers of Great Britain, in order to avoid long starvation strikes and at the same time be such a power in our country that those great problems which are the result of feudalism and the heritage of despotism, and other great problems arising from capitalism should be grappled with. We were tired of seeing the shoeless children; we were tired of seeing the maimed miner; we were tired of seeing the mutilated railroad man; we were tired of seeing children in the mills at the early age of thirteen. We were tired of all these things, and if the politicians would not legislate we determined to perfect our organization, and that compulsion should be behind legislation.

The aggregation of capital is growing, and it has grown even stronger, I believe, in the old country than it has in your country, because of the international character of our trade. The huge shipping federation with all its millions—the American Federation of Labor knows what that means, and so does Andrew Furuseth, because I venture to suggest that the greatest opposition to the Seamen's Act of America is inspired by that great shipping federation—that shipping federation is organized throughout the whole world, and is only one of the great capitalist organizations to contend with.

And then in the great London strike, and in the great miners' struggle of 1912, when the whole resources of the state was behind the employers, we came to the conclusion that the only way to grapple with these great social problems was by backing our demand by the strongest industrial force that the human mind could conceive. Then again, in spite of all that, in spite of all the opposition, we had accomplished something. Previous fraternal delegates

must have told you of the advance we had made in the recognition of labor in the old country. We had made secure our position from the point of view of picketing under the Trades Dispute Act; we had enacted the old age pension scheme, national health insurance scheme, etc.; we had brought pressure to bear to improve the legislation associated with working people in our factories; we were beginning to grapple with the maimed and mutilated motherhood of our country; and let me say that this is the greatest crime of all civilization in my opinion; the greatest crime of capitalism in general is that it is so soulless, so inhuman, so long as it can wrench profit, so long as the dollars can be wrenched from the human body, whether it is a mother whose maternity has to be wrecked, who has to be made a physical ruin, whose child can be taken from school to labor, or the son denied a decent chance in life, everything within that sordid capitalist world has to be sacrificed to the wrenching from the human the highest point of production to increase the dividend and the profit. These are the things that were beside us when we came to that great decision to support the Government. We had to choose. We thought of all our work; we thought of all our plans, and then another realization came—we may have been wrong in our deductions, but it was not the foreign policy of England that decided the labor movement, and I would like to say this in Berlin as well as in San Francisco, it was not that; it was not that we agreed that all the diplomats had done was right—no. We felt that at last the thing the German social democrats themselves had told us was to be the great fight of the future had come. We found the fight which we thought would have been fought out between German labor and the German Junker party in their own country had embroiled us. It became a clash of institutions. We felt it was a clash between domination of militarism and the democracy of our own country; and friends, let me say with all sincerity, that that was the basis of the decision of the labor movement to support the war, because of that clash of institutions—it was this and this alone which led to the decision.

Then we determined to save the economic situation and we made up our minds to this quite decidedly, that if famine came we would share with the rest of the community; if our sea communication was cut off, we would tell our working people that we would share with the rest of the community, but while our seas were open, while food was in the country, we would maintain our standard of living; we said you shall not use this war to lower the standard of life which it has taken centuries to build up.

Friends, in every country there is the vulture class. You must have them in America. Human instinct does not exist in that class; they have become so sordid that nothing appeals to them. I mean the man who says, "Here is a war, I can become a millionaire; grovel, you

dogs, in the dust!" Patriotism to them is in a speech upon a platform and looking for political honor. Patriotism with us means not merely love of country; I want to say that many years ago I decided that my patriotism should be love of class, which I think is a much higher patriotism. However, we had this vulture class. They immediately began to rob the women and children of the very men who had gone to fight; we had to fight them, but they were strong; they were strong in the nation; they were strong in the State Department. In order to stop their machinations and their exploitations, the labor movement had to come to the rescue. In spite of the great financial stress of England at the present moment the labor movement has increased the cost per soldier from £100 per annum to £250 per annum; that means an increased allowance to his wife and children, an increase in the food of the soldiers and improvements in his clothing, better equipment that is being brought about to make his life as comfortable as possible, that is an increase from £100 to £250 per head per annum of those now under arms, and we don't regret it. I would double it if I could. If kings and nations are to have war, the more expensive that war is the less they will have of it. I want you to appreciate that. One gentleman in talking of conscription—a man who had fought us very bitterly in the transport trade—said: "If we only had conscription in Britain we could save so many millions per year." War then would merely be a pastime for them. They would be home while the other fellow was getting killed. The labor leaders told Premier Asquith, "If you will take over the means of living and prevent an increase in the cost of living we will not ask you for an increase of wages." He failed to accept our offer. We determined to maintain that standard of living that we had prior to the war while any one else was making a cent out of the war. I think our policy is right, and it is just, and it is in accord with the best traditions of our movement.

And that is the reason of the great South Wales strike. When the cabinet minister went down to settle the strike he gave the miners what they asked for before the strike commenced. The sensible politician would have given it at first and thus avoided the strike, because if it was just and fair after the strike it was just as just before the strike commenced. You know what they thought. They thought because the men were out fighting, because the trenches were filled with miners from South Wales, because the minds of the men were filled with the suffering, loss and death and rapine of war, that they would be able to trade upon that fact and make their profits and keep the men in the mine. The miners have worked loyally and honorably since their concessions have been granted. I am very pleased, friends, the men took the attitude they did, because there was a time not many years ago when the em-

players would have succeeded, but they cannot succeed now. The man who is making money out of the war is being regarded in the old country as a man only fit to be socially ostracized. People shun him. In the old days it would have been, "He is a clever man; my word, he was smart," and he would have been made a peer, but today, and it is the greatest hope of the world when the great mass of humanity begins to look upon the so-called upper classes, as my friend Tillett says, the dirty classes—because they never wash themselves and have to hire us to do it for them.—when the so-called upper classes are socially ostracized when it is felt and felt quite seriously that a man's money is made by robbing the little children of the man who is fighting in the trenches.

Another thing that has become known as a result of this war was the tremendous power and influence of the great international armament ring. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, for interfering with your politics, but when I have been reading your papers the articles are so much like those we read that it seems almost as if they were written by the same man. However, that armament ring was international in character. The British ring was represented upon the Krupp directorate and the Krupp directorate was represented on the British ring. The shots that were made and fired in the Dardanelles and which sank our ships were made by British capital in Turkey. I said I wanted to tear the mask off, and I want to do it. It has a bearing on the whole of the working class movement. If you will read the diplomatic utterances of all the nations there is not a particle of evidence to show that either nation tried to get the grasp of the trouble; but all of them were arguing "if you support this country will you refrain from supporting that country? If you do this, will you do that?" And the diplomacy of Europe for the last fifteen years has been the manipulation of balances to satisfy the ambition of kings, and I am sure that the people of Europe will soon have to choose between the despotism of kings and the triumph of democracy.

The seeds of war are sown in courts; the policy is then developed by the financier and the great productive concerns, diplomats being their tools, and you cannot go on making fireworks without you let some of them off. And these works are so distributed all over the world. In spite of the war, the value of the human has been recognized, the concept of the wonderful value of the human form. The people are beginning to realize that the loss of limb, the destruction of brain, cannot be replaced by science. Science cannot replace an eye, cannot make a finger or produce one drop of blood in this greatest piece of mechanism of all nature.

The genius of labor is also being recognized and conceded by the greater mass of the people of the world. As I crossed your Rockies I thought of the wonderful development of labor, how it

had burrowed into the bowels of the earth to bring forth the mineral, bridged the mighty chasms, pursued the stars and conquered the air, mastered the elements and harnessed the forces of nature for its uses and pleasures. No king or court has ever rendered to civilization one tithe of the service the early pioneer family rendered in crossing to this Pacific coast. The pioneers, objects of our admiration, who after all were rebels of the old world, who battled against wrongs and were buffeted and beaten and left for other shores to realize their dreams; your very beautiful cities, whose order in planning commands the attention of every visitor is the result of the dreaming of these very pioneers, many of whom perished on that great trek. If I may, I will repeat the statement of my friend Tillett again, which he made to the Oxford professors: "Not any of the professors who have ever lived have done so much for civilization as the old navy with his shovel."

Now I come to the last Trades Union Congress at Bristol. The great problem before it was the policy to pursue in regard to the war. I will only say that it decided, in spite of the sacrifice and the terrible cost, having regard for the institutions at stake, that the war must be won. The edifice which has taken centuries to erect, that has meant such terrible struggles on the part of our predecessors, that meant going to jail and even to death to win, that freedom of the old country, were all challenged by military autocracy. I am convinced that if it was only the land and property of Europe that was at stake and no principle was involved, it would not be worth the sacrifice that is being exacted, while no king in Europe was worth the sacrifice of a single life. I appeal to you to allow your imagination to realize what that cost means in human life. Lord Loreburn stated that the loss in killed and maimed in Europe was 15,000,000. In order to bring it vividly before your mind imagine the population of New York wiped out three consecutive times.

The next point at issue in that Congress was the question of conscription. Our position on the matter of conscription was clear. The privileges and regulations the trade unions had given up in the interests of their country—and you, friends, know what it means to the trade unions to allow the lower class of labor to be brought into the higher grades of industry—meant that the result of a century of struggle had been given away in the interest of the nation. The giving up of that, I say, is equal to the land owner giving his land, the financier his money, the railway director his railway, the mine owner his mine; and if national service has to be given the national resources must also go into the communal melting pot. If the country is in danger, then property is in danger; if property is to be saved from a foreign foe, then it has to be saved at the expense of the lives of the people; and we have decided that

they shall not conscript our bodies unless they conscript every form of national asset within those islands.

The problems rising out of the war and that will arise at the conclusion of the war are of very serious moment to the labor movement of the world. I hope you people in America will keep out of the war. And may God grant that this Federation may be the golden bridge over the welter of blood now flowing in Europe on which democracy can meet. You are the only great country in the western civilization not in the war. Your Federation has tremendous opportunities. When the time comes to discuss peace, when diplomats meet, national aspirations will have to be considered. You cannot impose a form of government upon a people by external force that is likely to be enduring. Ireland has proven that. We have tried to rule Ireland for a hundred years by coercion, by pressure in all forms, but Ireland fights on for her freedom. The Poles are in a similar position. The subject nations of Europe contain the seeds of revolt which burst forth every now and then against external force; and I am convinced that if you recognize the individuality of peoples the United States of Europe can be made an accomplished fact.

Remember, my friends, that every effort will be made to exploit the weak and even use him against the strong. Our business in the trade union movement is to help the weak to become strong, protecting ourselves and not allowing him to be used against us. I note that you had an assessment to assist in the organization of women. Why did you do it? Because you recognized that woman was a competitive factor. You want to make her strong in organization, not only for her own sake, but for the sake of your industrial position as well. The same thing must happen to the weaker races; you must help them with all the power of your organization to become strong within their own borders in order that their economic development may be hastened and their competition lessened.

I will conclude by giving to you the fraternal greetings from a country whose heart is bleeding, whose homes are desolated; from the women whose boys are gone, whose husbands have said goodbye for the last time; from the child who calls for "daddy," only to see the empty chair; from the woman whose travail is in anguish—I bring you fraternal greetings from all these, and express the hope that this war may be the last, that democracy may triumph and the peoples of the world may develop that great God-given life; it is theirs. Men there are who tell us that war is a biological necessity. To such a man I say, "You are one too many on this earth; go and shoot yourself!" Of what use, if that doctrine is accepted, is the great human mind? Man is an educative animal, he has the power, as I said before, to conquer the forces of nature, and there is no finality to the possibilities of the human mind.

As I passed through your great country I thought of its tremendous space, and that even then it was only a par-

ticle of the great globe, much of it unoccupied, and I was satisfied that Old Mother Earth from her bosom is able to feed and clothe all the human family. Decay will bring sufficient death to regulate the population without extermination by one another. There is room for all people to dwell in peace and plenty if her resources are organized and developed. Therefore, in spite of the black cloud overhanging the world and the apparent mockery of speaking of the International, when the war cloud has passed the people at conflict will begin to develop a greater freedom, rid of the military octopus which has held them down, and even yet I believe that the brotherhood of man will not be a mere platitude of the platform, but will be an achievement of the forces of labor.

Vice-President Duncan: Before I introduce our twin brother from Canada, our next fraternal delegate, it may not be amiss, in connection with the statement made by Delegate Ammon, in reference to that great democrat, John Bright, whose name Delegate Ammon linked with the effort made in Great Britain to maintain recognition of the union of states during our great unpleasantness of the 'sixties, to say that there is an event connected with that unpleasantness of great economic value.

I know but few public speakers outside the ranks of labor who are acquainted with the statement, and one of them was the late Charles Francis Adams, of the commonwealth of Massachusetts. In an address delivered some time ago before the students and faculty of the University of Washington and Lee, in Virginia, he stated there was one important event connected with our rebellion which perhaps had as much determining economic effect upon the ending of the war as the affair at Appomattox had to do with it. The incident to which he referred was one of the great economic events of recent times, and shows how the organized workers in one country understand and sympathize with the organized workers in other countries.

The British delegates hope that the great labor movement of America will be the golden bridge, as they have described it, over which efforts will be made to again unite the organized workers in Europe, and our American Federation of Labor at the proper time will apply itself to that great purpose. During the unpleasantness of the 'sixties, when the Southern states were looking for recognition in Europe, a number of ships had successfully run the blockade

and were lying off the mouth of the Mersey River awaiting entrance to Liverpool, hoping thereby to effect a double purpose, namely, to carry back British gold for the staple product of the great industries of the South and to carry back recognition of the Confederacy by the British Government. At that time the British Cabinet was in session in Downing street, with the great Gladstone presiding, and upon the subject of whether or not Great Britain would recognize a division of the United States of America they were said to be "upon the fence."

The organized textile workers of Lancashire, England, and especially in the city of Manchester, at that time assembled in mass meeting under the canopy of heaven, and although they had been idle for eighteen months for the lack of cotton, although their wives and sisters and children, like themselves, were hungry and in rags, many of them emaciated from want of nutrition, they resolved that the union textile workers of England, even though the British Government recognized the Southern Confederacy, would refuse to spin a bale of cotton at the price or cost of human slavery. The echo of that vote upon the subject is said to have been heard in London by the British Cabinet and they decided not to recognize the Southern Confederacy; the Southern ships off the mouth of the Mersey could not deliver their cargoes, could not carry back the British gold they so much needed, nor could they convey to the States in secession the recognition those States so much desired.

The event, as was so well stated by Mr. Adams, had perhaps as much effect upon the preservation of the States composing the United States of America as even the important event of Appomattox. We will not forget the humanitarian declaration of the textile workers of Great Britain, and in kind, when the great conflict in Europe is over, it will be a pleasure to the American labor movement to assume the initiative in again restoring economic harmony in the labor movement of Europe.

The next fraternal delegate needs no introduction to this convention. We regard him as our twin brother from Canada. He has had the unique position of being the fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor held in his own country, and in his own city,

viz., Toronto—Brother Fred Bancroft, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Bancroft: Mr. Chairman, and Delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I bring to you fraternal greetings from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and perhaps never before in the history of the labor movement in Canada, have those greetings been sent with greater fervor, or deeper earnestness than those I present to you today. I need not dwell upon the great honor and privilege of being the representative of the Congress and the very serious responsibility imposed upon me to address this great Convention. This I feel sure you thoroughly understand and appreciate. My only desire today is to live up to the responsibility, to convey to you the unswerving loyalty of the International Trade Union Movement in Canada to its international affiliations, and to present to you briefly, several important parts of our work which will interest the delegates.

To the student of the development of the trade-union movement in North America, as viewed from the standpoint of our Canadian brothers, one period stands out pre-eminent in its importance. This was the period during which the great National organizations of the United States opened their charters to Canadian members and made them international in character. From that period commences the real development of the trade-union movement in Canada. The history of the trade-union movement in the United States goes back well over 100 years. There was a local organization of boot and shoe workers in New York in about 1796.

The period of which I speak was after the Civil war, commencing from 1860 and onward. The history of the trade-union movement in America from that period to the year 1881, from which the Conventions of the A. F. of L. date, is most interesting and a subject on which, however, many of you are better able to dwell upon than myself. What I do desire to point out is the great foresight of the leaders of the movement here at that time, when with prophetic vision they undertook to throw around the trade unionist of Canada the protecting armor of the National organizations of that time. It has been because of that action that the labor movement in Canada has grown to the dimensions and power it enjoys today.

It is a well-known fact that your members in Canada have never paid in the aggregate any more than a comparatively small proportion of the great sums of money spent by the International unions in benefits, organization and development of the labor movement in Canada; yet there are mistaken individuals, gradually growing less in number, who in ignorance of the facts, and in face of the blessings of designing employers, imagine that a separatist movement is going to help them. Under the protecting strength of the great National organizations of the United States,

made International by opening the charters to Canadian wage-earners, has the movement in Canada grown, under that they will remain, each year growing stronger and more able to meet some of the obligations incurred, until the time when with a great population in Canada, you will gain from us in strength as much, perhaps, as has been given.

The recent Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which met in Vancouver, was the Thirty-first Annual Convention, yours today is the Thirty-fifth. It was an historic one, the delegates meeting within, as it were, the shadows of the terrible struggle in Europe. A great many of you know something of the work of the Congress. From year to year we are honored by the election of a fraternal delegate from this great Federation of Labor, to the Congress. Reports brought back here from your delegates and visitors, inform you of the work done or contemplated. It would be a grave omission of duty, if I did not endeavor to supplement this in a desire to have our Congress thoroughly appreciated and understood by the delegates here.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada really dates back to 1873, when 44 delegates attended a convention held in Toronto. Permit me to draw your attention to the fact that historically speaking, this was almost immediately after the National organizations of this country opened their charters and made them International, and bears out my previous statements. In 1874 a convention was held in Ottawa, in 1875-6-7 conventions were held, in various places, and then an industrial depression interfered with the new birth. In 1883 the Toronto Trades and Labor Council took action and called a convention at which 47 delegates were present.

In 1886 the Toronto Trades Council called another convention at which 110 delegates attended representing 67 labor organizations, and the Congress was placed upon a permanent basis, and has met annually since. Recent years show the remarkable growth of the Congress. In 1901 we had 8,381 members, in 1914 80,094. This year the membership affiliated direct is 71,419, and taking into consideration the members on active service, it really means an increase in membership and shows the solidity of our movement in Canada.

In addition to this the Congress has chartered a chain of Central Trades and Labor Councils numbering 46, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, making a total altogether, indirectly represented through the Congress, of 150,000 wage earners.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is the National expression in Canada of the International Trade Union Movement, of its desires for legislation, and follows up what is decided on at conventions, by endeavoring to have written upon the statute books of the Dominion of Canada, and the various provinces, the desires of the workers of Canada. With trade jurisdiction we have nothing to do. The American Federation of Labor is the Supreme Court on jurisdictional mat-

ters between International organizations. The Congress has however absolute autonomy in legislative matters in the Dominion. The reason for this is apparent. Whatever legislation is passed in the Dominion of Canada, or the provinces, doesn't in its administrative operation affect our brothers to the south of (as far as the labor movement is concerned) the "imaginary boundary line." Neither does legislation passed at Washington affect us in Canada. Perhaps never before has this been made so clear as at present, when Canada is in a state of war, and your country is in a neutral position. It is because of this also, that the greetings, and good will, with the ever strengthening bonds of International affiliation are more significant this year than ever.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, contrary to what many think, it was not the war which brought about the industrial depression in Canada. Before war broke out unemployment stalked abroad, and the winter of 1914-15 was looked forward to by those in the labor movement in touch direct with the membership, as one sure to produce one of the worst unemployed problems Canada had ever seen.

This was before war broke out. Permit me to give you an explanatory glimpse. Canada's borrowings before war broke out resulted in this, that Canada has to find \$150,000,000 a year in interest alone to meet her obligations. The various governments and other interested parties had fostered immigration to such an extent, that the Dominion could not possibly find employment for the newcomers. Steamboat companies, railway companies, etc., undoubtedly were reaping a rich harvest, but the problem of the labor market and its gluttedness didn't seem to interest them. The repeated warnings and protest of the labor movement was unavailing. Positively, the labor movement in Canada, has no objection to legitimate immigration and never has had. But it does object to the misrepresentation which induces many to leave good homes, and come to a market where they are placed in the position of being worse off, as well as being used as much as possible by unscrupulous employers. So the labor market was glutted, the money market became tight, and Canada came face to face with the proposition of standing on her own feet financially, and providing the wealth to meet her obligations without borrowing more money to do it with. It wasn't over-production, not at all.

One hundred and fifty million dollars' interest on borrowed money. You know what that means in straight financing? It means that the wage-earners of Canada must produce \$150,000,000 of wealth a year, before they produce anything for themselves. And who owns the wealth which has been borrowed on the basic credit of the people? The wage-earners? Not a bit of it. Railway corporations, financial corporations, and the great manufacturing interests.

History will show to any one who will take the time to peruse it, that great manufacturing eras have followed all great wars. Of course they do. It is necessary that the wage earners produce more and more wealth to pay the great national debts incurred in the struggle. In face of the financial situation on this continent, and in the shadow of the terrible struggle in Europe, isn't it a standing indictment of those entrusted with the government of great nations? Could labor governments do any worse? Do the ideals and aspirations of the labor movement not suggest a tremendous improvement in the world's relations if the power was obtained to make them effective?

In Australia, the present Premier, we are credibly informed, was an umbrella monder by trade. There was a time when workers imagined that only politicians who advised them to keep out of politics were fit to govern. A Premier who mended umbrellas. Isn't that a splendid tribute and illustration of the ability of the workers the world over, to show them that within the ranks of the working class, are Premiers, Cabinet ministers, and Diplomats who would save the world from such terrible conflicts as the world is witnessing. If only the workers themselves had confidence enough in one another, to place their representatives where they can be really effective?

A man is considered rash who attempts to predict the future, but one fact seems to stand out clearly, that Canada must grow industrially after this war is over, to produce the wealth to meet her obligations. She is destined to have tremendous increase in population. It will be necessary for increased effort to see that the wage earners are all gathered into the fold of International Trades Unionism, and to insure the onward march of the movement in Canada with increased strength and power, reflecting the spirit of those who have so well built already.

With regard to legislation. In view of what happened at our recent convention I would consider myself lacking in frankness if I didn't mention a piece of legislation in which many of you are interested, namely, the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act. It was only just prior to our recent convention that we were able to obtain from the Hon. Minister of Labor, draft copies of the amendments to the legislation which have been foreshadowed for so long. A special committee of the Congress was appointed to deal with the whole question, and the Minister of Labor was in attendance, and endeavored to answer the many questions, which the committee and the delegates bombarded him with for many hours.

A motion to ask for the repeal of the act was defeated by a vote of 97 to 55. That is, the committee reported non-concurrence in the resolution, and the report of the committee was carried by the vote mentioned.

The action of the Congress on the whole subject was as follows:

"That the matter of the Industrial

Disputes Investigation Act be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to secure the necessary interpretations from competent counsel and that when the Act comes before the House, the Executive Council be authorized to bring to Ottawa such officers as it deems necessary to assist in combating the objectionable, and supporting the favorable amendments."

It is only fair to say, and I have had some experience on Boards of Investigation and Conciliation under this legislation, that there is a very divided opinion upon its merits among the organizations in Canada. Some are very bitterly opposed to it, and others are just as stout advocates of it. On the other hand there are those who take the position that the Government will not repeal it; therefore it is best to seek amendments to it.

There is one section of the proposed legislation, upon which I took the opportunity at our recent convention to draw to the attention of the Hon. Minister of Labor. It is a section by which it seems to me, that an International officer from the United States may be prevented from advising an organization belonging to his International Union during strike preliminaries, with the penalty of a very heavy fine or imprisonment. The Minister of Labor cannot see it in that light. It will be remembered though that some years ago in the Canadian Senate, a body which we would be delighted to wish upon you, an attempt was made to pass legislation which would have prevented an International officer from the United States from taking any part in industrial trouble in Canada. This was defeated by the efforts of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. It looks to me as if the same idea could be read into the section of which I speak. I would advise that you procure, if possible, copies of the draft act, read it carefully and consider it.

It is also true that legislation passed in Canada has an indirect influence upon our brothers here, as evidenced by the desire in some quarters to wish the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act upon you. On the other hand it is also true that legislation passed here has an indirect influence in Canada. For instance, at a recent meeting of Industrial Insurance Commissioners at Seattle from various States of the Union and at which a Commissioner from the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board was present, it was decided as far as possible to adopt a uniform system of classification of industries, and so on which would facilitate comparison of costs, etc., in administration of workmen's compensation legislation. So that your administrations here will be compared with the ones in Canada. We have had in operation since last January 1st in Ontario what has been credited with being one of the finest pieces of workmen's compensation legislation in existence. I could speak at length on that matter, but prefer to wait for the first year's report of its operation. The Province of Nova Scotia passed a bill along similar lines last year, British Columbia has laid a bill before the legislature, modeled upon

the Ontario Act, which it is proposed to deal with at the forthcoming session during the next few months. A special committee of the Government is now touring the United States and Canada, gathering information for the purpose of advising the Government. The workmen in the Province of Manitoba are holding conferences with the employers over legislation which will be introduced into the Manitoba legislature at an early date. It is probable that within a year or two every province in Canada will have legislation modeled upon the Ontario Act, with improvements as they can be obtained. This is some of the work of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the legislative work in Canada of the International Trade Union Movement. Not only is the work done from a Federal and Provincial standpoint but also from a municipal standpoint. Labor representatives successfully breaking into the municipal councils, and their influence is being felt far and wide. A brief glimpse shows the great work being done by the Congress on the legislative field.

Mr. Chairman and brothers, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at its recent convention set its face absolutely and uncompromisingly against conscription. The merits of the war I shall not discuss, the trade unionists in Canada are members of your International organizations, and I must respect the fraternal obligations and remember that while our country is at war, your country is in a neutral position. The Congress has taken a firm stand with regard to the relation of the labor movement in Canada to the present struggle in Europe.

While passing through the glorious States of Oregon and California to this convention, I read the reports of the declaration of policy made by your President and first citizen of the United States, in a speech to the Manhattan Club upon its fiftieth anniversary. He mentioned, according to reports, the strengthening of the National Guard, and the raising, if I remember aright, of a force, which in a period of three years would amount to 400,000 trained men. This with a population of between 80,000,000 and 90,000,000. In Canada while on my journey I read that the Government at Ottawa had authorized the extension of our overseas forces to 250,000. This out of a population of about 8,000,000. A quarter of a million of the best manhood of a military age, this is the price so far in men that Canada must pay for participation in the struggle in which our Empire is engaged.

In Canada also as in Great Britain there are mothers and wives who have seen their sons and husbands for the last time, children who have kissed their daddies for the last time.

A writer, noted as a cynic, told a great truth when he said:

"Were glory her rewards to yield
To those who have the right to them;
The skull upon the battlefield
Would often wear a diadem;

The hero is not he who sits upon the throne,
'Tis oftener he who fighting dies unknown."

I agree with Brother Bevin that democracy seems to move so slowly. For years we were passing resolutions against war, full of sentiment, and had not provided the necessary machinery to carry out our ideals and prevent by action of the workers in every country, such a horrible struggle as is proceeding in Europe; whether it be at the bidding of a military autocracy in any country. The Trades and Labor Congress has decided to coincide in the declaration of the American Federation of Labor at the Philadelphia Convention.

It agrees that a General Labor Congress should be called to meet wherever the diplomats of the various nations meet to settle the terms of peace. That labor representatives from various nations must be on hand to take part in shaping the destinies of the countries involved in the settlement. The International Trade Union Movement of Canada will, through the Congress, take such steps as are necessary to see that Canada takes its part in the General Labor Congress.

Like President Gompers at the opening session, I feel that there is so much to say and so little time to say it in. I recognize that adjournment time has passed while I have been speaking. I feel sure you appreciate the difficulty of following the two eloquent brothers from Great Britain. I again extend to you on behalf of the Congress, fraternal greetings, good will, hopes for the ever-strengthening of the bonds of Internationalism, and I thank you for the many courtesies received at your hands since my arrival, which I take as appreciation of the organization which I have the honor to represent here today.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Secretary John J. Whelan, San Francisco Council, No. 615, Knights of Columbus, extending to the delegates and their families the free and unlimited use of their club rooms at 150 Golden Gate avenue, during the sessions of the convention.

The Secretary also read a communication from Secretary L. A. Eaton, San Francisco Lodge, No. 26, Loyal Order of Moose, extending to members of that organization and their friends the privilege of the club rooms, Golden Gate avenue and Jones street. The communication also stated that an Initiation would take place in the Moose auditorium on the evening of Nov. 10, to which all the visiting members were invited.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2 p. m.

THIRD DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, November 10th, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Absentees: Abrahams, Adams (B. A.), Ainsworth, Anderson, Bergstrom, Blakeley, Bock, Boswell, Boyden, Brock, Brown, Castro, Christman, Corbley, Curran, Dean, Doyle, Duffey, Evans, Fletcher, Ford, Galvin, Garvey, Gaviak, Glass, Golden, Green, Greene, Hall, Hammer-schlag, Hanley, Harris (G. B.), Harris (W. W.), Hart (J. W.), Holm, Hurley, Hutcheson, Ives, James, Jennings, Kearney, Keller, Kiernan, Kraft, Kranefeld, Lamoreux, Lawson, Leber, Letroadec, Mahoney, Mareschl, Marshall, Marks, Myrup, McClory, McGarry, McGovern, McNulty, McSorley, O'Brien, O'Connell, Perkins, Pettit, Porter, Post, Riley, Rowe, Ryan (P. F.), Sachs, Schneider (G. J.), Smith (J. T.), Splegl, Steidle, Suarez, Sweek, Talbott, Tracy, Triaka, Walker, Warden, Wessel, White, Williams, Woodman.

Vice-President Duncan introduced to the convention Delegate H. J. Conway, Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the recent convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, who read the following report:

Report of Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

To the Officers and Members of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

In presenting for your consideration my report as Fraternal Delegate to the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada it will be my purpose to be as brief and concise as possible.

The convention opened in the Labor Temple in the city of Vancouver, British Columbia, on Monday, September 20, 1915, and continued in session until Saturday evening, September 25.

It was a magnificent convention, composed of as fine a representative body as ever assembled in any meeting place for the purpose of dealing with the interests of the toilers in annual congress. In spite of the terrible war in which the mother country is involved, and has been for more than a year past, which has resulted in the absence of many of Canada's stalwart sons, in face of the severe business depression which has been keenly felt from one end of this continent to the other, and even though the convention city was at a far distant point from the central part of the Dominion, still more than two hundred delegates responded to the roll call after the Committee on Credentials had reported.

The work of the delegates was, to say the least, amazing; strict attention was paid to business from the moment that President Watters opened the convention proper until the adjournment sine die. During all of the sessions no time was wasted, and while the most pleasing forms of entertainment were provided, when the same interfered with the work of the delegates during the day, night sessions were held, so that none of the time during the entire week was wasted.

Among the prominent guests of the Congress were Hon. J. W. Bowser, Provincial Attorney-General, and the Hon. T. W. Crothers, Federal Minister of Labor, both of whom gave addresses, and during the week the Minister of Labor had a number of very important questions submitted to him, and the gentleman in question must be complimented, not alone upon his ready command of language, but also on his beautiful system whereby he evaded giving direct answers to the inquiries made.

The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is a legislative body pure and simple, and during their last session refused point blank to handle any jurisdictional disputes on the ground that their work was properly legislative, and this was upheld by the unanimous vote of the congress. In this manner much time was saved which might otherwise have been devoted to the discussion of jurisdictional disputes.

There were ninety-six resolutions introduced at the congress and every one of them was given the widest latitude for discussion. The Workmen's Compensation amendments possibly consumed the greatest amount of time in debate.

The report of the Executive Council went minutely into the work of that body with its recommendations, etc., for the past year, as well as the report of the Executive Committee from the various provinces of Canada, all of which were dealt with section by section by the delegates.

The report of the Executive Council presented in concrete form the many problems confronting the toilers in the Dominion of Canada, chiefly, perhaps, those conditions resulting from the unfortunate strife in which they as a nation are involved, and pointed out clearly that in whatever manner this terrific bloodshed began it cannot now be stopped by arguments or lengthy dissertations, nor until constitutional freedom and democracy are triumphant over military autocracy. In the meantime, it behooves organized labor in all countries to continue their mutual co-operation until such time as peace restored will enable the toilers to carry forward their work triumphant.

The Executive Committee for the Province of Nova Scotia reported the enactment of a satisfactory Workmen's

Compensation law in the face of stupendous opposition, and one which it will be the endeavor of the other provinces to put into effect through the efforts of the labor movement.

The report of Secretary-Treasurer Draper showed a slight decrease in membership, this being readily accounted for by the large number of trade unionists who have enlisted for military service, and being of a temporary character not in the least denoting any lack of progress.

President Watters' report covered the past year's work in detail and a number of conferences held pertaining to occupational diseases, the workmen's compensation, compulsory insurance, industrial disputes investigation, labor bureaus, etc. He emphasized that the legislation desired by the toilers will be enacted only in proportion to the degree of influence brought to bear on their legislators, and urged a united effort to send representatives from their own ranks who could be relied upon to enact laws for the conservation of human welfare.

Brother Andrew Furuseth of the Seamen was a visitor at the Congress. He was granted the floor and delivered one of the finest addresses on the evolution of the Seamen's Union that it has been my privilege to hear. He explained in detail the Seamen's Law and its relation to the rights and liberties of the workers of that craft. Brother Furuseth's remarks were warmly applauded, and at their conclusion a resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention endorsing the Seamen's Law and pledging support to its enactment.

The subject of International Trades Unionism was touched upon, and a resolution introduced by Delegate H. J. Halford of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union was unanimously adopted reaffirming the determination of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to do all within its power to advance the cause of International Trades Unionism.

In further substantiation of the benefits derived through the International movement were the remarks of Delegate J. H. McVety, President of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, when he stated that had it not been for the work done by one of the international unions the strike of the Street Railwaymen's Union in Vancouver could not have been prevented. He also referred to the threatened strike of the Longshoremen and to the fact that some of the same international officers had refused to call a strike on the Pacific Coast though offered a bribe of \$1,200,000. Brother McVety also called attention to the number of Canadian international officers, the same being large in proportion to the Canadian membership in international unions.

The terrible war now raging on the European continent has upset many of the former theories and beliefs held by the workers in Canada, and like their co-workers in the States they have awakened to the realization that legis-

lation is not an effective remedy unless supplemented by organized solidarity for the purpose of collective bargaining, and it was freely admitted that more thorough organization was essential in order to participate in the full benefit of those laws which have already been enacted in the interests of the welfare of humanity.

The platform of principles of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress number seventeen, briefly stated as follows:

1. Free compulsory education.
2. Legal working day of eight hours, and six days to a week.
3. Government inspection of all industries.
4. The abolition of contract system on all public works.
5. A minimum living wage, based on local condition.
6. Public ownership of all franchises, such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, waterworks, lighting, etc.
7. Tax reform, by lessening taxation on industry and increasing it on land values.
8. Abolition of the Dominion Senate.
9. Exclusion of all Asiatics.
10. The Union Label to be placed on all manufactured goods where practicable, and all government and municipal supplies.
11. Abolition of child labor for children under sixteen years, and the establishing of equal pay for equal work for men and women.
12. Abolition of property qualification for all public offices.
13. Voluntary arbitration of labor disputes.
14. Compulsory vote and proportional representation with grouped constituencies and abolition of municipal wards.
15. Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum.
16. Prohibition of prison labor in competition with free labor.
17. Equal suffrage for men and women over 21 years of age.

Words are inadequate in which to express my appreciation of the cordial welcome and courteous treatment extended to me during my visit in Vancouver and throughout the sessions of the Congress. I was initiated into some of the mysteries by the brothers across the imaginary line, but as I had already taken many similar degrees I was able to withstand the shock better than I might otherwise have done. As a further expression of the good fellowship that prevailed I was presented with a beautiful token in the shape of a pearl and diamond scarf pin which I shall ever treasure highly in memory of the Canadian friends with whom it was my privilege to mingle for a short time.

Permit me to add that a visit to the city of Vancouver is well worth the effort, the scenery is superb, the surroundings magnificent, the city beautiful, and the hearty and cordial hand grasp of the workers in Canada when they learn that you are a fellow trade unionist can never be forgotten for the action is spontaneous from the heart.

In conclusion I desire to tender to the American Federation of Labor my sincere thanks and appreciation for the privilege of serving in the capacity of Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and bearing with me the fraternal greetings of our movement to those so closely allied to us in one common aim and purpose.

Fraternally submitted,

H. J. CONWAY,

Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Vice-President Duncan: I wish to introduce to the Convention Miss Agnes Nestor, representing the National Women's Trade Union League. Other organizations have claimed the credit of having been first in organized labor to recognize the need of organized women and to protect their rights, but when others than our American Federation of Labor did so they did it simply to play to the gallery. We first began in 1883 with a woman delegate to our convention and have been working hard for the organization of women ever since. Delegate Agnes Nestor needs no introduction to most of the delegates here. She has been an executive officer of her own organization, the Glove Workers; she has been their delegate and has been earnest in the work for more years than I care to tell. She is just a little older than she looks. She has had other connections with the organizations of women which enables her to speak for them.

Fraternal Delegate Agnes Nestor: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to this Convention—This is the first convention I have attended as a fraternal delegate to represent women in the different trades represented in the National Women's Trade Union League. I bring you greetings from them. I wish they were all here today; I wish this whole convention was sprinkled with women delegates in as large a number as they are represented proportionately in the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and I feel the convention is not far distant when we will have the women here as delegates in large numbers.

The National Women's Trade Union League is known to a great many of the delegates here; many of you have worked intimately with the officers in cities where our local leagues are located, but I feel a number of the delegates do not know, because they have not had the opportunity to know, what the purpose of the Women's National Trade Union League is. The first purpose of the league, as you know, is to organize women into trade unions. After we have them organized into trade unions we have another big job, and that is to educate them, to bring them out and make them more active in their different local unions so that they will

be a force in this movement to help bring about the changes necessary, and to be a force in the movement we need to make a great and solid movement, as the American Federation of Labor must be, to meet all the problems it has to meet.

It is quite natural that the men should turn to our organizations when there are difficulties in the trades of the women in our cities, and we have been quite astonished in a great many instances to learn some of the conditions existing in certain industries. For instance, this summer the carpenters' representative came to us from Oshkosh, Wis., and asked us to send an organizer to that city to organize the women woodworkers. Some of us had not thought of women working in the wood industry. I think some of you now do not dream of the carpenters having women in their membership. Our secretary, Miss Emma Stehagen, went there and found the women were receiving from seven cents to ten cents an hour for work the men in Chicago are receiving forty cents an hour for. She organized these women, with the assistance of the trade unionists of that city, and they are now affiliated with the carpenters' organization.

Our organizers are trade union women, and they are working to organize the trades in which women are employed. In Illinois one of the very significant things we have been able to do in the last year and a half was to organize the women and men working in the state institutions who are caring for the wards of our state. It is a new organization, but it is an organization we hope will extend all over the country. We found that the nurses and attendants in those institutions—where we ought to have ideal conditions, because the state is the employer—we found them overworked and underpaid, exploited, just as they are in a great many of our industries controlled by private enterprise, and in order to bring about any sort of change it was necessary to organize every institution in the state.

With the assistance of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor, with funds appropriated by the Illinois State Federation, we were able to bring about the organization of this group of workers so effectively that during the last year they have entirely changed the conditions of their employment. Now throughout the state they have an eight-hour day, and the men and women doing the same work are on exactly the same basis. They have been able to secure one day of rest in seven and a great many other changes have been made in their employment. Those workers brought about within the shortest length of time, I believe, more changes than workers are usually able to bring about in their trade or industry. We hope that organization will be extended to other states.

Early last year our Boston Women's Trade Union League began to organize another class that is very hard to reach,

the women office cleaners. Their work begins at 2 o'clock in the morning, and in the past it has been difficult to reach them. They had to be met in the morning as they went to work. In our convention in New York last summer we had a delegate from that new and splendid organization. The office cleaners need organization as much as any group we have met. I have just received word from our national office that Miss Scott, one of our organizers, organized the women working in the cable industry in Fort Amboy, N. J., where there is a great strike. We have calls from different places, and the Women's Trade Union League is trying to build up an organization that can effectively bring about the organization of women workers, so that these problems can be met in the only way it is possible to meet them, through the trade union in each trade.

In addition to doing this work and organizing and assisting in times of strike, we are carrying on the important work of educating and developing the women within the trades so that they can carry on the work that must be carried on in each of their unions. Last summer we held a convention of the National Women's Trade Union League in New York City. It was a biennial convention. We had 84 delegates there representing 24 different trades and coming from 14 different cities. If you wanted to sense what the league means to the organized working women you should have been in that convention. The coming together of these women—and for a great many of them it meant the first time they had met nationally—the coming together with women from other trades and other cities to consider the problems that must be considered nationally in our labor movement, the coming together in that way of those girls to exchange experiences, work together on committees and devise plans for carrying on the organization was something those delegates will not forget for a long time. Some of them went home so stirred that I believe with the inspiration they got at that convention they will be able to do work they would not be inspired to do any other way.

That is the thing we are trying to do—not only nationally, but in our cities and states—trying to bring together the trade union women, trying to get them to see the problem in a bigger light than their own trade union in their own city. We want them to understand the movement as it should be understood if we are to have a great and intelligent labor movement, as we should have it. We are trying to get the women to take their place in this movement, as they should take it. There was a time when other people tried to do things for women. There was a time when they tried, and their intentions were good, to get legislation for them, but that is over and past, because the working women are talking in the legislative halls for their own measures, meeting employers and making contracts with their employers jointly with the men. Until we have all

the women taking the part they should take we cannot be satisfied. It is a big job, and it will take all the organizations all over the country to help accomplish it.

We are very glad in the Women's Trade Union League to work as closely as we can with the American Federation of Labor, to work in close cooperation with all the other organizations, because we are a part of the movement. While not directly affiliated as a National Women's Trade Union League, our membership is all a part of this great movement, because the women represented in the league are members of various trades. We make it a condition when we grant a charter in any city that a majority on the executive board of that league must be trade union members. We find before long that we haven't a majority only, but almost the entire boards and organizations are trade union members. In one city, out of a membership of nineteen on the board, sixteen are trade union members. And so it is coming more and more to be a federation of women's trade unions, a federation through which they can voice their particular demands and work out some of the problems that need to be taken up quite separate and apart just now.

We have been working for legislation, and we have had the same opposition as the men in the trades have when they are trying to get anything in the way of remedial legislation. We are working to have equal suffrage, because we feel if the trade union women depend upon just one arm, the organization, and do not have the political power and influence they need through the ballot they will be seriously handicapped. One of the national magazines recently made a poll of the various subscribers to find out the sentiment with regard to suffrage and to find out who the "antis" were. The only "anti" in the state of Illinois that responded was the attorney for the associated employers, the man who is fighting women workers, not only when they are trying to get legislation to shorten hours and other remedial legislation, but also fighting them, as he did the waitresses when they were trying to get a living wage and shorter hours by working persistently to get injunctions against them—we find that sort of man standing up alone saying he wants to so shelter and protect the women in their homes and against additional responsibilities and burdens that he does not want us to have the ballot! I think the employing forces will be one of the big forces we will have to fight in our effort to secure the ballot.

In closing, fellow delegates, I want to say that I hope in every city you will try, not only to organize the women into trade unions, but try to bring them into active service in their organizations, so they will do the work they ought to do in this great movement. If you do that it will make them the real force they ought to be, and when we have the women all working, as they should work, with the men, I believe we are all going to be nearer that great day

that is dawning for us when we can enjoy the shorter work day and the product of our toll that we ought to enjoy now.

I thank you, delegates.

Vice-President Duncan: It affords me great pleasure to introduce Miss Anna Fitzgerald of the Women's International Union Label League.

Fraternal Delegate Anna Fitzgerald: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—Unlike the previous speaker, this is not the first time I have appeared before you, but the pleasure is no less. I realize that many of you fully understand the purpose of the organization I represent; but to those of you who may not know I am going to say that our organization believes that the great power that rests in the hands of the purchasers of this country is overlooked, and feels that organized labor does not give it as much thought as it might, and for that reason an organization composed of women who do the buying in the homes, we believe, is doing a splendid work at this time and could do a great deal more if the American Federation of Labor in all the different sections of the country would give it the hearty co-operation and support it deserves. We realize that if 2,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor had their earnings spent for union-made goods a great deal of the work of organizing we are now unable to do would be accomplished.

Indirectly we have perfected many of our new organizations by creating a demand for union-made goods. We also realize that we have been able to increase the membership in many of the organizations through that same channel. There is no merchant who will ignore this demand. If the customers want a certain line of goods the merchant will supply them. While we find in many large cities the sweat-shop flourishes, and child labor exists, as well as other things organized labor has fought against for many years, we are apt to place the blame for such conditions on big business, as it were, while the fact is if we were to spend the money earned by organized labor for union-made goods it would be no longer profitable to run establishments such as I have mentioned.

We make an effort to induce the women to demand the union label. If they demand the union label, shop card and button, we realize we will be able to do effective organizing by that means. For a number of years we have had branches of our organization in various cities doing a splendid work, and while at times it may seem a little discouraging that organized labor apparently does not realize the full value of this work, we know that no great work has ever gone along smoothly. We must go slowly, but whatever we have been able to do—and we believe we have done considerable—we feel it has been a step in the right direction.

I feel it would be an imposition on this convention to take up more of your time on this line; but we realize that

here are the men who have great problems to solve, and I know that each one feels his work is so large that a little thing like the union label has no place in it. No matter how great our other work may be I believe we should always give time to this matter. The union label is a weapon of defense; it is something through which organized labor can gain more for its membership than through any other means I know, and with very little or no effort on their part. Now, what I ask this American Federation of Labor to do through its organizers is to at least encourage this work as they go along. We have had some moral support, it is true, but we realize that even the people representing the American Federation of Labor sometimes think too little of this particular line of work, and we hope that by appearing before your convention year after year we are going to instill into your minds that you have made a mistake in the past, but you are not going to make it in the future. To use a common expression of the street, money talks. Well, if money talks, let money earned under organized conditions talk and say the kind of goods that will be bought with it.

We do our work through label agitation, and by that means we have perfected many organizations and increased the membership of many others. I believe it is a work that is well worth while, and I hope the delegates upon returning to their homes will take this matter up seriously and look over the field and see why it is our merchants insist upon saying there is no demand for the union label and consequently they cannot handle union-made goods. I believe there is nothing we can do at this time that will bring about better results than by uniting in a demand for the union label, the union shop card and the union button.

Vice-President Duncan introduced to the convention Rev. E. Guy Talbott, representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

Fraternal Delegate Talbott: Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the American Federation of Labor—I have the honor of speaking to you this afternoon representing 17,000,000 Christians in this country, members of 150,000 churches composing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, and on behalf of that organization I bring to you most cordial fraternal greetings and wishes for your success not only in this convention, but for the success of the great movement that you represent. It has been the custom for some years to have fraternal delegates from our organization before your body. Last year Rev. Samuel Zane Batten was our delegate, before that Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, and before that my colleague in this convention, Mr. Charles Stelzie, who has done more than any other man to give the churches a better understanding of the meaning and purpose of organized labor.

We are glad to be present with you, to listen to your deliberations and to

let you know that the churches we represent, the organizations we represent, are coming to feel every year a deeper interest in the problems and in the program which you represent. I would not be fair to you if I did not say there are some men in the ministry of the church who do not recognize the importance of the labor movement. Just as there are some men in the ranks of labor who do not recognize the importance of the church, so there are some ministers who do not recognize the importance of the things for which you stand. One of the prominent ministers on this coast, who received \$7,000 a year, does not know the difference between an anarchist, an I. W. W., a socialist and a trade unionist—he puts them all together, classes them as anarchists and wants nothing to do with them. But this same man, with his little notions—to show you the broad character of the labor organizations here—was asked by the central labor body of his city to give the Labor Day address this year. There is hope that he may yet be converted and become a true Christian!

The thing that has done more than anything else to help men of that type in the church to understand the meaning of the labor movement has been the interchange of fraternal delegates. It has been my privilege to be a fraternal delegate from a church organization to the Trades and Labor Council of Los Angeles some years ago, when for a man to be known as a labor union man meant that he would lose his job. In my case it meant the loss of my job, but I think more of labor than I do of a job, and I thought so then. The time has come in Los Angeles when a man can be a member of organized labor and retain his job. And your great movement has made that possible. There was a time, and it still exists to a certain extent, when the scale of wages in that city was lower than in any other Pacific Coast town; however, wages have been raised tremendously in the last few years, due solely and exclusively to the efforts of organized labor.

There are some things you can do alone, and there are some things the organization I have the honor to represent can do alone; but there are some other things we can do far better working together, co-operating one with another. In the past we have been carrying on, through our Commission on the Church and Social Service, a campaign in a great many states for one day of rest in seven. We are carrying it on at present and co-operating with your national movement and the various state federations. Most of you are familiar also with the investigations of labor strife that have been made by our Commission on Church and Social Service. The strife at Muscatine, Iowa, the trouble at the South Bethlehem plant, the later trouble at Lawrence, Mass., and the still later struggles in Ludlow, Colo., and the Calumet region of Michigan, were investigated. The reports of this commission were issued by the hundred thousand. Every one of these re-

ports found in favor of the labor movement, and they helped to give the people in the churches a better idea of the things for which organized labor stands. Only this last week I heard a man high in the councils of the churches of this country tell of a first-hand investigation he had made of the battle field of Ludlow, Colo., and how his blood boiled when he found that all the machinery and the power of government were used to thwart the cause of humanity as represented by the labor organizations in that field.

There are two fields in which we must work if we are to have a satisfactory solution of the problem. One is the menacing problem of unemployment. In my work for the Council I come in almost daily contact with that sordid side of industry known as unemployment. We greet you here on the Pacific Coast and welcome you to the golden state of California because we believe your coming here will help us to have a better appreciation of our problems. While we are not an industrial state, the biggest industrial problems we face today in California, I think the biggest problem that this nation faces, is the problem of unemployment. Not only is it grave from the standpoint of industry, but it is a most menacing problem from the social standpoint. Unless there shall come a speedy solution of this problem, according to the statements of the President of this country as expressed in the addresses before his election, we must face in this land bloody revolution.

One of the greatest problems that will be presented to you or that you can consider is that menacing problem of unemployment. I have seen thousands of men constituting our unemployed armies in this state driven from one city to another at the point of the bayonet, the pick handle and the use of the fire department. I have seen men in the police courts sent to jail and to the workhouse for the sole crime of being without a job and without money. The question of the employment of migratory workers is a serious problem on the Pacific Coast, but the question of unemployment is not confined to the seasonal or migratory workers, or the so-called hoboes and bums.

The Department of Labor recently made an investigation of fifteen eastern cities and twelve cities on the coast. In the eastern cities the investigation covered 400,000 families, not of seasonal laborers or traveling people, but craft workers, and it was discovered that 11½ per cent. of all those laborers investigated were unemployed at the time the investigation was made, that 16½ per cent. of them were employed part of the time; and in the twelve Pacific coast cities it was found that 13 per cent. were unemployed and over 20 per cent. employed only part of the time.

The question of unemployment is a growing question in the craft organizations as well as for the migratory workers, and it can be solved only by the application concretely of the spirit of brotherhood and democracy for which

this trade convention stands. Not by resolution, not solely by laws on the statute books, but by a concrete expression of brotherhood are we going to solve these problems. Sometimes I feel the church I represent and the organized labor movement which you represent have wrapped the mantles of our righteousness about us and passed by the hobo and the bum. If brotherhood means more than an empty word we must apply it over the whole working field until all men shall be conscious of brotherhood and love and act as brothers to one another. If there were not so many unemployed at the top there would not be so many unemployed at the bottom, and until we can secure a more equitable distribution of the product of toil I believe we never will solve the problem of unemployment. And well may you give yourselves to an understanding of that problem.

The other question that throws itself over our minds today like a pall, the question upon which we must work together in a spirit of brotherhood, is the question of militarism. I speak now, not in reference to the problem across the seas, but the problem as it presents itself to us right here in America. We have in our Federal Council our Commission on Peace and Arbitration. That commission has one task only, to make the churches feel that spirit of brotherhood for which we have been standing in our resolutions and our preaching for so long. If there was as much class consciousness, as much consciousness of brotherhood in the organized churches as there is in the organized labor movement war would be an impossibility. The task we have within the church is to create a spirit of brotherhood, a real spirit of brotherhood that will forever make war an impossibility.

What we face here is not the imminence of war, although its possibility is ever before us, but the task we face here is the creation of a sentiment against militarism. The Army and Navy League and the jingo press of this country are constantly striving to create a sentiment in the public mind in favor of militarism, and it is for us in the religious movement, and you in the labor movement, to create a sentiment that will prevent the plunging of this country into war. When any country goes to war the brunt must not only be borne by the workers, but the aftermath must rest upon their shoulders. The rehabilitation of Europe after the war is over will rest upon the shoulders of the workers. The great debt that is piling up now will constitute an incubus no class can carry and survive. We must see to it in this country, if democracy is to come in the field of industry and social life generally, that the militarist spirit does not prevail and that the militarist class does not dominate.

So in your work in this convention for bettering the conditions of the whole working class, not only the craft organizations I would bid you Godspeed; in

your efforts for the amelioration of industrial wrongs through legislation and through the creation of a public sentiment we pledge you our hearty co-operation and support, and in your warfare against war and hate and discord and in favor of arbitration, conciliation and the use of the principles of democracy in the settlement of international, inter-racial and inter-labor disputes we pledge you our earnest co-operation and Godspeed. I thank you.

Vice-President Duncan: One additional pleasure. We have an old delegate here today in a new light, a man from the Sunny South, who has grown up within the Union and has been a good union man since he was a boy, who has been an organizer for the American Federation of Labor for a long time, who has been a delegate to this convention about as often as any man has been a delegate, but this time comes as a fraternal delegate from the Southern Labor Congress. It would spoil the pleasure of listening to him to dwell longer upon what he represents—Col. Jerome Jones, representing the Southern Labor Congress.

Fraternal Delegate Jones: You who have here assembled, and those who preceded you in making of this Federation of Labor a monument of beneficence to mankind in an epochal industrial generation, fully understand the great need of solidarity in the ranks of labor. You and they have achieved that solidarity in the face of fierce economic opposition, but you and they wrought in a region where there was only economic opposition. We of the South, limited in numbers, perhaps, but as zealous and enthusiastic as any of you, marched side by side with you in the upbuilding of this wonderful agency—an agency that has done more for humanity in raising the standard of living, in rescuing the children from premature toil, in breaking the galling chains of industrial bondage which in other days bound the women toilers, in shortening the hours of labor, in spreading education, in conquering disease, and reducing the liability of accidents in mine, factory and on railroads, than all the other altruistic agencies combined have accomplished in a century of concerted effort. Because of the activities of this great Federation of Labor and the splendid, gifted men who have guided its destiny in all these years of magical growth, a new social doctrine has been enunciated and promulgated, and to-day is the law of the land, to-wit: Labor is not a chattel.

We of the South, I say, shared in this progress, but not altogether. As I said a moment ago, the opposition encountered by us in the North and West was economic.

In the South that opposition is complicated by other complications. We have had to overcome customs and tra-

ditions; those customs and traditions have for generations been part of the social and political structure of the South. Little or no organization of labor existed in the South until several years after the Civil War, when the Knights of Labor made its advent, followed immediately by the American Federation of Labor.

Moreover, we of the South who were crusading for humanity were in a farming and sparsely settled country, so far as manufacturing and mechanical industries were concerned.

You of the other sections of the country were almost never without sight of the smokestack betokening the presence of your industrial brethren. In the South, our industrial centers are hundreds of miles apart, tied together only by the sheer necessity of co-operative effort.

More, perhaps, than any other class of working people, those of the South who grasped the meaning of labor solidarity realize that the only good, the more lasting good, rather, could proceed from those who were to be benefited, and so in October, 1912, a meeting was called at Atlanta, Ga., for December 9th, to consider the pressing need of the South and to seek to unify the three great forces—the farmer, the railroad man and the working man—into a confraternity, claiming no jurisdiction, and seeking no special authority, which could bring about certain reforms so sadly needed in the South, where in many of the States labor legislation was archaic. That tentative meeting in Atlanta, largely attended by influential men of the South, recognized that there was a great and necessary work to do, and set about doing what they might do.

But the Atlanta meeting merely mapped out the possibility of a strictly sectional, largely advisory adjunct of the American Federation of Labor. With a wider vision, the second session of the Congress approached the delicate task before it, and fearlessly attacked the problems of labor as peculiarly affecting the South.

Out of the travail of the memorable year 1914, came a determination on the part of the leaders of southern labor who thought to make such another year of woe impossible, if it were humanly possible, through the activity of the Southern Labor Congress, and its allies.

But what had before been only a hope—a politico-economic alliance with the Farmers' Unions, as well as the Railway Brotherhoods—was seen to be feasible and it was realized that such an alliance was absolutely essential if we sought to obtain remedial and constructive legislation.

Let me give briefly the number of delegates at each session of the Congress, and the States represented.

At the first session of the Congress the following States were represented: Alabama, 16 delegates; Arkansas, 2 delegates; Florida, 2 delegates; Georgia, 9 delegates; Kentucky, 1 delegate; Louisiana, 3 delegates; Mississippi, 6 delegates; North Carolina, 9 delegates;

South Carolina, 1 delegate; Tennessee, 23 delegates; Virginia, 3 delegates; West Virginia, 2 delegates; American Federation of Labor, 1 delegate. Twelve States represented by 188 delegates.

At the second session, held in Nashville, Tenn., 115 delegates were present and 12 States represented.

At the third session of the Congress, held in Birmingham, Ala., September, 1914—the year of great depression—91 delegates were present, representing 11 States, and the recent session held in Chattanooga, 1915, 106 delegates were present, representing 10 States.

The delegates present at each of the conventions represented all classes of labor—the tradesman and the railroad men—many coming from localities where no central bodies exist, and in some instances sections of the country where labor organizations are practically unknown.

We submit to your honorable body, this membership is a valuable asset that could be utilized to great advantage.

The South seems to need a central, potent body; an organization where the representatives of all classes of organized labor from all the Southeastern States can gather, and discuss issues that are peculiar to that section. I think it could be made apparent that such an organization would prove of inestimable value—industrially and politically—to the American Federation of Labor.

We of the South, as you well know, do not take kindly to that class of unions (God save the mark) that proposes to revolutionize the industrial world in a day; such schemes, we are proud to say, meet with scant encouragement at our hands. The Congress was fashioned and is in the making by men and women of your kind, and it is with you, in a great measure, to give it value.

The promoters of the Southern Labor Congress would call your attention to the fact that the Southeastern States are progressing materially, and it is confidently believed by those who know that in the next decade they will treble their present industrial population.

But we do want your sympathy, your co-operation, your help. We need missionaries in the South—something more than organizers, who often only gather together certain units and leave them before they cohere. We are giving the utmost of our time and funds to redeem the industrial South. We are showing by our every act that we believe in self-help. Give us what you will, but we will in no wise relax our efforts.

Without the co-operative help of the farmers and railroad men we cannot hope to solve the problem in the lifetime of most of us in the South—certainly not in mine. With the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, and these elements as gathered together in the Southern Labor Congress, we can get results in the immediate future.

Chairman Moser, for the Credential Committee, presented the following report:

November 10, 1915.
To the Officers and Delegates of the
Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the
A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Credentials has received credentials from the following organization and we recommend that the delegates be seated:

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, James F. Riley, 50 votes. The committee recommends that Joseph F. Clark be seated in place of George F. Hedrick as a delegate from the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Delegate Hedrick being unable to attend the convention.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. MOSER,

Chairman.

JAMES O'CONNOR,

E. LEWIS EVANS,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Vice-President Duncan stated that some of the building trades were not represented on the Committee on Building Trades and one organization had two representatives, and announced that Joseph F. Clark would be substituted on that committee for George F. Hedrick, who was not present, and that James G. Hannahan of the engineers would take the place of George E. Blakeley of the carpenters, who had two members on the committee.

Vice-President Duncan: When the original report of the Committee on Credentials was read to the convention they reported as follows: "We have received credentials from B. Suzuki and S. Yoshimatsu of Japan, representing the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan. We recommend that the courtesy of the convention be extended to them with the opportunity of being heard at some convenient time." These two delegates came to a meeting of the Executive Council last September and asked to be given a hearing at this convention. They represent a general organization of labor in Japan. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to the convention from far Japan, B. Suzuki.

Fraternal Delegate Suzuki: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—I consider it my greatest honor and privilege to have been permitted a seat among you, leaders of the most powerful labor organizations in the world, assembled here at this great convention, and convey to you the most cordial greetings from the laborers of my country. I come here representing the

Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, with the message of good will to you, my American comrades.

When I say that I 'represent a labor organization in Japan,' some of you may doubt if there is any labor organization in my country. Furthermore, there may be others who wonder whether there be among Japanese laborers those who have spirit and self-consciousness enough to organize a labor movement. There may be still others who sincerely believe that the Japanese Government strictly prohibits any labor movement, and that a laborer in Japan merely lives as a slave to wages or machinery. I believe it is my duty to answer all these questions.

Japan is one of the oldest countries in the world, and at the same time one of the youngest. Old because her history dates back two thousand six hundred years; and new because it is only fifty years since she appeared before the eyes of the world, having been awakened from her long slumber under feudalism. Because she is an old country, there are various circumstances, customs and conventions that may sometimes be at variance with the forces of progress. Because she is a new country there must necessarily be elements of imperfection and disorder. We cannot pass unnoticed the fact that there are these forces of old and new that are constantly complicating our labor problems.

Japanese civilization of to-day is almost wholly a result of the importation of European and American civilization. Although the excellence of Oriental civilization, which has prevailed for the last three thousand years, has not been wholly lost, it is an undeniable fact that the Occidental civilization has wielded a great influence along the lines of education, politics, religion, military affairs, architecture, dress, food, commerce and industry. Especially, it is no exaggeration to say that modern industry is entirely an importation from Europe and America. Japanese industries in the past have been but manual and domestic industries. It is only within the last thirty years that the whistle of the steam engine has been heard in our cities and hamlets. Japan is very small in size and its skill is yet undeveloped. This latter is true of its labor, for unlike Europe and America, the Japanese laborer is not definitely classified. The working hours are from nine to twelve and the wage of an average worker is about one yen, although that of the most skilled worker is more than two yen. Women's wages are from one-half to two-thirds of men's. Although the price of commodities in Japan is much lower than in the United States, it cannot be denied that the living conditions of Japanese workers are harder than those of the American. At present there are in Japan nearly 1,000,000 factory workers, 400,000 mine workers, 200,000 railroad firemen, engineers and workers, 200,000 common laborers, 60,000 seamen. I believe the total number of laborers, therefore, excluding farm hands, will

not be less than 5,000,000. The majority of these workers have no vote, their social standing is comparatively low, and their standard of living is inferior. This is the great problem we have to contend with.

But, there is one thing that needs an explanation. During the last half century Japan has been compelled to pay her whole attention to foreign policy and diplomacy, and consequently, she has not had time to devote to internal affairs. She has lived under the constant pressure brought to bear upon her by the powerful nations of the West. To her no respite has been allowed so that she might look around and see where she stood. She had to maintain a large army and navy to protect her existence against the aggressions of one power or another. The result is that she had to neglect social problems and in particular the welfare of the laboring class.

Yet such a condition is not confined to Japan. Other countries have passed through much the same stages. Those of you who are familiar with the history of the industrial revolution of Great Britain will bear me out in this statement. A few years ago, famous English Socialists and students of labor problems, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, visited Japan. After inspecting various factories in my country, Mr. Webb said that the industrial condition in Japan was seventy years behind that of England. Seventy years may be too long, but there may be a difference of fifty years in the industrial development of the two countries. I feel certain, therefore, that those of you who know the labor condition of England fifty years ago will not blame Japan alone in this respect.

Fortunately, the Japanese Government has finally been awakened to the need of the situation. After investigation and study for the past ten years, the Imperial Parliament passed, in 1912, factory legislation with the intention of protecting working men, especially women and child laborers. And, according to a recent report, the Japanese Government intends to appropriate 250,000 yen in the budget in order that the legislation might be in practical operation from next year. This sum of 250,000 yen would defray the expenses and salaries of four inspector-generals in the central government and of 200 provincial inspectors. Already these inspectors have been appointed, and at present the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, under whose control the new legislation will be carried out, has been studying the question of its practical application.

There is an organization called the Society of Social Politics, organized by leading scholars, educators, statesmen and financiers, whose object is to study various social problems from a scientific point of view in order to improve the condition of our society and to alleviate the ills of modern industrialism. The association, with its deep sympathy for the existing labor condition in Japan,

has contributed, directly and indirectly, toward the betterment and uplifting of laborers' conditions.

Finally, I wish to call your attention to the awakening of the Japanese workmen. By their constant economic pressure and by the progress of knowledge due to education they have been forced to awaken to their present position. The special causes that have led them to their self-realization are the compulsory educational system of my country and the universality of newspapers, magazines and other publications. Thus, in 1912, we organized the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan. During the three years of its existence the society has grown with tremendous rapidity until to-day it has 52 branches throughout the Empire with a membership of 10,000. Of course there is no comparison between your great organization and ours. Your organization is thirty-two years older than our infant society. If I am not mistaken, President Gompers is sixty-two years of age, while I, as humble president of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, am but thirty years old. After thirty-two years of the development of our Laborers' Friendly Society yet to come, when my hair turns as gray as your venerable President's, I am sure that our society will have grown into as powerful an organization as your great American Federation of Labor. We come here, therefore, to learn from you the secrets of your success and receive your kind advice. We look upon you as our big brother whose guidance and co-operation will give great impetus to the growth of the labor movement in Japan.

My friends, American fellow-workers, I have learned in Japan that there are no national barriers in labor. The laborer is the worker of the world, the worker of humanity. Neither high mountains nor wide oceans can sever the true friendship of the world laborers. The laborers, indeed, have their common enemy and their common interests. We, laborers of the world, must march on to attain our common goal regardless of race, religion and nationality. Look at the overwhelming power of modern capitalism! For their common interest, capitalists have co-operated and fought together without regard to the difference of language and color. Shall we not emulate their example? Your great George Washington well said in employing his servants that they should receive equal treatment and due consideration, "if they are good workmen, though they may be from Asia, Africa, or Europe; they may be Mohammedans, Jews, or Christians, or atheists."

Prejudice is an enemy of the laborer. Misunderstanding is an enemy of the laborer. Hatred is an enemy of the laborer. We have to co-operate with one another with a thorough understanding and warm friendship. Instead of being like a flock of sheep driven into a slaughtering pen, we must go into the battle in answer to a bugle call and fight courageously with single aim and

purpose to become the eternal protector of justice and peace. I believe if there were true understanding and mutual co-operation among the laborers of Europe, they could have prevented the present great catastrophe.

During the last four months of our stay in the United States Mr. Yoshimatsu and myself have received many kindnesses and courtesies from you, my American comrades, and we have been deeply impressed with your efficiency and solidarity. When we return home to Japan, we will not only convey the message of your good will and kindness to our comrades at home, but we will emulate your example by uplifting labor conditions in Japan. Let us remain as comrades until death and even after death!

Vice-President Duncan: President Gompers has been absent today owing to a cold he contracted since coming here and has remained in the hotel to recuperate.

The local committee on entertainment has extended an invitation to the delegates to take part in a sight-seeing tour tomorrow. What is your pleasure?

Delegate Orr: I move that we adjourn and comply with the request of the local committee, and reconvene at 9:30 Friday morning. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Cannon: The rules committee reported that resolutions would be received until the close of Thursday's session. The sense of the committee was that any resolutions the delegates might have to present would be received up to midnight tomorrow.

Vice-President Duncan stated that resolutions would be received by President Gompers at the Sutter Hotel up to midnight Thursday.

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, A struggle of more than twenty years on the part of the trade-union movement of our country to secure freedom for the seamen, promote safety of employment and travel at sea and build up an American merchant marine without resorting to subsidy has culminated in the passage of the Seamen's law by the Sixty-third Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, An effort is being made to secure the repeal of the Seamen's law before it has had a trial under the plea that it was not well considered legislation, and would drive the American merchant marine from the sea; and

WHEREAS, The tonnage of the American merchant marine has increased more

rapidly since the enactment of the Seamen law than in any other like period of our history notwithstanding the fact that American ship-owners knew that the act would go into effect on November 4th of this year; and

WHEREAS, This measure has been pending before Congress in one form or another for more than twenty years; has been thoroughly investigated on numerous occasions by the committees of both Houses where the representatives of all interests were given a full hearing; has been exhaustively debated in Senate and House by many of their ablest members; has been passed twice through both branches of Congress and several times through one branch; and was so generally approved, irrespective of party, that it was endorsed in the platforms of the two great political parties in 1912, all of which proves that it has had a most thorough consideration; and

WHEREAS, The freedom of the seamen and the safety of the traveling public must at all times take precedence over private profit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor stands unalterably opposed to the repeal of the Seamen's law or any attempt to impair the safety of travel at sea or renew the bonds under which seamen have been compelled to labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to present this resolution to the President and Congress of the United States and that all affiliated bodies be advised to adopt and submit the substance of this resolution to their respective Senators and Congressmen.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to ship subsidies which take public moneys for the purpose of promoting private gain; and

WHEREAS, An American merchant marine can be built up on a basis that will give freedom to the seamen and safety to the traveling public without resorting to subsidies; and

WHEREAS, The present world crisis has demonstrated that the building up of an American merchant marine is essential for the extension and protection of our foreign trade and vital to the interests of all classes of our people; and

WHEREAS, An American merchant marine with an American personnel is the only safe method of providing an effective naval auxiliary which will promote our commerce in times of peace and furnish us the means of defense in times of danger; and

WHEREAS, Private capital has failed during the past fifty years to develop or maintain a merchant marine under our flag, leaving the vital interests of the country unprotected either by the building and operation of the necessary ships

or the creation of a trained body of seamen upon whose allegiance the country must depend in a crisis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is heartily in favor of the immediate creation by the United States Government of an American merchant marine to be manned by American seamen under conditions that will make them an effective naval reserve, and recommends to the Congress of the United States prompt passage of legislation for the establishment of a shipping board for the building or purchase of vessels by the United States Government to be operated for the development of our foreign trade under conditions that will give safety to the traveler and freedom to the seaman and to be available as an effective naval auxiliary for the protection of our country in time of war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to present this resolution to the President and Congress of the United States and that all affiliated bodies be advised to adopt and submit the substance of this resolution to their respective Senators and Congressmen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, The United States is one of the few civilized countries that has no retirement provision for its superannuated civil service employees; and

WHEREAS, The absence of retirement legislation is costly to the Government and to the employees; men are either retained beyond their years of usefulness or they are dismissed after giving their life's work to the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled that we endorse the efforts of the Federal civil service employees to secure the early enactment of an equitable retirement measure; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to give all possible aid to affiliated civil service employees in calling the urgency of this situation confronting aged Government workers to the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Each year large sums of money are expended in the building and maintaining of Army and Naval Stations in the United States and its various Territorial possessions; and

WHEREAS, By an investigation it has been found that nearly all of the labor employed on the construction work is of an alien or non-citizen character and to

the detriment of the citizen workmen of this United States who, in many, if not nearly all instances have been discriminated against by the contractors and their agents who are engaged in supervising this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby go on record as being opposed to such procedure and herewith protest against the discrimination as has and is now being practiced against American citizens' labor, in the building, equipping and maintaining our Army and Naval Stations within the United States and its Territorial possessions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct its Secretary to communicate this protest to the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels; to the Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison; to the Secretary of Labor, Hon. Wm. B. Wilson, calling their attention to these facts and requesting them to use their good offices to see that the rights of the American workman be safeguarded, and that he be given the right to work on all construction work being done for the United States Government, whether such work be done directly or indirectly, by day labor, or through the use of contract labor; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to draw up a petition to Congress asking that body to enact a law that will prohibit the employment of alien labor on all Government work in preference to citizen labor of this United States and its Territorial possessions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Within the past few years public opinion and sentiment has become much awakened to the justice of adequate compensation to workmen injured by industrial accidents, and during that time marked progress has been made in favorable legislation providing compensation for injuries or deaths of employees and giving recognition to the rightful liability of an employer for the safety of workmen in his employ; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government should properly be foremost to set a high example and take the lead over the several States in humanitarian measures of this character, the scope of which is world-wide; and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the compensation acts of the United States Government applying to accidents and injuries of its employees, are inadequate and not up to the standard of similar laws in a number of the States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, hereby pledges fullest support to secure Congressional enactment of laws for compensation of injuries to the Government employees

more nearly in keeping with the best of the recent State laws. We urge that such Government laws embody provisions (1) Compensation of every day of injury; (2) a more adequate death benefit instead of one year's pay as at present; (3) compensation to extend for a greater period than one year if injuries are serious, and partial or total disability results; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted through proper channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable action by that body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Section*14, of Article XIII, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor which directs that one-fourth (¼) of the initiation fees collected be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, has proved impracticable and detrimental to Federal and Laborers' Unions of California chartered by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That said Section 14, of Article XIII is hereby repealed and that Sections 15, 16 and 17 of Article XIII be renumbered accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, There are a number of local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are not affiliated with State Branches or Central Bodies; and

WHEREAS, We believe that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be affiliated with their respective State Federations and Central Bodies; and

WHEREAS, Article XI, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, sets forth, "It shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist, similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction"; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been presented to the American Federation of Labor Conventions year after year anent this matter without bringing the desired results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Article XI, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby amended by striking out the entire sec-

tion and inserting in lieu thereof the following, to be known as Section 11 of Article XI:

"It shall be mandatory upon all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make it mandatory upon their local unions to join the chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. It shall be mandatory upon all locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with all trade and central labor unions in their respective districts."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor are putting forth every effort to more thoroughly organize the City of Los Angeles and surrounding territory; and

WHEREAS, In this herculean task it is necessary and essential to have the active co-operation of all National and International organizations having local unions in this section of our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, that we impress upon the Executive Officers of the affiliated National and International Unions the need for immediate, active assistance in carrying the gospel of trade-unionism to the thousands of unorganized workers in Los Angeles and vicinity; further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all National and International Unions who can possibly do so, to send organizers to that locality and direct them to "get together" and map out an organizing campaign to the end that the workers of Los Angeles may become thoroughly unionized.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, More than half of the entire distribution of mail in the postal service is done at night, necessitating the service of thousands of clerks; and

WHEREAS, Neither by a time or a wage differential does the Postal Department recognize the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, In practically all industries where night work is necessary those performing it receive some recognition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, that we pledge our support to the efforts of affiliated clerks in attempting to secure remedial legislation

granting a time differential to night workers in the postal service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

RESOLVED, By the 35th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that this Federation hereby places itself on record as opposed to any interference with our present Coastwise Navigation Laws. These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards and to protect the vessels in their operation on our sea coast. The whole of the present merchant marine of the United States is the product of said laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition. Having faith in the protection of those laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would be not only unjust to permit the injury to their investments by allowing cheaper, because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but also highly impolitic, because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

WHEREAS, The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations has confirmed the experience of Labor in regard to the absolute domination by Organized Wealth over the courts and the machinery for administration of law and justice in many States; for instance, by the Rockefeller and Standard Oil interests in Colorado, the copper magnates in Michigan, the coal operators in West Virginia, and the Steel Trust and Erectors' syndicates in Indianapolis and Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The evidence gathered by said commission and Labor's experience in many celebrated cases, such as those of John Lawson in Colorado, Ford and Suhr in California, the Structural Iron Workers in Indianapolis, and Schmidt and Caplan in Los Angeles, prove the existence of a well-planned and relentless conspiracy on the part of Organized Wealth to crush the Labor Movement in all its branches and manifestations, with the aid of the courts and the use of certain ancient and worn-out legal doctrines, among which are those relating to conspiracy, constructive mur-

der, accessory before the fact, intimidation, interference, secondary boycott, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The time-honored institutions of legal procedure, such as the grand jury system, right of trial by jury, change of venue, bail and rules of evidence, all of which have been provided to safeguard and protect accused persons from cruel despotism and injustice, are now being constantly abused and perverted at the beck and will of Capital, to intimidate and enslave Labor; and

WHEREAS, Through such perversion of law and procedure Organized Wealth is permitted to single out and punish the active spirits in the Labor Movement, by holding them responsible for the acts of other persons involved in an industrial disturbance, without the necessity on the part of the prosecution to prove actual knowledge of or participation in the crime by the defendant, which legal condition is an anachronism and modern revival of the old procedure in cases of treason against the king; and

WHEREAS, This persecution of Labor by Organized Wealth in the courts constitutes the greatest existing grievance and menace affecting Organized Labor, and it behooves the Labor Movement as a whole to take cognizance thereof and provide necessary defensive means to counteract these evil conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to take this matter up for thorough consideration and action with a view to restore to Labor in the courts impartial administration of law and justice and purge the judicial system of existing abuses; and further

RESOLVED, That in furtherance of the purport hereof said Executive Council is hereby authorized and directed, as soon as practicable after the adjournment of this Convention, to establish, in such manner and under such regulations as it may adopt, a general Defense Fund, the object of which shall be to provide legal defense in labor cases of general importance and interest, said fund to be maintained on a per capita basis by every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

WHEREAS, The Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by Congress to probe into the causes of existing industrial unrest, has concluded its work after conducting one of the most searching, comprehensive and instructive investigations made on that subject in this country; and

WHEREAS, The mass of information secured at the hearings of said commission contains most valuable testimony, suggestions and potential remedies for the future regulation of the industrial affairs of the nation, which information should be made accessible to the public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation be and are hereby instructed to take such measure as they may find expedient to secure from Congress an appropriation sufficient to defray the necessary expenses for the publication of the records and testimony heard before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate S. B. Marks, of the Georgia Federation of Labor:

Amend Sec. 1, Art. 3, page 4 by striking out all of the section after the word "November" in the third line, and inserting the following: "at Washington, D. C." When amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November at Washington, D. C."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates F. W. Cotterill, C. R. Case, J. G. Brown, P. W. Dowler, J. A. Taylor, G. B. Harrison (delegates from State of Washington):

WHEREAS, The Industrial Relations Commission, authorized by Congress to investigate the causes of "Industrial Unrest" and make such recommendations as it deemed best, with a view to removing these causes, has made a report which is of tremendous value and importance to Labor, and more especially Organized Labor, since it dwells so strongly upon the indispensability of organization if the best interests of the workers are to be safeguarded; and

WHEREAS, The funds of the Commission would only permit of the printing of a very limited number of copies of the report, the supply of which has already been exhausted; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of our movement demand that this report be given the widest possible circulation, since it is probably the greatest document ever issued upon the subject with which it deals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we instruct our Executive Officials in Washington, D. C., to request and if necessary demand that Congress make a sufficiently large appropriation for the printing of this report, to insure its widest possible circulation, to the end that every person in the United States of America, who desires it, may possess one.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates F. W. Cotterill, C. R. Case, J. A. Taylor, P. W. Dowler, J. G. Brown, G. B. Harrison (delegates from State of Washington):

WHEREAS, The ever-growing intensity of unemployment as the chief cause of industrial unrest has been emphasized by the almost universal attention drawn to it by the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations; by the appointment by Governor Dunne of Illinois of a commission on which are some of our own prominent officials to investigate the problem of that State, and by the Washington State Federation of Labor maintaining for the past two years, a standing committee upon the subject; all of which shows the widespread menace of unemployment and has brought it to the forefront of those matters pressing for immediate attention and solution; and

WHEREAS (a) In the last half century, in addition to repairing the ravages of a destructive civil war, industrial development (in the building of railroads, digging canals, harnessing water powers, clearing lands, drilling oil wells, opening mines, and in all other lines of industry) has gone on to a point where (in spite of the fact that we have changed from an importing to an exporting nation, and are now sending out more goods than ever before in our history; with the greatest crops we have ever harvested; and with financial reports showing a tremendous amount of business transacted) railroads stagnate for lack of business, and factories, mines, mills, and lands lie idle, or are only partly worked, all testifying to the fact that we have reached the point where our industrial equipment is capable of producing more than is necessary to supply our present population, thus closing up avenues for re-investment and throwing those workers, formerly employed in development work, into the ranks of the jobless;

(b) In Europe the introduction of women into industry since the beginning of the war and the continuation of the ordinary processes of production for the needs of the various countries involved in addition to meeting the enormous demands for commodities to be consumed by the armies in the field, indicate that at the close of hostilities there will be little, if any, employment for the returning soldiers; while in America, the attitude of the Labor Movement in opposition to militarism and the creation of immense stores of war material, if effective, can only mean the further increase of the problem by the disemployment of those workers engaged in the manufacture of munitions, etc.;

(c) The shorter work-day so far secured has apparently failed to keep pace with the displacement of labor by our improving methods of production and as a result of this failure the pressure of unemployment is threatening not only the power of organized labor, but the cohesion of society itself; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, appreciating the importance

of prompt action in this most vital matter, directs the Executive Council to make as comprehensive a survey of conditions as funds will permit, employing such special help as may be necessary, ascertain the probable length of work-day which will insure employment to all, and if possible suggest to the next convention, methods by which this can be secured.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Federal Unions are paying at the present time fifteen cents per capita to the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In addition, they are compelled to pay equally as much in support of Local and State Central bodies, and the Labor Press, where they do their full duty, thus placing a heavy burden upon workers who habitually receive very small wages; and

WHEREAS, Support of the Labor Press is one of the most important duties of Labor Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates of the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the American Federation of Labor to remit five cents per month of the per capita tax of Federal Unions which support their Local Labor Press upon a per capita basis; provided, however, that such Labor Press is owned and controlled by Organized Labor.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, We believe that public work, Government, National, State, county, and municipal, is and should be a criterion upon which to base other work, and believing that a maximum number of hours, and a minimum wage equal to that prevailing in the vicinity where the work is being done should be compulsory through legal enactment by the various proper legislative bodies, knowing that such legislation, if enacted would have a tendency to prevent labor troubles, and insure fair competition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates to the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled, this 27th day of October, 1915, instruct our delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention at San Francisco, to present the above matter to the convention with the

request that the Legislative Committee, and the Building Trades Department be instructed to use every honorable means at their command to have Congress act upon this important subject; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That in all cases of inspection of public work, we urge that such inspection be done by men fully competent to properly install the work. This to apply to the work of all crafts where practicable. Also that eight hours shall be a maximum for a day's work, with a provision for less than eight hours in crafts which require less. In order to equitably divide the work among the needy unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

Whereas, We believe that the many perplexing problems confronting, and worked out, in Local Building Trades Councils furnish most valuable experience, which would be of very great benefit to the Building Trades Department, if available in its convention; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the embittered feelings of International Officials, over jurisdictional matters, sometimes prevents harmonious action, no matter how righteous the cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates to the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to take some action that will cause the Building Trades Department to seat credentialed delegates from Local Councils chartered by the Building Trades Department, and we hereby instruct our delegate to the Convention to do all in his power to secure this most desirable change.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates J. E. McClory, J. D. Barnes and Sam Tobin, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, Each year the Government of the United States expends large sums of money in the building and maintaining of army and naval stations in the United States and its various territorial possessions; and

WHEREAS, By an investigation it has been found that nearly all of the labor employed on the construction work is of alien or non-citizen character and to the detriment of the citizen workmen of these United States who in many, if not nearly all instances, have been discriminated against by the contractors and their agents who are engaged in supervising this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this thirty-fifth annual convention of the

American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to such procedure, and herewith protest against the discrimination as has and is now being practiced against American citizen labor, in the building, equipping and maintaining of our army and navy stations within the United States and its territorial possessions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its Secretary to communicate this protest to the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, to the Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, to the Secretary of Labor, Hon. Wm. B. Wilson, calling their attention to these facts and requesting them to use their good offices to see that the inalienable rights of the American workmen are safeguarded, and that they be given the right to work on all construction work being done for the United States Government either directly or indirectly being constructed for the United States Government by day labor or through the use of contract labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor have its legislative committee draw up a petition to Congress asking that august body of lawmakers to enact a law that will prohibit the employment of alien non-citizen and Oriental labor on any Government work in preference to citizen labor of these United States and their territorial possessions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Timothy Driscoll, of Gas and Water Workers, Local No. 9840:

WHEREAS, Section 14 of Article 13 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, if lived up to, would be detrimental to the interests of this organization, and we believe would also add an expense to all federal organizations, who are composed of one craft, such as gas workers and laborers, which said organizations can ill afford to pay; and

WHEREAS, The extra tax of twenty-five (25c) cents imposed on members of these organizations who through no fault of their own become delinquent would force them again into the ranks of the unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strike from its constitution the above mentioned section of Article 13 and also the twenty-five (25c) cents reinstatement tax.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate H. O. Gossett, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A large number of local unions of affiliated national and international organizations have their several organizations of women workers, ladies' auxiliaries, which have the encourage-

ment, support and co-operation of local, national or international bodies; and

WHEREAS, Such auxiliaries are of mutual help and encouragement and cause a closer and better affiliation of the craftsmen through better attendance at meetings, and a more thorough study of the principles of unionism; and

WHEREAS, Through such organization, affiliation, encouragement, co-operation and study of the mission and principles of unionism, the demand for the union label and union-made products increases, to material benefit of all and gives our movement greater power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the progress of the ladies' auxiliaries of our trade and labor unions thus far and urge the furtherance of their good work through such auxiliaries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our laws be amended to allow representation from such national or international ladies' Auxiliaries of a bona-fide national or international trade or labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor on the same basis as delegates from state and central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger and Solomon Polakoff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Fourteen separate indictments have recently been found by the grand jury of the County of New York charging twenty-four officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with various serious crimes, including murder in the first degree, robbery, extortion and riot; and

WHEREAS, The trial of the murder charges, involving eight officers and members of the organization, was concluded a few weeks ago and has resulted in a full and speedy acquittal of all defendants; and

WHEREAS, The evidence upon the trial has clearly demonstrated that all charges against the union members and officials were wantonly and deliberately manufactured by a notorious gang of scab herders aided by a group of unscrupulous employers and connived by a prejudiced and biased public prosecutor; and

WHEREAS, The wholesale prosecution on trumped-up charges against our brothers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is manifestly aimed at the union as such, seeking to exhaust it by extensive taxing and costly litigation and to brand it before the public as a criminal organization;

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we denounce the prosecution of the officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as a revolting sur-

render of the machinery of justice to the enemies of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and that we call on all affiliated labor organizations to respond generously to its appeal for funds to defray the cost of the defense of the numerous cases still pending against its members and officers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The ship-building industry is enjoying a volume of business unprecedented in recent years; and

WHEREAS, The war now going on in Europe has taken from this industry all competition in connection with ship-building for the United States; and

WHEREAS, The eight-hour limitations contained in the several appropriation bills authorizing the construction of vessels has forced many ship-building plants to work at least a portion of their forces eight hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The conditions as above enumerated would indicate that the time is most opportune for the complete organization of this industry, and the inauguration of the eight-hour day generally; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled indorse and give its moral and financial support to a joint movement of all the trades directly interested towards the organization of and the establishment of the eight-hour day in this industry.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America have among its membership and under its control workers who are not, but should be, members of the various metal trades organizations in several localities; and

WHEREAS, These men of the various metal trades may or may not be deluded with the idea that it is necessary for them to hold their membership in the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America in order to hold their positions; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the various metal trades under their several charters extends over these men wherever they may be employed; and

WHEREAS, The affiliation of these various tradesmen in the trade organization to which they properly belong will in no way affect the working

strength of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, for offensive or defensive purposes; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced and adopted in several conventions of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor by representatives of affiliated organizations, instructing its officers to meet the president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, for the purpose of having him turn over all tradesmen now members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees to their respective organizations; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor have carried out these instructions, but without success; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention, instruct the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to turn over all metal trades mechanics to the various organizations that have jurisdiction over them; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct the organization of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America not to interfere in any way whatsoever with the organizing of the various metal tradesmen for the purpose of retaining these men in their organization, and not to interfere with the object in view of making a working contract to cover men that are not under their jurisdiction, but under the jurisdiction of metal trades organizations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There is under consideration the question of opening our coastwise trade to foreign-built vessels; and

WHEREAS, The world's history, now in the making, emphatically warns us not to rely on outside sources for our means of protection; and our ability to defend ourselves in times of war and to use the ocean highways in times of peace, will largely depend upon the upbuilding of our shipyards to the end that quantity in construction and efficiency in labor will eventually lessen the cost to a point where we may reasonably expect to meet any competition; and

WHEREAS, These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards, and to protect the vessels in their operations on our sea coast. All the present merchant marine of the United States is the by-product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can

find protection against foreign competition; and

WHEREAS, Having faith in the protection of these laws, American ship-owners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards, and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would not only be unjust to permit the injury to their investments of allowing cheaper because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but highly impolitic because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor rescind its action in concurring in Resolution No. 2, page 329, of the Philadelphia proceedings, and oppose any interference with our present coastwise navigation laws.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Herb. R. Schnelder, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

According to a census, just completed, by the State of Wyoming the fact is disclosed that while the total population of said State is but 141,705 and that the population of its citizens above the age of twenty years is 83,395 (49,779 being male) that 23,872 presented as information as to their vocation the title "laborer" and 5,823 "miner."

The fiscal year of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, concluded at the same time, gives the information that for the past year the average number of members affiliated with that body numbered 9,051.

Statistics from the Government census of 1910 gives Wyoming the highest percentage of a State population engaged in occupational pursuits.

And the last-named figures indicate that Wyoming has the largest percentage of organized workers of all the States in the Union; but

WHEREAS, Eighty-five per cent. of the members of organized labor in Wyoming are members of the United Mine Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, This membership is without the cities and otherwise industrial centers of that State, it becomes evident that the twenty-eight national and international organizations represented in Wyoming and in the councils of the American Federation of Labor, as well as those who can be, have in this commonwealth a fertile field for expansion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As an expressed desire of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, that an organizer be assigned to the State of Wyoming for a period of six months, or so much of such time as shall be necessary, for the purpose of assisting the State body and the various trades unions in a campaign

already begun that shall culminate in a complete organization of Wyoming.

OUR ASSURANCE. Members of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor pay a per capita assessment of ten cents per month. Its objects have ever been to promote education and organization. Only three times within our existence has aid been given from without our State in the matters of organization—yet in spite have we grown to number considerable over a hundred local unions, three central bodies and one district organization. We are sincere and honest in our belief that much good will result from these contemplated desires, and we pray that the aid necessary to make and maintain Wyoming (a young State in years and industry) a good place to live and work in, be granted us.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Through the endeavors of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, meritorious provisions were added to the Army and Naval appropriation bills, on March 2, 1915, by which it will be less difficult to obtain positive, clear-cut legislation which will permanently prohibit the objectionable stop-watch, speeding-up, premium bonus Taylor system, of driving and intimidating employees in Federal departments; and

WHEREAS, This work of the Executive Council meets with the unqualified approval of this Convention; yet, it being a certainty that efficiency committees have been selected in other departments of the Federal Government, and are now at work in the various bureaus, interviewing employees, timing their work, and recording the use of materials, and in various other ways demonstrating that when a final report is made it will contain recommendations looking toward the establishment of some so-called efficiency system kindred to the notoriously unfair Taylor system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, That the President of this organization and the Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law prohibiting the use of moneys appropriated by that body in the furtherance, encouragement or advancement of any stop-watch speeding system in any department of the Government of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of Maryland is a fertile field for the work of organization of men and women workers; and

WHEREAS, The Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and the central bodies of the City of Baltimore and the City of Cumberland have jointly inaugurated a campaign of organization to cover a period of one year, and have adopted a slogan of "Ten Thousand New Members in the Year"; and

WHEREAS, Such an undertaking should meet with the approval of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention urges national and international unions, so far as possible, to co-operate with the trade unions in Maryland by sending representatives to direct and assist in the work of organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to do all things to make this movement a success; and, should funds be available, place an experienced organizer in that jurisdiction, to have full charge of the campaign of organization, and press the movement to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Government employees have used their skill, knowledge and experience obtained in the public service, and aided in the establishment and installation of plate printing plants on alien soil, which are now being operated, managed and controlled by those who are unfriendly to organized labor, to the damage and injury of American organized workmen; and

WHEREAS, This is antagonistic and in violation of the aim, objects and principles for which the labor movement has been contending for years, and which brought about the enactment of the alien contract labor law; and

WHEREAS, The International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America in convention assembled July 15, adopted, and Plate Printers' Local No. 2, Washington, D. C.; Plate Printers' Local No. 1, Philadelphia, Pa.; Plate Printers' Local No. 3, Boston, Mass.; Plate Printers' Locals Nos. 5 and 8, New York City; the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor; the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity; the Central Labor Union, Philadelphia, Pa., the Baltimore Federation of Labor; the Boston Central Labor Union, and the Washington Central Labor Union ratified, confirmed and endorsed the following resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of San Francisco on the — day of November, 1915, hereby endorse the above resolution and authorize the Executive Council to do any

and all things to have the following resolution enacted into law:

RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he her by is, requested to cause such rule and regulations to be adopted and placed in force for the regulation of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing as will effectually forbid and prevent the officials and employees of said Bureau from giving their time, skill, knowledge, experience or service upon any basis to any foreign government or to any individual, firm or corporation whatsoever, domestic or foreign, for the purpose of assisting any such government, individual, firm or corporation in the establishment or carrying on of any printing or engraving business or of any business whatsoever which is or may be directly or indirectly competitive with American industry, or which may directly or indirectly deprive American labor of its employment and means of livelihood.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Eugene E. Smith, of the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity:

Portland, Oregon, November 5, 1915.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., Sutter Hotel, San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The following resolution submitted to the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity by L. U. 125, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, was endorsed and the requests therein made to our Council were granted by it.

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 125, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, is a union composed of electrical workers employed by public service corporations and utility companies whose policies and great industrial power make mandatory and necessary international laws governing our union and like unions that will make for organized strength and solidarity if the workers belonging thereto are to successfully obtain and maintain equitable wages and working conditions; and,

WHEREAS, Though once our union enjoyed such international laws we forsook them and reaffiliated with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, recognized as the true and legal international, best calculated to represent and protect the organized electrical workers of the country, by the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS, This action was taken by us in common with many of our then and now sister local unions with a full confidence and belief that fair play would be granted us by the recognized brotherhood insofar at least that the electrical workers commonly termed "outside electrical workers" would be permitted to

place their position on the industrial field before the international convention and be given such legislation as experience has proven best suited to our interests; and,

WHEREAS, Our international convention held in St. Paul, Minn., during September of this year (1915), not only refused, despite our earnest and sincere representations, to pass such legislation, but did on the contrary, by force of numbers and other indefensible methods inconsistent with the best practice and fundamental principles of trades unionism, pass such hostile legislation and take such distasteful action that not only are our wages and working conditions jeopardized but the very life of our union is endangered; and,

WHEREAS, Our knowledge of the problems of like workers in other unions, having as members the same class of employees as constitute our membership, makes us firm in the conviction that not only is our union thus affected, but all like unions are endangered to the same extent; and,

WHEREAS, Because of lack of numerical strength, and a hostile international administration, it is highly probable that relief will be denied us by the initiative and referendum as per our constitution; and,

WHEREAS, Though we cast no reflection on the fairness of the individual members of our brotherhood who are commonly termed "inside wiremen" and who constitute the major portion of the membership of our brotherhood, we fear many of them may listen to the advice of those who either are hostile to the outside electrical worker or are ignorant of his problems and thus may contribute to our defeat in any appeal to the general membership; and,

WHEREAS, The report of our delegate (only one of whom has to date returned), returning from our international convention, a brother in whom we all have the fullest confidence, convinces us that we were subjected in said convention to gross injustice and confirms us in a belief that we must seek redress elsewhere than from our constitutional officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Local Union No. 125, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in regular meeting assembled, that we do deplore such injustice and proceedings and that we do petition the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity to instruct its delegate to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to present our grievances thereto, and to ask for a sweeping investigation into the affairs of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, that the component workers therein may all be assured that protection which may so easily be given with harm to none and justice to all, as our brotherhood was originally designed to do; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor, through our

Central Labor Council, to, before concluding its investigation, send authorized representatives into the unions of out and inside electrical workers, there to confer with local union members and officers and with instructions to submit their findings to the proper American Federation of Labor authorities, that the latter may learn the true sentiment and needs of our general membership, and thus be enabled to know those things best to do that our interests as wage earners may be conserved.

Our Council desires the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to give the complainants every consideration as indicated in the above resolution.

(Signed) CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
OF PORTLAND AND VICINITY.

E. J. Stack, Secretary.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, There are in the United States and Canada over forty thousand gardeners and florists of whom only two per cent. are organized; and

WHEREAS, We believe with the hearty assistance of the state federations of labor and city central bodies in the United States and Canada, we can organize the thousands of workers in our line; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request its membership and friends to use their best endeavors in the state and city organizations to help in organizing our trade.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate H. M. Lornsen, of the Astoria Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The special privileged parties in the salmon industries operating on the Columbia River, in the States of Oregon and Washington (the salmon packers operating fish-wheels and seines on the upper Columbia River, where no commercial fishing should be permitted, some of which are also interested in the deadly fish-traps on the lower river), managed by means, best known to themselves, to have a law passed during the 1915 legislative session in both States, which provides for a treaty in which it is stipulated "that neither of the States can alter or amend its salmon laws covering the Columbia River, unless the other State consent thereto," also that the next session of the United States Congress be petitioned to ratify this treaty, thus taking away from the citizens of these States their right to avail themselves of the initiative and the referendum on the very much needed legislation for actual salmon protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Fed-

eration of Labor, in convention assembled, that proper steps be taken, by every means possible, to stop this attempt of the aforesaid packers to prevent proper salmon legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Harry A. Milton, of the Elevator Conductors and Starters, Local 13,105:

WHEREAS, Section 14 of Article XII of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, if lived up to would act detrimental to the interests of this organization, and we believe would also add an expense to all federal organizations, who are composed of one craft, such as Elevator Conductors and Starters, which said organization can ill afford to pay; and

WHEREAS, The extra tax of twenty-five cents (25c) imposed on members of these organizations who through no fault of their own become delinquent would force them again into the ranks of the unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strike from its Constitution the above mentioned section of Article XII and also the twenty-five cents (25c) reinstatement tax.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate E. B. Boyden, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The members of the Pacific Division No. 37 of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, employed as wireless operators by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, which controls and operates the majority of coastal and maritime radio stations in the United States, are now on strike as a protest against extremely low wages and intolerable working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company has and does refuse to enter into negotiations looking toward a favorable settlement of said strike, or in any way to deal with organized labor and has used every means at its command to destroy the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as viewing with extreme disfavor the unreasonable and arbitrary attitude of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the action of these members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America and that its officers and members render them whatever aid, moral or otherwise, possible, in support of their endeavors to effect better conditions for their craft.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Ernest

Carter, of United Laborers' Union No. 13,018:

Oakland, Cal., Nov. 5, 1915.

To the American Federation of Labor,
Frank Morrison, Secretary, San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

United Laborers' Union No. 13,018, struggling to maintain its membership and to better the conditions of the common laborer in Alameda County, finds that it is compelled to pay such exorbitant per capita taxes and other fees that it cannot maintain itself and continue its work as it should be done.

In the first place, our members are engaged (when they work) at common labor. They, of course, receive the smallest wage paid to men in any calling. The wages which we have been able to maintain and to assure our members of getting, are barely enough, if constantly employed, to keep them. They have no possible chance of luxurious living and it is only by the practice of rigid economy that they can get along at all.

Now, under the circumstances in which our union must at the present time fight to keep alive, we find that it is practically impossible to exist and to pay the various per capita taxes which we must meet. It is impossible to increase the dues of men whose best rate of pay is so small that they can barely get along at all and we have no other means of support.

This union feels that the payment of twenty-five (25c) cents for each reinstatement, and of sending to the American Federation of Labor one-fourth of our initiation fees for each member is altogether uncalled for.

We also believe that the making of a "complete monthly report" of our membership is an imposition on the officers of our union, neither of whom is paid sufficient to make it anything but a tax on him and neither of whom is accountant enough to make it easy for him.

This union feels that with a monthly audit of our accounts by the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, which is directly responsible to the American Federation of Labor, and whose assurance will be proof of our full payment of per capita tax, your honorable body would be sufficiently guaranteed of our condition.

This union therefore respectfully asks that these requirements be either waived or done away with in connection with its position in the American Federation of Labor.

We ask this, knowing as we do that we represent that large body of labor, which, due to its lack of particular skill or ownership of a trade or craft is the least organized. We know, as do all students of unionism, that the large mass of unorganized common laborers is a constant menace to the organized workers of the country. And we respectfully suggest that to that element (the unorganized common laborer), special attention should be given and spe-

cial inducement be held out, that the danger which they embody might be removed from the work of upbuilding and the maintenance of unionism.

All this being true, your honorable body, in our humble opinion, should assist and encourage, rather than make it a hardship, for the building up and keeping together organizations of common laborers, such as ours.

We believe that the best and most reasonable way to do that is to permit such organizations as ours to live at the least possible expense.

Therefore United Laborers No. 13018 respectfully asks that the American Federation of Labor take such action as will excuse them from the payment of: First, one-fourth, or twenty-five per cent., of all sums received from initiation fees; second, the payment of twenty-five cents to the American Federation of Labor for each reinstatement. This latter in consideration of the fact that all book-keeping, etc., in connection with each reinstatement must be taken care of by our union, is preposterous.

We also ask to be absolved from the requirement to make detailed reports monthly of our entire membership. This matter is fully covered by the audit of the Central Labor Council.

Placing these matters before your honorable body, this union respectfully asks that you give to the matters contained herein your careful and considerate attention.

Most respectfully submitted.

UNITED LABORERS' UNION NO.
13018.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, Since the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel & Dredgemen, with the Associated Union of Steamshovelmen, and the chartering of the amalgamated union, by the American Federation of Labor, jurisdictional disputes have arisen, between the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, This jurisdictional dispute is resulting disadvantageously to the members of both of the above unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is directed to define clearly the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and to endeavor to bring about a conference, between the duly authorized representatives of the above unions, for the purpose of arranging a working agreement, by which harmonious relations will be restored, and these jurisdictional disputes avoided.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate E.

Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Experience has fully demonstrated the necessity for, and the value of union labels to lend discriminating power in favor of union made products; and

WHEREAS, The good results to come from the use of the union label must come from the patronage bestowed by labor and the friends of the Union Label; and

WHEREAS, It is a notorious fact that products bearing the Union Label do not enjoy the demand that Union Labeled products have a right to expect from the members of our great movement; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a blue label which now is placed on hundreds of brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best quality produced, and is as well advertised proportionately as any other label in this country; and

WHEREAS, The patronage given to Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is not within fifty per cent. of that which it should be, which reliable statistics will prove; and

WHEREAS, With the ever growing membership of the American Federation of Labor, these conditions could be greatly changed for the better by remembering the Label when exchanging good Union-earned money for tobacco, cigarettes or snuff; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we as delegates will ourselves do our duty and we will as far as lies in our power urge others to patronize only such tobacco products as do bear the Union Label, and we will endeavor wherever possible to induce dealers in tobacco products to put in full lines of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will refrain from and urge others to not patronize places of business who persistently refuse to keep in stock an assorted line of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate J. H. Walker, of the United Mine Workers:

RESOLVED, That Section 11 of the constitution be amended to permit the affiliation with State Federations, Central Bodies, and Building Trades Councils, of bona fide trade-union organizations of workmen and women, who, though their international unions may not be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that the American Federation of Labor is desirous of being affiliated, and where the membership involved have declared their desire to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, and where such affiliation is mutually satisfactory and advantageous.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate B. W.

Sleeman, of the Central Labor Council, Salem, Oregon:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to child labor, its opposition being one of the declaration of principles; and

WHEREAS, There is in this country a movement to make child labor laws less effective, and more difficult of enforcement; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the agency now being used to create a sentiment against strict "Child Labor Legislation" is the National Congress of Mothers; and

WHEREAS, Prominent women in the latter named organization are attempting to break down child labor laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention direct the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to investigate conditions governing the employment of children and women in the mills at Clifton, Pennsylvania; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the result of the investigation be furnished to all State branches and central bodies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate F. A. Scooby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Seventeenth General Convention of the Coopers' International Union, held in San Francisco, Cal., in September, 1915, unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the different State Boards of Health to better inspect packages and containers used for the transportation of food stuffs and the necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, Burlap, cotton, and paper bags as well as unclean second-hand barrels, are fast coming into use as containers for the shipment of sugar, meats, flour, cereals, fruits, vegetables, and other commodities; and

WHEREAS, The use of the wholesome, clean and sanitary wooden barrel will soon be discontinued if the attention of the general public is not called to the menace that now confronts the public health by the use of such substitutes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, and the Executive Council in particular, call the attention of the National Health Commission at Washington, D. C., to this evil and through Federal legislation agitate the enactment of a law that will insure the transportation of all articles of food in clean wooden barrels that the public health may be better safeguarded.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate E. B. Boyden, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Conclusive evidence given before the Industrial Relations Commission in Chicago this year, shows that the

Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies vigorously oppose the organization of their employees by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, by the use of the blacklist, intimidation, extensive secret service and other means; and

WHEREAS, The evidence given before the Industrial Relations Commission affirmed (facts long known to organized labor) that telegraphers work under conditions in regard to wages, hours of labor and freedom of speech and action so deplorable, that it is hard to believe they could exist in a free country; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America is conducting a campaign to thoroughly organize the employees of these telegraph companies, a campaign which is daily increasing in vigor, despite the fact that a large per cent. of those engaged in this craft are employed by this telegraph monopoly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention here assembled heartily endorses House resolution No. 355 introduced and supported by Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland in the Sixty-third Congress of the United States, providing for the Government ownership of the telegraph, and advocates and will support any similar measure introduced in the next Congress of the United States, with a provision included, granting to the employees of the Government engaged in such service the right to organize.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Silsman, and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, One of the serious problems facing the American Federation of Musicians is the formation of non-union bands and orchestras by fraternal organizations, covering such bands and orchestras with the cognomen of the order and assisting such in competition with the American Federation of Musicians; also the formation of juvenile bands and orchestras ostensibly for educational purposes, but in nearly all instances eventually used for speculative purposes in competition with legitimate musicians; and

WHEREAS, There is scarcely an institution in the country maintained for the purpose of caring for and educating boys, but what has its band, nearly always used in competition with adult musicians; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Musicians has not the slightest objection to the formation of bands and orchestras for educational purposes, as the organization recognizes that a knowledge of music tends to higher culture, but it decidedly objects to the use of such musical aggregations for speculative purposes to the injury of the membership of the American Federation of Musicians; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-

fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request all affiliated bodies to support the American Federation of Musicians in opposing the use of such bands and orchestras in unfair competition with the American Federation of Musicians.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The San Diego, California, Panama Exposition has announced that this enterprise is to be continued for another year; and

WHEREAS, This Exposition has been declared unfair by the American Federation of Musicians on account of its unfriendly attitude in persistently using non-union civilian musicians and securing the services of bands of enlisted musicians of the United States Army and Navy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that a protest be filed with the War and Navy Departments against permitting enlisted bands to be used by this Exposition detrimental to the American Federation of Musicians; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the Secretaries of War and Navy as the sense of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Patrick Quinn, of the International Union of Pavers:

WHEREAS, A local union known as Asphalt Workers Local No. 84 of San Francisco has been granted a charter by the International Union of Pavers and Ramblers and Asphalt Workers; and

WHEREAS, The said local union has been refused a seat in the San Francisco Labor Council because of a protest by United Laborers' Union No. 12,992 of San Francisco; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the San Francisco Labor Council to dismiss said protest and to grant full affiliation to Asphalt Workers' Local Union No. 84, without delay.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey and M. E. Decker, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs:

WHEREAS, The Clerks' International Union has in their membership a number of drivers of wagons and operators of auto trucks delivering merchandise in the several cities in our country; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs has

absolute jurisdiction over this class of work and over men employed in this particular industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Clerks' International Union to turn over to the International Teamsters and Chauffeurs all drivers of wagons and operators of auto trucks now holding membership in the Clerks' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Clerks' International Union be ordered by this convention to cease admitting to membership in the future drivers of wagons or chauffeurs working on auto trucks; and be it further

RESOLVED, That failing to comply with this request that the central labor bodies and State branches throughout the country unseat the delegates from local unions of the Clerks' International Organization until such time as said Clerks' International Union complies with this request.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey and M. E. Decker, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union has refused to comply with the decision of the convention held in Philadelphia last year, wherein said convention ordered the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to turn over to the Teamsters and Chauffeurs' International Union all drivers of wagons then holding membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The refusal on the part of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to comply with the mandates and decision of the American Federation of Labor has caused considerable discontent and injury to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that all central bodies and State branches of the American Federation of Labor unseat as delegates the representatives of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International local unions in every district in the country, and that no support or recognition be given to this international union by organized labor until such time as said international union, namely, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, complies with and carries out to its fullest extent the decision of the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor, which is, to wit: That all drivers of wagons and automobiles now holding membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union be immediately turned over to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, and that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union henceforth discontinue to admit

to membership any driver of a wagon or operator of an auto truck.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 78.—By Delegates John Williams and John J. Sullivan, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

WHEREAS, Realizing that the interests of labor would be immeasurably improved if the wage schedules of all crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor terminated on the same date of each specified year, and that efforts should be directed with a view of achieving this end; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take the matter under consideration, and if in their judgment they deem the plan feasible, that they be requested to refer the proposition to the various national and international unions for their approval or disapproval.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 79.—By Delegate Adolph Germer, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The large capitalist interests, especially those who deal in munitions of war, have inaugurated and are carrying on an extensive pro-military campaign under the deception of "Preparedness"; and

WHEREAS, This military mania has been introduced in some of the public schools in order to instill the susceptible infant mind with pro-military ideas; and

WHEREAS, The military, both militia and regular army, are in the most part made up by the workers, while at the same time the military is the bulwark of the capitalists when the workers are forced to go on strike to maintain their conditions or get a little greater share of the wealth they create; and

WHEREAS, Military forces are organized instruments for murder and destruction of property, the product of labor; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular annual convention assembled, most emphatically protests against the introduction in our public schools of military propaganda; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the workers to desist from affiliating with any branch of the military forces.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 80.—By Delegate Thos. Van Lear, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, Past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have urged upon all State Branches to work for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The best interest of all the workers demand a general reduction in the hours of labor at the earliest possible moment; and

WHEREAS, The activities and power of the organized employers of this country are taking advantage of the long hours of labor to keep thousands unemployed; and

WHEREAS, A considerable number of States at present enjoy the right to initiate and pass legislation by a vote of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the direct legislation method of shortening the work-day in such States as the State Federation of Labor in said States deem it desirable.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81.—By the Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association has consolidated with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, charters having been issued to the Local Unions of the Association as Local Unions of the Brotherhood; and

WHEREAS, the consolidation of the two organizations has taken place with the knowledge and approval of the Executive Council of the Federation, the President of the Federation being a party to the agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters be recognized as having jurisdiction over all work hitherto considered as being under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 82.—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, A great many jurisdictional disputes arise from time to time between international organizations connected or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These jurisdictional disputes work a great hardship on the rank and file in the labor movement, and also to a great extent work a hardship upon the fair employers of organized labor through the stoppage of work; and

WHEREAS, These jurisdictional disputes have a tendency to throw great disrespect upon the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been suggested by a great many men connected with the labor movement, as well as by employers of organized labor, that a commission be created for the purpose of settling such jurisdictional disputes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention empower the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a commission of this character, said commission to be composed of three representative labor men, or women. The President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint three men (or women) to act as this commission at such times as the occasion may require, said three to be chosen from the particular section of the country in which the jurisdictional dispute may exist; this commission to have full power to summon witnesses from the various organizations concerned in the jurisdictional dispute and also to have full power to summon such employers to appear before them as may also be concerned in the dispute. Any member of any labor organization, or employer failing to respond to a summons from this commission and give true testimony, to be considered unfair to the labor movement. This commission to have the authority to engage temporary quarters in which to hold hearings; to hire the necessary clerical help, including stenographers, etc., in order that all necessary testimony may be obtained, and after a decision has been reached by this commission, the same to be turned over to the President of the American Federation of Labor to be published in the Federationist and an official copy of such decision furnished to each of the organizations concerned in, or affected by, the jurisdictional dispute. All international organizations connected or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to give their entire support to the enforcement of a decision after same has been rendered by the commission. Any organization which may be a party to the jurisdictional dispute to have the authority, through its officers, to request the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the jurisdictional dispute and if in his opinion the appointment of a commission is justified, he to have full power to do so. Members of this commission to receive \$15.00 per diem and travelling expenses.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate John Kean, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, It is very necessary that the railroad workers and the workers of the maritime transportation industry cooperate with each other in times of industrial strife; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to devise all necessary ways and means to bring those workers together in such a way as to be able to render each other all necessary moral support in case of either being involved in industrial strife.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate J. M. Gavlak, of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, A substitute material for slate and tile, known as asphalt slate shingle, is and has taken the place of slate and tile on roofs of buildings; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have and continue to contend for the erection of this material to roofs of buildings, which work rightly belongs and comes under the jurisdiction of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, and not to the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed by this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to refrain from infringing on the jurisdiction claims of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, and cease from applying the asphalt slate shingles to buildings.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate J. M. Gavlak, of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are and have trespassed on the jurisdiction rights of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America in erecting or applying asbestos slate shingles to roofs of buildings; and

WHEREAS, At the Seattle convention of the Building Trades Department an agreement was formulated between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners or their executive officer, and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, which was later withdrawn by the Executive Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; and

WHEREAS, The International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America has entered into a satisfactory agreement over the work in question, "Asbestos Slate Shingles," with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners that was enforced by the said organization during its existence, and until the amalgamation of the two carpenters' organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement of the jurisdiction of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance to enforce the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Hugo

Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The spirit of militarism is rampant abroad and is being fostered in the schools of this republic by the introduction of military drills, wearing of uniforms and many other methods calculated to instill into the minds of our children dreams of fame through war and the thought that killing and maiming of human beings is legitimate when ordered by a "superior officer"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual session assembled, that we deplore the tendency to promote military drills and the war spirit in the public schools of our country and urge upon trade-unionists and friends of peace everywhere to begin with discouraging militarism in all places where children meet and play.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 87.—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is on record as being opposed to an exorbitant initiation fee; and

WHEREAS, It is a deplorable fact that certain organizations within the American Federation of Labor still impose an unreasonably high initiation fee upon those who desire to become members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, that no labor organization should charge a higher initiation fee than ten dollars, and that an appropriately worded circular letter upon this subject be submitted to all affiliated organizations urging upon them to act accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 88.—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all efforts of the American Federation of Labor and the California State Branch, the Holt Manufacturing Company of Stockton, California, with an auxiliary plant at Peoria, Illinois, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farming implements, continues to discriminate against members of organized labor and remains to this day a standing menace to the shorter work-day, a decent living wage and the right to organize; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, that the Holt Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farm implements, be placed on the unfair list; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That especial efforts be

made during the ensuing year to organize the plants controlled by this firm and to urge upon the organized farmers to refrain from purchasing the products of that concern.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegate Geo. L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There has been formed in the southeastern States an organization of the workers known as the Southern Labor Congress; and

WHEREAS, The Southern Labor Congress purposes the fostering of organizations and uniform legislation in the interest of the workers of the South; and

WHEREAS, Through the address of the representative of that Congress, Mr. Jerome Jones, made before this convention thoroughly indicates the far-reaching possibilities of the Southern Labor Congress; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that a more concentrated action and attention should be given the work of organization in the south, in order to successfully cope with the growing industrial activities of that comparatively new industrial field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon all national and international unions to render such co-operation as possible in assisting the work of the Southern Labor Congress and the organization of the various crafts in the southland; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is directed to render such general support as may be found possible in carrying out the work indicated in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor appointed a special committee to investigate the situation affecting the Brick and Clay Workers, and after a thorough investigation the committee reported in part as follows:

"Since Feb. 1, 1915, a mass of new evidence has been introduced that shows the officers of the international union are not giving their best effort, as all true union leaders should, towards bettering the conditions of labor or increasing the wages of the men employed in the brick and clay industry. We find from the evidence introduced, that the United Brick and Clay Workers of America has made steady progress since Feb. 1, 1915, even though denied recognition by the American Federation of Labor. We find that these union brick and clay workers are working honestly and ear-

nestly for recognition from the American labor movement, so that they may prosper under the guidance and protection of the American Federation of Labor. We feel that if the American Federation of Labor is desirous of having a good, true, loyal, progressive Brick and Clay Workers' Union, they should grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America, or allow state and city central bodies to give them recognition so that the unorganized clay workers can be organized and no obstructions placed in the path of progress"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor request the American Federation of Labor to reopen the Brick Makers' secession dispute, make a thorough investigation, and if conditions exist such as the evidence submitted shows to exist, grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we comply with the request made upon us by the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and that inasmuch as all parties concerned are present in this city, that a special committee be appointed to meet immediately for the purpose of hearing whatever evidence and information placed before it, and to report back to this convention any recommendation or action, which in their judgment will conserve and advance the best interests of the labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, In this day of centralization of capital employed in the shipping industry, it is deemed necessary that the International Longshoremen's Association be made a representative, if possible, of all the classes of labor employed in the handling of the water-borne freight of this and other countries within the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

WHEREAS, We believe other crafts intimately related to this trade find that there must be co-operation through a working agreement or by some other method of all the working forces represented by international organizations of marine workers, if the increased strength of the shipping companies is to be successfully combated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association delegates call upon the American Federation of Labor to take immediate action towards having conferences of representatives of the various international unions of the marine trades for the purpose of discussing the inauguration of a Marine Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates John

Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The great mass of evidence gathered by the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations shows the absolute domination of all avenues of justice by the powers of organized wealth, the Rockefeller Standard Oil in Colorado, the copper barons in Michigan, the coal barons of West Virginia, the Steel Trust and erectors' syndicate in Indianapolis and Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The evidence so taken, together with actual experience of labor as in the cases of John Lawson in Colorado, Ford and Suhr in California, Structural Iron Workers in Indianapolis, Joe Hill, construction worker to be shot in Utah; and again in Los Angeles, Caplan and Schmidt, two more victims of Burns and the Steel Trust; and

WHEREAS, Labor's experience in all of these cases goes to show a well-planned conspiracy of organized wealth working through the courts and using as their weapon the latest method of intimidation, namely, the principle of constructive murder charge put into effect through the medium of "accessory before the fact" and "conspiracy"; and

WHEREAS, By these modern legal tactics the industrial and land barons are able to single out any active spirit, either during or after an industrial war, and charge him with murder and hold him responsible for any act growing out of such dispute, and without proving any actual knowledge or connection with the act whatever, or in shorter terms "making him a prisoner of war"; and

WHEREAS, Such methods are in reality a new form of the ancient use of the charge of "treason," thereby all progressive thought was for years stifled; and

WHEREAS, Power of wealth through their vast property rights usurp control and direct the action of the grand jury system so that it becomes a new form of the ancient "inquisition"; and

WHEREAS, The grand jury is a relic of medieval times and under such a system no defendant has any right to question the partiality or bias or interests of its members; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the International Longshoremen's Association, in session assembled, realizing the necessity of a united front in defense of our own people, does hereby further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to initiate a movement in that convention calling a national convention of all elements of labor to the end that a national defense fund may be raised, the grand jury system abolished, and that new uses of labor's economic strength be organized to resist aggression of the courts and to secure the release of labor's "prisoners of war."

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women wage workers is well understood by the American Federation of Labor, as is proven by the fact that at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor a special one-cent assessment was levied for that purpose; and

WHEREAS, The money collected by this assessment was used to such good purpose that it resulted in adding several thousand women to the ranks of organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are many millions of women wage workers who do not belong to any organization, among whom we may specifically mention the one hundred and twenty-five thousand unorganized women employed in the laundry industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the Executive Council to levy a one cent assessment on all affiliated members for the special purpose of organizing women wage workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to expend part of the funds collected by this assessment in organizing the women and girls employed in steam laundries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor directing their attention to the great field for organization work that is to be found among the women wage workers of the laundry industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the amalgamation of allied industries, with the object in view of decreasing the number of jurisdictional disputes in the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The cleaning, pressing and dyeing industry is practically a branch of the laundry industry, as is proven by the fact that steam laundries throughout the country are installing or have in many instances already installed a department for the cleaning, pressing and dyeing of clothes; and

WHEREAS, The employees in the cleaning, pressing and dyeing department will amount to but a very small percentage of the total number of employees in each laundry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to extend the jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers' International Union to include the workers employed in the cleaning, pressing and dyeing industry.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate F. C. Severance, of the Sacramento Federated Trades Council:

WHEREAS, It is a familiar thing in moving pictures to exhibit scenes of drunkenness in which the principal actors are represented as working men; and

WHEREAS, The place of revelry and excess in many instances is shown as a saloon or cafe of the type generally patronized by working men; and

WHEREAS, The constant parading before the minds of the people of the United States of the untrue charge that drunkenness and debauchery are common among the toilers and the poor is a stigma upon the entire laboring element of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we as representative workers unanimously disapprove and condemn such pictures as described above and protest against them as being unfair to that vast army of sober and industrious men who form the ranks of the labor unions of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor at its thirty-third annual convention, adopted resolutions instructing its delegate to this convention to prepare and urge the adoption of suitable resolutions providing that the American Federation of Labor employ the principle embodied in the initiative, referendum and recall, in transacting the business and affairs of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we endorse and ratify the initiative, referendum and recall and the officers are hereby instructed that wherever it is practical in transacting the business of this Federation, that these measures be employed.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held in Alton, Ill., October 18th to 23d, 1915, instructed its delegates to this convention to ask this convention to submit to the membership of

the affiliated organizations the question of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum system of voting; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to submit to the membership of the affiliated organizations, through the proper channels, the question: "Shall the officers of the American Federation of Labor be elected by a referendum vote of the membership"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers in submitting this question use every reasonable means within their power to secure a "yes" or "no" vote from the individual members of the affiliated organizations upon this question.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, there are many violations affecting the membership of Local 847, International Longshoremen's Association, of the port of New York, N. Y., because of the violations of laws pertaining to safety at sea, and more especially those pertaining to the safety of the men employed on the various barges and harbor crafts of the port of New York and vicinity on account of the laws not being enforced, this being more noticeable in the smaller ports of New Haven, Conn.; New Bedford, Conn.; Providence, R. I., etc.; and

WHEREAS, Local 847 of the International Longshoremen's Association has not had the power to force this question to an issue; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Board or legislative committee, have the United States Government instruct its inspectors to insist upon the enforcement of the law relating to safety at sea.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Jas. Moriarity, Thos Redding, Hugh Frayne, John J. Hynes (Sheet Metal Workers); O. A. Wharton, Thos. Van Lear, J. A. Taylor, Jas. O'Connell (International Association of Machinists); M. J. McGuire, J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Chas. MacGowan (Boilermakers); J. A. Grimblot, F. J. Sweek (Electrical Workers):

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Chicago has entered into an agreement with the Construction Employers' Association of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, Clause three of the aforesaid agreement stipulates that there shall be no discrimination against manufactured material, excepting only the product of prison labor; and

WHEREAS, The acceptance of an agreement of this character is in itself a discrimination against the product of

the union shops and will eventually mean their disorganization, if such agreements are continued in force; and

WHEREAS, Said agreements tend to discourage union material employers from continuing agreements or entering into them with affiliated organizations on account of union men being compelled to install non-union made material in Chicago, which impedes the progress of the men employed in the manufacture and erection of material used in the building trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Chicago Building Trades Council, or any other council or organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which promotes or accepts an agreement containing a clause which places the products of union labor on a level with the products of scab and non-union labor, be most severely condemned for such action by this convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizations affiliated to the Building Trades Council of Chicago be requested to take the necessary steps to cancel this agreement at the earliest possible date in order to prevent so gross an injustice being perpetrated against the interests of the organized workers in the manufacturing industries.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Supreme Court has made a decision interpreting the Illinois State Compensation Law, and the Federal Liability Law as applied to the workers in the transportation industries in such a manner that, where the injured worker or his dependents have no case under the Liability Law, it must be settled under that law, and where he has a good case and could collect large damages under the Liability Law, that it must be settled under the Compensation Law; and

WHEREAS, Various States have compensation laws either elective or compulsory, while the workers engaged in transportation or in interstate commerce are governed by the Federal Liability Law, which is confusing and gives unscrupulous judges great latitude to serve their masters in construing compensation and liability legislation in favor of the corporations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its officers and Legislative Committee to draft and present to the next Congress, and use all their influence to have enacted a compulsory compensation law, to be applied to all industries, or as far as it is practical to apply it within the federal jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Henry

Abrahams, of the Chelsea Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, An opportunity has been given to those desiring an industrial training by many, if not all, of our States; and

WHEREAS, A like opportunity should be given all young men and women who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of law, medicine, architecture, civil engineering or any of the learned professions, and as many of our colleges are controlled by the donors, who dictate the policy of such institutions so that knowledge has become a monopoly of the rich; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor the establishment of free State universities where text books, tuition and laboratory work shall be free.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate T. V. O'Connor and John Kean, of the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, There are many so-called detective agencies whose sole business is the supplying of strikebreakers in industrial disputes; and

WHEREAS, Many of the strikebreakers thus secured by the so-called detective agencies, are unskilled aliens, ignorant of our language and customs; and

WHEREAS, Their ignorance and lack of knowledge of the work they are forced to do, often results in accidents fatal not only to themselves, but to the public at large; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the International Longshoremen's Convention in session assembled that we urge our delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to protest against this nefarious system, to the end that some legislative measures be undertaken by the American Federation of Labor to do away with this nefarious system.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate J. B. Dale, of the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Commission has invaded the rights of the workmen employed on Mare Island Navy Yard by an order forbidding them to participate in politics in the city of Vallejo; and

WHEREAS, They have further invaded their rights by an order forbidding them to hold office in the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council, contending that said Council is a political organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct their incoming Executive Board to use all honorable means to secure a law that will circumvent further invasion by this non-legislative and non-judicial body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate G. E. Blakeley, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many local unions of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are not affiliated with the State Federations of Labor of their respective States; and

WHEREAS, The State Federation of Labor is one of the important links in the chain of organized labor, and is the principal instrument through which State legislation in the interest of the workers can and is secured, and therefore should receive the undivided support of all bona fide labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its Executive Council to request the various national and international unions at their next conventions, to amend their Constitutions so as to provide: that their local unions must affiliate with the State Federation of Labor where such Federation exists in the State in which the local union is located, and provided further, that the dues to such State Federations shall be collected through the general office of the national or international union and by the general office paid to the proper officers of the various State Federations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention be earnestly requested to use every honorable means in their power to secure the adoption of such amendment to the Constitution of the organization of which they are delegates.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Periods of industrial depression are of frequent occurrence and cause loss of employment to thousands of wage earners throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, These industrial depressions are often prolonged and made more acute by the political methods that have been followed in dealing with the question of tariff schedules; and

WHEREAS, An agitation is now in progress throughout the country in favor of taking the tariff out of politics, through the creation by Congress of a permanent non-partisan tariff commission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses the idea of a non-partisan tariff commission and directs the Executive Council to instruct the incoming Legislative Committee to work for the passage of a bill creating a tariff commission on which all interests, including agriculture and labor, shall be directly represented.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has for many years been, and still are issuing charters to the pile drivers, dock builders, crib and breakwater workers; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association claims absolute jurisdiction over the pile drivers, dock builders, crib and breakwater workers; and

WHEREAS, The claims of the International Longshoremen's Association are being disputed by both the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to secure a ruling as to which international organization these workers properly belong to.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The necessity of an active campaign of organization in Moline and Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa, commonly called the Tri-Cities, was brought to the attention of the recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This is a most important center and any activities engaged in there have effect upon two great States; and

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor is anxious to make the Tri-Cities a union labor center; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its President to assign one of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in unionizing the Tri-Cities and such assistance and co-operation be continued as long as, in the opinion of the President, it seems advisable.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate G. E. Blakeley, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the State of Kansas there exists an unorganized condition among the workers of the State, both skilled and unskilled, the forces of organized labor in the State have, in

the past been divided by the existence of two State movements, viz., the Kansas State Federation of Labor and the State Society of Labor and Industry; and

WHEREAS, The State Society of Labor and Industry (the dual movement), has now ceased to exist, and conditions are most favorable at the present time to organize the unorganized and build up a strong State Federation of Labor in Kansas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, through the proper channels, inaugurate a state-wide "Labor Forward Movement," in the State of Kansas, in the Spring of 1916, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various National and International Unions be requested by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to co-operate in this movement by sending organizers to assist in bringing about a more thorough organization of the workers of that State, and the affiliation of their local unions with the State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The advancement of the interests of Organized Labor and Farmers' Organizations calls for a closer co-operation on the part of these two great forces of the producers of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations, City Central Bodies and Local Unions, conduct an energetic and persistent campaign to the end that the desired co-operation may be brought about.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is a law in effect known as the 65-foot Motor Boat Law, which permits a boat under 65 feet in length to be operated by a non-licensed pilot and engineer and by so doing not only works a hardship upon the members of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, but endangers the lives of those operating these boats as well as the lives of such persons as are carried as passengers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming President of the International Longshoremen's Association be, and is hereby instructed to use every effort in his power to assist the officers of the L. T. P. A. in having this law repealed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be given the delegate representing the International Longshoremen's Association in the American Federation of Labor Convention and that he urge that body to lend all possible

assistance in having this law repealed.
Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates J. W. Kline, J. M. Tobin, W. F. Kramer (Blacksmiths); W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary, H. C. Diehl (Metal Polishers); John J. Hynes (Sheet Metal Workers):

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its Seattle convention decided that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union should discontinue all encroachments upon the jurisdiction of the unions in the automobile industry, and ordered to turn over to the respective unions all men they have as members of the local unions who lawfully belong to other international unions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its Philadelphia convention, decided that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union discontinue the use of the words "Automobile Workers" and refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations; and

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union has since the adoption of resolutions at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor at Rochester, N. Y., Seattle, Wash., and Philadelphia, Pa., continued its encroachments on the jurisdiction of other international and National organizations and has ignored the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, and failed absolutely to comply with the demands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention order the revocation of the charter of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union by January 1, 1916.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Federal, State and municipal commissions having power to fix rates for the transportation of commodities and determine terminal charges, must necessarily take into consideration the wages paid to the employees engaged in the work of transportation; and

WHEREAS, Rates and terminal charges have a direct influence on wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association, in session assembled, refer this subject to the American Federation of Labor, in order that the Executive Board may be instructed to make a thorough investigation and take the proper steps to protect the rights of the wage-earners.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates John

Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The practice of having small children live on the boats in and around the harbor of New York can result only to their detriment, both morally and physically; and

WHEREAS, Many of the captains are compelled to carry their children with them because of the fact that they are paid such miserable wages that no other course is open to them; and

WHEREAS, As a result children are bound to grow up in ignorance and be handicapped for the duties of life; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, through its delegate at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, ask that an investigation be made of these conditions and that efforts be made with the co-operation of the Federal and State authorities to bring into effect a child labor law that will prevent the carrying of children on such boats under the age of fifteen years.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger and S. Polakoff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Max Zuckerman, of the United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers of North America; Jacob Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It has been the good fortune of the people of the United States to be free from the horrors of the European war and from its hatreds and prejudices; and

WHEREAS, The people and the Government of the United States can exercise a beneficent influence in aiding the world to lay a foundation for a durable and permanent peace based upon justice to all; and

WHEREAS, In some of the countries of Europe the Jewish people, notwithstanding the great sacrifices they are making for the countries of their nativity are still deprived of elementary political and civic rights; and

WHEREAS, Every form of religious oppression and discrimination is contrary to the spirit of the American people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests the Government of the United States to urge upon the governments of the nations of Europe to cease the discriminations now practiced against the Jewish people; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That the same appeal be made by the American Federation of Labor to the organized workers of the belligerent nations.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Wm. F. Quesse, of the Chicago Flat Janitors' Union Local 14332:

WHEREAS, The federal and local labor unions in the building service line, such as elevator conductors and starters, janitors, janitresses, scrub-women, watchmen, window washers, porters and other kindred crafts, at the present time are unable to properly protect their interests; and

WHEREAS, There is a large field to organize the wage workers in these crafts in every city where there are office and apartment buildings or theaters; and

WHEREAS, With the amalgamation of these locals they can better safeguard their interests and extend their organizations to new fields; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor grant them an international charter, subject to the laws and constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and that the Secretary be instructed to call a convention of all the locals interested in the city of Chicago during the month of January, 1916, for the purpose of forming an international union of the Building Service Employees of America.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti, of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a referendum, known as Proposition No. 2, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood shall protest emphatically against the growing departmental policy of requiring terminal Railway Post Office clerks and transfer clerks to perform certain necessary tasks connected with their work on their own time, thus obliging such clerks to work in excess of a standard of eight hours a day; and that the officers of the Brotherhood shall avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to secure redress of this grievance"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of and the stand taken by the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks as outlined in this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist the affiliated postal employees in carrying out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Matt Comerford, J. J. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Union

of Steam and Operating Engineers has made every honorable effort to bring about an amalgamation between the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have met in a conference with the officers of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, at which Mr. Samuel Gompers presided, and where the following agreement was reached, to wit:

"With the purpose of removing conflict between the membership of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and to protect and promote the rights, interests and welfare of the membership of both these organizations, we, the undersigned representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, hereby enter into an agreement by which these desirable purposes may be accomplished.

"Therefore, we agree—

"First. That all hostilities shall cease, and the undersigned pledge themselves for their organizations to prevent any discrimination against the members of the other organization.

"Second. That a committee consisting of four members of each organization shall be selected for the purpose of drafting a plan whereby the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers shall become amalgamated into one comprehensive organization.

"Third. That it shall be the duty of the committee herein provided to agree on the details of amalgamating both organizations.

"Fourth. That if there shall arise any point upon which the committee, herein provided, cannot agree, it shall be the duty of the committee to select a member in good standing of the trade union movement to act as a conciliator or arbitrator. Should the committee be unable to agree upon the selection of a conciliator or arbitrator, then the President of the American Federation of Labor shall act as, or appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor to act as conciliator or arbitrator, and his decision on any disputed questions shall be final and binding upon the committees of both organizations, and the committees and the officers of both organizations shall earnestly recommend to their respective memberships the ratification of the entire agreement.

"Fifth. That when amalgamation of the two organizations shall have been accomplished, the amalgamated organization shall issue local charters to the local unions now part of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen without cost, and that local unions of steamshovelmen and dredgemen, part

of the amalgamated international union, shall have the right to make their own by-laws and rules provided they do not conflict with the constitution and general laws of the amalgamated international.

"Sixth. The local unions of steamshovel and dredgemen shall have complete jurisdiction over all steamshovel and dredge work.

"Seventh. As assurance of good will for united action, it is declared by the parties of this agreement that the district plan of organization among the steamshovel and dredgemen shall remain in effect in case amalgamation is consummated.

"Eighth. The Amalgamated International Union shall apply to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a new charter under such title as may be agreed upon by the committee herein provided, and shall set forth the jurisdiction claimed by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen as now recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

"Ninth. On the 23d day of August, 1915, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the committee of four from each of the organizations party to this agreement shall meet at the New Morrison Hotel for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this agreement, and to devise the plan for the amalgamation as herein set forth.

"Tenth. This agreement shall be submitted to the general executive board of each organization for ratification and the full authority to act in accordance with the terms of this agreement.

"Eleventh. The committee of four from each organization shall apply itself assiduously day by day to devise the plan for amalgamation and complete their work at the earliest possible day.

"Twelfth. When the plan of amalgamation has been formed and agreed to by the committee of four from each organization it shall be submitted to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen for ratification and submitted to the executive board of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers for ratification. (The executive board of the latter organization having authority to act in the premises conferred upon it by the Peoria (Ill.) Convention of 1914.)

"Thirteenth. Within ten days after the ratification of the plan of amalgamation the general officers of each organization shall meet for the purpose of carrying into effect the amalgamation as declared herein, and as shall be provided in the agreement by the com-

mittee of four of each of the organizations.

Approved by
MATT COMERFORD,
JAMES G. HANNAHAN,
Representing the International Union of
Steam and Operating Engineers.

T. J. DOLAN,
P. W. WALSH,
Representing the International Brother-
hood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Representing the American Federation
of Labor.

G. W. PERKINS,
Representing the Cigarmakers' Interna-
tional Union.

JOHN FITZPATRICK,
Representing the Chicago Federation of
Labor.

Representing the Chicago Building
Trades Council.

Opposed by
E. M. FOLEY,
J. W. TRACY,

Representing the International Brother-
hood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen."

WHEREAS, The issuance of the charter to the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen has caused conflict between the engineers belonging to both organizations, in some instances the Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen offering their services for less wages than was being paid to engineers belonging to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen be instructed to amalgamate with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers within 90 days, and unless complied with that the charter of the International Steamshovel and Dredgemen be revoked.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates
Frank W. Cotterill and J. G. Brown,
of the Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle, through the efforts of its educational committee and label committee recently held a most successful exposition of union labels, union house and shop cards, and products of union labor, said exposition having been made possible by the hearty and enthusiastic co-operation of the officers and the rank and file of a large majority of all affiliated unions, and

WHEREAS, This exposition has created a marked increase in the demand for the union label and for union labor products, and

WHEREAS, Local manufacturers and merchants interested themselves in said exposition and contributed to its success by making attractive and creditable displays for the purpose of taking advantage of the advertising opportu-

nities presented, and whereas also the labor press received a flattering increase in advertising patronage through said exposition and was enabled to prove its value as an advertising medium; and

WHEREAS, All local unions of Seattle having benefited by said exposition, central councils in other cities have planned or are planning similar expositions for the education of the members of their affiliated unions and the general public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby indorse the holding of such expositions for the advertisement of union labels, union house and shop cards and union labor products, and in furtherance of the exposition idea authorizes its executive council to place at the disposal of organizations making proper application such statistics, literature and exhibits as it may now have on hand, or may hereafter acquire; such, for example, as the American Federation of Labor exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and other exhibits of paintings, sculptures, photographs, music and literature of special interest to labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That merchants and manufacturers fair to organized labor be invited to participate in such expositions at the discretion of the central labor councils holding the same, or at State fairs under the auspices of State Federations; and that such other assistance be extended at such expositions as the executive council of this federation, or the label department thereof, may deem necessary.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti, Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, by a referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a referendum, known as Proposition No. 1, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood shall protest emphatically against any departmental policy calculated to increase the hours on duty of road clerks and to decrease the necessary lay-off period, whether by taking off crews, 'swing men' or helpers, or by any other reorganization methods; that the officers of this Brotherhood shall avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to make such protests effective; and that, if the need for such action shall arise, the officers of this Brotherhood shall carry an appeal for an investigation of the question to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations"; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention, on page 103, after citing interviews and correspondence between officers of this Federation and

postoffice department officials on the subject of reductions and demotions, declares as follows: "We recommend that this convention declare emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the Government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of and the stand taken by the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, as well as the report of the Executive Council of this Federation bearing on this matter; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention declares emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the Government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions, and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries; and that the officers and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to be prepared to assist in carrying out the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti, Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a resolution, known as Proposition No. 4, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood, availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, shall call the attention of Congress to the fact that railway mail service employees are discriminated against in that they are required to perform service averaging a minimum of eight hours per day for 312 days of the year, being allowed no holidays nor any vacation period (contrary to the rule in every other branch of the Federal service); and that the officers of this Brotherhood agitate this question and seek the allowance by legislation of an annual fifteen-day vacation"; and

WHEREAS, Besides averaging a minimum of eight hours per day for 312 days of the year, exceedingly arduous extra duty is performed by employees of the railway mail service during each December without any extra compensation, thus indirectly further justifying the just claim for an annual fifteen-day vacation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the claim of the employees of the railway mail service, and pledges its moral influence and assistance in seeking the allowance by legislation of an annual fifteen-day vacation for railway mail service employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate J. Mahlon Barnes, Cigarmakers' International Union:

Strike out section 3 of article III of the constitution and substitute the following: The following committees consisting of 15 members each shall be appointed by the president: Rules and Order of Business, Organization, Labels, Local and Federated Bodies, Education, State Organizations, Boycotts and Building Trades.

Committees consisting of 15 members each, on Report of Executive Council, Resolutions, Laws and Adjustments, shall be elected in the following manner: Nominations for members of all these committees shall be made at one time. The election to determine the personnel of the respective committees. The nominees in the order of the highest number of votes received shall fill the committees in the order in which the committees are herein named; provided, that no member of the Executive Council shall be eligible to membership in committees named in this section.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment is serious, if not the most serious in our lives. It not only destroys the producing and consuming power of the individual and his family, but it is the means whereby the employers keep the employed in active competition against each other. It is also the constant menace which is held over the employed to make them servile and submissive and work long hours for small wages, which results in the increased output of the employed, while it lessens the consuming power of himself and his family; and,

WHEREAS, One practical way to meet this situation would be to secure data, information and knowledge of the cause and far-reaching effect of unemployment, which if given proper publicity would drive those who profit by manipulating the labor market, so that we have an endless army of unemployed, from their well entrenched position. Another and more practical way is to shorten the hours of labor so that more will be employed, and increase the wages of the employed, thereby increasing his consuming power, which means more employment. In other words, give every man, woman and child their full consuming power, and the army of the unemployed will soon be in the ranks of the employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED. By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we instruct our Executive Council to initiate and authorize a plan whereby all available information on the effect and the possible solution of the question of unemployment can be compiled and given publicity, and that such plan provide that the individual members of the affiliated local unions report either

through their international union, or city central body the number of hours they work per week or per month, and the number they don't work, and the cause of not working, whether caused by sickness, accident, slack season or depression in business; and be it further

RESOLVED. That this convention calls attention to the fact that the giant industries and corporations of America not only work their employees under inhuman conditions, but they absolutely destroy the home life of the workers by the long number of hours they compel them to work, and the only hope of the worker is to rely upon his efforts to organize and his personal activities if he is to secure relief from the brutal conditions forced upon him by a manufactured army of unemployed workers.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Under the present Civil Service laws Government employees may be removed from the service or demoted without the right of a fair trial before a tribunal where witnesses for the accused may testify; and

WHEREAS, Under the Constitution of the United States, the meanest criminal, whatever his crime, is assured a trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, It appears to be simple justice that when the Government employee's removal or demotion in rank is sought, that he be given an opportunity to have his case reviewed before an impartial board of review; therefore, be it

RESOLVED. That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse and instruct its officers to seek the establishment of a Court of Appeals to be created in the Civil Service Commission, consisting of three members, one of whom shall be an employee of the United States under the classified Civil Service law, with the power to review and hear testimony in cases where employees in the Civil Service have been demoted or dismissed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Thomas J. Mahoney of the International Glove Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The O. C. Hansen Manufacturing Company, the Ellsworth Thayer Manufacturing Company and the Milwaukee Glove Company of Milwaukee, Wis., who for years have made agreements with our organization and used our union label, have refused to renew the agreements with us, although no changes in either the agreement or wage schedule was asked for by our organization, and locked out our members July 1 of this year; and

WHEREAS, Our members have been waging a struggle since that time to maintain their organization and resist

the reduction of wages made by the Milwaukee Glove Company, and

WHEREAS, The gloves made by these manufacturers are used particularly by the men in the organized trades, and we believe this attack on our organization in Milwaukee is backed by the Glove Manufacturers' Association of Wisconsin, so we need every possible assistance to successfully carry on this fight; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention urge the affiliated unions of their organization to render their moral and financial support to the glove workers involved in this lockout.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate T. F. Neary, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has consistently enforced all of the laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In October, 1914, the question was raised in a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor by a delegate that the laws of the American Federation of Labor were not being complied with. The chair ruled that the American Federation of Labor laws were complied with, whereupon an appeal was taken from the decision of the chair, with the result that the chair was sustained by a unanimous vote. The complaining delegate then served notice of an appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, When this appeal was being considered by the Executive Council the Chicago Federation of Labor asked to be given an opportunity to defend its action and decision, and after much correspondence and many such requests, the Executive Council held that the Chicago Federation of Labor was in error and sustained the appeal against the Chicago Federation of Labor without hearing upon the facts and principles involved; and

WHEREAS, When this decision was rendered the Chicago Federation of Labor was notified to comply therewith at the "earliest possible opportunity." The mandate of the Executive Council was complied with at the next regular meeting; and

WHEREAS, The representations of the two hundred and fifty thousand organized men and women who constitute the Chicago Federation of Labor, although humbly submitting to the mandate of the Executive Council, are just as firmly convinced now as at any time in the past that the laws of the American Federation of Labor were not violated, and that a hearing of the evidence and the facts would convince even the most biased that the Chicago Federation of Labor was entirely within the law and complied with all the requirements of the American Federation of Labor; and inasmuch as the Executive Council failed

to accord to the Chicago Federation of Labor a hearing in this matter, it was decided to appeal to this convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the appeal of the Chicago Federation of Labor be agreed to and the decision of the Executive Council be held in abeyance until such time as the Executive Council may reopen this case for the consideration of all the evidence, facts and information the Chicago Federation of Labor desires to place before it.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 125—By T. F. Neary, delegate of Chicago Federation of Labor:

Add new paragraph to section 8 of article II, to read:

"In the event of a local having trouble with its International Union, central bodies will not be required to seat delegates from new unions chartered by such International Union to take the place of the union in trouble. If such unions are made up of strike-breakers and scabs and locals having such trouble shall have to have a full, fair and impartial hearing in the presence of a representative of the American Federation of Labor and the central body involved before any mandatory order of expulsion shall be issued by the American Federation of Labor."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a resolution, known as Proposition No. 3, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood, availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, shall seek the enactment of legislation defining the number of hours of duty to be required of railway postal clerks"; and

WHEREAS, In seeking the enactment of such legislation the arduous duties and the excessive physical and mental strain inseparable from the occupation of railway postal clerks should be given full consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks as outlined in this resolution, and that the officers and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist in seeking legislation defining the number of hours of duty of railway postal clerks, with due consideration of the excessive physical and mental strain and arduous duties of railway postal employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Frank J. Guscelli of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, An effort was made to incorporate in last postoffice appropriation bill a clause providing for biennial in lieu of annual promotions, which proviso was defeated with the whole postal appropriation bill principally because certain irreconcilable differences developed over the question of railroad rates for carrying mails; and

WHEREAS, Postal employees' salaries are none too high, and have not kept pace with the increased and increasing cost of living, and when it is considered that the Income Tax Law provides a tax of only 1 per cent. on incomes in excess of \$4,000 and up to \$20,000, and only 2 per cent. on incomes from \$20,000 to \$50,000, while biennial promotions would affect postal employees' salaries from 6 to as high as 10 per cent; and when it is further considered that none denied that the proposed alteration in the law was in effect a war tax upon postal employees, and of a nature apparently confiscatory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor unalterably opposes any attempt to change the present annual promotions to biennial promotions, and that the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor is pledged to the affiliated postal employees in opposing any such change in the next postal appropriation bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and Geo. Leary (Metal Polishers); J. L. Merchant (Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union):

WHEREAS, There exists at this time a Barbers' Supply Company, which is making every effort to defeat the objects and aims of organized labor, to the extent that the following organizations have declared it unfair: Carpenters' District Council, Painters' District Council, International Association of Machinists No. 9, Metal Polishers' Local No. 13, Sheet Metal Workers' District Council, Plumbers' and Steamfitters' U. A. Stationary Engineers, Upholsterers' No. 21; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify all organizations affiliated that the Koken Barber Supply Company, of St. Louis, Mo., does not employ union men.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and Geo. Leary (Metal Polishers); J. L. Merchant (Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union):

WHEREAS, There exists a condition in the silver industry of this country that should be of vital importance to

every trade unionist affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Silver Trust, known as the International Silver Company, own or control nearly all the silver factories of this country, thereby have stamped out competition and can regulate prices of this product. Manufacturing an article that is a luxury and only purchased by the wealthy, they are in a position to pay fair wages to the workers in their many factories.

They, however, are bitter and antagonistic towards organized labor and have successfully stamped out all attempts of their employees to form organizations at their very inception, punishing the agitators by instant dismissal and the use of the black-list.

This corporation must of necessity employ only the most highly skilled mechanics, and these men and women are compelled to labor ten hours a day and sixty hours a week for a rate of wages ranging from one dollar to a dollar and a half a day less than paid union men and women doing the same work in other branches of industry.

The employees, enthused by the eight-hour agitation in the East, succeeded in organizing thoroughly several of the largest factories of the International Silver Company, and demanded the shorter work-day and a fair living wage. The International Silver Company immediately refused their demands and over three thousand men and women went on a strike, grimly determined to stick solidly together until fair conditions were conceded to them.

The strike occurred on October 4, 1915, and involved six of the factories of the International Silver Company, all located in Meriden, Conn. This corporation then began having its work done in its other shops. These other employees had been organizing and refused to do the scab work, and as a consequence strikes are now on in Derby, Wallingford, Norwich, Waterbury; ten factories now on strike and more to follow, bringing the number on strike up to close on eight thousand.

The winning of this strike will not only remove the competition of the underpaid mechanic in keeping wages down in other industries, but will add at least, thirty thousand more men and women to the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to provide food and living necessities to these destitute brothers and sisters, who are fighting so hard to better their conditions; and

WHEREAS, The organizations these strikers are affiliated with are not large enough to bear this great burden without assistance from this great labor movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to send out letters of appeal to the International, National, State Federations, City, Central Councils, Federal Labor Unions, and all local unions affiliated either directly to this American Federation of Labor, or through their International or National Unions, for finan-

cial assistance to help the organization and the men and women now involved to carry this fight on to a successful termination.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate John J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Freedom of speech and freedom of the press is a fundamental principle of our Government and was engrafted into the Constitution of the United States, which says that freedom of speech and freedom of the press shall not be abridged; and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of our citizens are employed under the civil branch of our Government, and they do not enjoy in a full measure freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which was vouchsafed to them and guaranteed them by the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service employees can take no part in political campaigns in which the welfare of city, state or nation is concerned, no matter how meritorious is the cause; and

WHEREAS, This is a menace to the Government itself and a blow to the rights of a free people, and was never intended by the patriots who fought to throw off the yoke of tyranny; and for the preservation of our Republic, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the city of San Francisco, register its unrelenting opposition to any scheme or system which denies freedom of speech to any class of citizens or to any man, and that the Executive Council of this federation instruct its Legislative Committee to frame a bill which shall be enacted into law, with the purpose of curing the evil of preventing any person or persons from enjoying full freedom of speech, and that the said law shall make it a penal offense for any one to interfere with, or prevent any one from enjoying that right.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is in agreement with public sentiment that the United States Government in the exercise of the function of an employer of labor should take the lead in establishing ideal working conditions for its employees; in other words it should be the model employer; and

WHEREAS, The custom of suspending work on Saturday afternoons, thus giving their employees a half holiday each week throughout the entire year,

has been very generally adopted by private employers, and by some of the United States Government departments; and

WHEREAS, The Federal employees in Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, have enjoyed a half holiday on Saturday afternoons during the summer months only, for several years past, and this practice has demonstrated its desirability both from the viewpoint of the Government and of the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby instruct the President and Executive Council to use any and all means to secure the extension of the Saturday half holiday period throughout the entire year to all divisions and departments of the Federal service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of this federation is hereby instructed to forward copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the members of the Cabinet and to labor representatives in Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate John J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The United States is the only large country in the world that has not made suitable provision for its superannuated and otherwise disabled civil employees; and

WHEREAS, The governments, firms and corporations that have established plans of retirement on service annuities for employees of this character have found this method of dealing with superannuation not only just and reasonable from a humane point of view, but also in the interest of efficiency and economy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to use every available means to secure the establishment of a retirement system for Federal civil employees which will not, either directly or indirectly, cause them to suffer a reduction in wages.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, G. P. Leary, of the International Union of Metal Polishers; John J. Hynes, of the Sheet Metal Workers; James Wilson, of the Pattern Makers; J. S. Merchant, of the Central Labor Union of Wallingford, Connecticut; Wm. H. Johnston, J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades De-

partment of the American Federation of Labor has adopted a universal label; and

WHEREAS, The appearance of this label will be a positive guarantee that all employees in the employ of the firm using same are carrying a card in the organization representing their craft or trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor request the Label Trades Department to advertise thoroughly the existence of this label, to the end that all mechanics may know that they can purchase tools bearing the union label.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate E. S. Allen, of the Massachusetts State Branch:

WHEREAS, We believe that our present Asiatic exclusion laws should be strengthened and made more effective; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principles contained in House Bill No. 2037, third session of the Sixty-third Congress, and instruct the Executive Council to give full support to the same at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Matt Comerford, James J. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, Dissatisfaction and discord prevails amongst the local unions affiliated with the Central Body in Louisville, Ky.; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs is highly detrimental to the welfare of all organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send some representative to Louisville to investigate the affairs and the conduct of certain individuals of the Central Body of Louisville, Ky., with a view of bringing about harmony.

Referred to Committee on Local or Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates Matt Comerford, James J. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, There exists in Massachusetts a so-called Brotherhood of Power Workers with headquarters in Springfield, Mass.; and

WHEREAS, Said organization is in fact a dual organization to the general labor movement and particularly to the Engineers and Firemen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify all local and central bodies in Massachusetts of this fact.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 137—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., printers and publishers, of Chicago, Ill., have been opposed to the printing trades unions since the inauguration of the eight-hour day in the printing industry, and have been and are now operating a non-union establishment in all branches of the printing trade; and

WHEREAS, There is about to be placed on the market a new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, reduced in size, especially designated for sale among working men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the International Allied Printing Trades Unions in the effort to place the facts in relation to the manufacture of this new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica before the membership of all unions affiliated with organized labor and also to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to adjust this complaint.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, The official organ of the Federation, "The American Federationist," is a monthly magazine which contains official reports, news items and editorial utterances of much value to members of organized labor who represent local unions in central labor councils; and believing that by furnishing this magazine free to such delegates would greatly benefit the entire movement as well as make the magazine of more value to the advertisers of union product, thus benefiting the international unions which compose this Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Educational Committee, to whom was referred subjects relating to the "American Federationist," submit some practical plan which will insure the sending of the official organ to the home of every representative of a local union in a central body affiliated with this Federation; and, further, that said committee be requested to report on this resolution at the earliest possible date and suggest financial recommendations, in order that the purposes of this resolution may be carried out at this convention.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 139—By delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the Interna-

tional Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Star Publishing Company of St. Louis, Mo., directed against "The St. Louis Star," which boycott is instituted and conducted not only without justification in fact and in violation of the laws governing Federal Labor Unions, but is likewise in conflict with the laws governing the St. Louis Central Trade and Labor Council and in total disregard to the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, as prescribed in article IX, section 1, as well as in violation of the ruling of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, rendered June, 1908, to-wit:

"RESOLVED, That all central bodies, State federations and directly affiliated local unions shall be required, before declaring or endorsing as unfair any person, firm or corporation, to submit the dispute to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and adjustment"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares the boycott instituted by Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 against "The St. Louis Star" not justified in fact and unwarranted by the constitutional laws and rulings of the American Federation of Labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, immediately after adjournment of this convention, or as soon thereafter as is possible, instruct Federal Union No. 5783 to annul this boycott at once and immediately cease a further boycott or any other concerted form of opposition intended and directed to lessen or interfere with the sale or patronage of "The St. Louis Star"; that failing to comply with these instructions within thirty days after receipt of such instructions, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is authorized and directed to revoke the charter of Federal Union No. 5783, and to organize an affiliated union of these workers who will adhere to, live up to and fully comply with the laws, rules, regulations and instructions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 140—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Hough-

ton & Dutton Company of Boston, Mass., predicated on the use by this firm of coupons or trading stamps of the United Profit Sharing Company, to be given customers making purchases from this company,

WHEREAS, The Houghton & Dutton Company undertook the use of the United Profit Sharing Company's coupons or trading stamps only after full assurances, guaranteed by contractual obligations that these trading stamps, catalogues and all other printed matter used in connection with and relating to the use of these coupons be produced in their entirety under union conditions and bearing the Allied Printing Trades Union label,

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union instituted this boycott in total disregard to the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, as provided in Article 9, Section 7; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declares this boycott as having been illegally instituted and instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to direct the Boston Central Labor Union to immediately annul this boycott directed against the Houghton & Dutton Company and cease from any other form of concerted opposition having the characteristics of a boycott or intended to interfere with the sales and patronage of this firm, unless such concerted action fully conforms with all constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, and has first received the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 141—By the Delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The G. and C. Merriam Company of Springfield, Mass., are having Webster's New International Dictionary and other dictionaries published in non-union or unfair offices; and

WHEREAS, All efforts of the Allied Printing Trades Unions to have this work done in offices that pay the union scale of wages and observe all other union conditions required by the Allied Printing Trades Unions have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the International Printing Trades Unions in a final effort to bring

about a satisfactory adjustment of this complaint, and that failing to bring about a satisfactory settlement and agreement, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are directed to place the facts in relation to the manufacture of Webster's New International Dictionary and all other books of the G. and C. Merriam Company before the members of all affiliated unions, and also to take such other steps as may be deemed essential and necessary to adjust this grievous complaint.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 142—By the Delegates representing the International Typographical Union at the request of Omaha Typographical Union No. 190:

WHEREAS, The winter is coming near and will throw out of work thousands of men, who, in many cases, after their few saved dollars are gone, do not see any other way of existence than to stand on street corners begging from passers-by for a nickel or a dime, in this way constituting a most troublesome nuisance for the public; and

WHEREAS, It is the Christian duty of our most glorious nation to do everything for this unhappy class of people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our union communicate with the American Federation of Labor, that said federation take steps to induce the Congress to build at Government expense in every city of over 100,000 population homes where this most suffering class of people may find shelter in the cold winter nights and a few warm meals over the day.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 143—By delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, Rapid and continued changes are constantly at work modifying and altering past and present methods and processes of producing printed matter, necessitating like changes in form of organization, among the printing trades; and

WHEREAS, The Allied Printing Trades Unions have been able to cope with and successfully control all changes and modifications of producing printed matter of whatever kind, excepting that produced by the process of offset printing; on which class of printing it has been partially unsuccessful, because of the opposition and interference of the International Lithographers' Protective and Benevolent Association; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at the Thirty-third and Thirty-

fourth Annual Conventions of that organization recognized the necessity of the amalgamation of the Lithographic Pressmen and Press Feeders with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; the amalgamation of the Lithographic Engravers' and Transferrers', etc., with the International Photo-Engravers' Union, and the amalgamation of all compositors employed directly or indirectly by the lithographic establishments, or doing work entering into lithographic work, with the International Typographical Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor having considered the conflicting jurisdictional claims of all the printing trades involved in the process of offset printing for a period of two years, finds itself unable to draw any line of demarcation between the printing trades unions involved in this work, thus evidencing conclusively that the varying processes of producing printed matter demands a like modification of organization among the printing trades unions and as proposed in the plan of amalgamations submitted by the Allied Printing Trades Unions; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of all labor demands that one union label be used on all printing matter regardless of whatever process or method it may have been produced; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Benevolent Association has failed to heed or respond to the action of the American Federation of Labor in amalgamating with the printing trades unions, but on the contrary has constantly, persistently and wrongfully used the union label—and in a number of instances cunningly substituted a label so closely resembling the Allied Printing Trades Council label as to mislead the general public; doing this to further its own interest at the cost of and to the great detriment of the Allied Printing Trades Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all work relating to type-setting for offset printing or any other process of printing is the work of members of the International Typographical Union; that all work of or relating to the producing of printing plates and transferring of same for offset printing, or any other process of printing, is the work of members of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; that all work of and relating to offset printing and offset printing presses, as well as type-printing, is the work of members of the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union; and that all binding, etc., of printed matter of every description is the work of the members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Lithographers' Protective and Benevolent Association is hereby instructed to immediately cease further interference with and assumption of the rightful jurisdictional claims of the foregoing printing

trades unions, as designated in these resolutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue its efforts in co-operating with the Allied Printing Trades Unions to the end that the plan of amalgamation dealing with the lithographic workers and as proposed by the printing trades unions may be speedily consummated; thereby making the use of one union label in the printing trades possible, feasible and practicable, and establishing in the printing industry that form of organization best suited to meeting all the varying and modifying changes in methods and processes of producing printing matter.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 144—By the delegates of the United Hatters of North America:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States enacted certain legislation known as the Sherman Anti-Trust law, which was intended to apply to combinations of capital and not to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Sherman Anti-Trust law is also applicable to labor organizations, as shown in their decision in the Danbury Hatters' case; and

WHEREAS, Under this decision the bank accounts of 186 members of the United Hatters of North America, the savings of a lifetime, have already been taken from them, and within the next two months their homes will also be taken away, although they were never charged with any crime other than that they belonged to a labor organization, nor was it intimated that they participated in any strike or lockout; on the contrary it was openly stated in court by Mr. Loewe and the attorneys for the Anti-Boycott Society that the selection of the defendants was based on ownership of property and not on conduct from which the plaintiffs claim to have suffered injury; and

WHEREAS, The National Association of Manufacturers, through the Anti-Boycott Society, was determined to get the courts to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust law to the organizations of labor, and the fight made against the members of the United Hatters of North America was not against the hatters alone, but against all organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, The decision of the Supreme Court against the members of the United Hatters was largely instrumental in securing the passage of the Clayton bill, which prevents such suits in the future, and is of inestimable value to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges its support to the 186

defendants whose savings of a lifetime are about to be taken from them, thereby leaving them homeless and penniless, and make provisions to raise sufficient funds by assessment or otherwise as will indemnify the defendants for the loss of their homes and savings.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate J. P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, News reports from Washington indicate that President Wilson may recommend to Congress an appropriation of five hundred million dollars for the construction of warships in pursuance of a policy of general preparedness; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor and all progressive thinkers fully realize that militarism and navalism is the greatest enemy to peace, happiness and the general welfare of the American people and all other nations; and

WHEREAS, National preparedness must mean a well directed defense of our country against any invasion and not a military aggression against other nations; and general preparedness must not be a pretext for the growth of militarism and the destruction of popular rights nor a capitalistic menace to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, A huge national appropriation will be a mighty impetus to industrial activity and the employment of thousands of workers for many years; and

WHEREAS, Warships are tax-eating and unproductive as well as obsolete and valueless after the lapse of but a few years, while merchant ships are producers of revenue and do not add to the burden of the tax-paying people; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson stands already committed in favor of the creation of a National Merchant Marine owned and controlled by the Government; and

WHEREAS, In the present deplorable and horrid war between the great nations of Europe the historic achievements of several big German liners, which were built both for commerce and naval reserve service, have conclusively demonstrated that merchant ships may be so constructed as to serve with equal efficiency the pursuits of peace and in an emergency the exigencies of war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That general preparedness for the defense of the country and for the protection of the economic interests of all the people is best attained by the construction of a revenue-producing merchant marine and naval reserve combined in preference to that of costly, unproductive and tax-eating warships for military purposes only; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity be and hereby is requested to urge the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor to favor the

progressive policy as expressed in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Joe W. Morton, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been opposed to contract or sweat shop system of labor, and especially so when it has for its purpose the reduction of wages already obtained; and

WHEREAS, In many of the principal cities we have established a wage scale for stationary firemen, oilers and coal passers in all branches of the municipality; and

WHEREAS, The Board of Education in the City of Chicago have what is known as the square foot contract system whereby union men are being deprived of what they should receive; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we oppose any system which has for its purpose the reduction of wages now paid.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, Wm. Brennan, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen has succeeded in establishing a uniform wage scale in many of the municipalities, county and State institutions for oilers, stationary firemen and helpers; and

WHEREAS, We are now engaged in an effort to obtain the prevailing rate of wages for oilers, stationary firemen and helpers now employed in the federal service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council and all central bodies as well as its organizers to render the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen such assistance as may be necessary to bring about the desired result.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate James P. Holland of the New York Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, At the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the city of Rochester resolutions were introduced requesting an investigation of serious charges against the affiliated organization known as White Rats Actors' Union of America, which charges were by the order of the convention investigated by the Executive Council of the federation; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers, assisted by Secretary Morrison and General Organizer Hugh Frayne, did hold a twelve-hour session at the Victoria Hotel in New York City, at which

hearing Mr. Harry Mountford represented the complaining former members of the White Rats Actors' Union, acting in the capacity as counsel, and who is now representing the White Rats Actors' Union of America at this, the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, which hearing was held upon January 11, 1913, and no decision having been submitted up to this date; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers did request information as to the conditions surrounding the expulsion of several members of the said White Rats Actors' Union, notwithstanding all efforts by the said White Rats to exclude such testimony; and

WHEREAS, The official committee of the New York Central Federated Union who were present at that hearing did report to that body that in their judgment every charge made by these protesting representatives had been sustained; also that in its present form the White Rats Actors' Union is not in any way constituted a trades union and recommended the withdrawal of the charter for the reason of gross violation of all trades union ethics; and

WHEREAS, Through incompetency of its officers and board of directors the White Rats Actors' Union, an incorporated general form of organization without locals anywhere, has admitted that its claimed asset of \$250,000 of three years since is completely wiped out and admitting that its membership has dwindled from 11,000 men and women to a claimed membership of only 1,000; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby instruct the Executive Council to make full and complete investigation of the alleged illegal investment of the defense funds of the White Rats Actors' Union of America and to compel a revising of the present constitution of that order to conform to the principles of the trades union movement as recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and to give proper local autonomy in all theatrical centers of this country.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate James P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity is a party to the controversy between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the United Housecarpenters and Bridgemen's Union, the following is submitted to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, California, as materially bearing upon this case between Local Union No. 1456 of the United Brotherhood of Car-

penters and Joiners of America and Local Unions Nos. 40 and 52 of the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union.

The Independent Dock Builders' Union, for many years affiliated to the Central Federation of Greater New York and Vicinity, changed its name to Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union. Prior to the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor attempts at various times were made by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, who claimed jurisdiction over this work, to induce the Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union to become a part of their organization as a local union. In this effort the American Federation of Labor rendered great support by threatening the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity with revocation of its charter if the Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union were not dissociated. At the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1913 a conference was held between representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, officers of the American Federation of Labor and Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and an agreement reached whereby the Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union should become a local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Following the Seattle Convention many conferences were held in Greater New York, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, Dock and Bulkhead Builders and General Organizer Frayne attending. The Dock and Bulkhead Builders finally agreed to become a local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and became known as Pier and Dock Carpenters' Local Union 1456.

During this time the Civil Service dock builders employed by the city of New York, and known as the Municipal Dock Builders' Union, held a charter from the American Federation of Labor, and were represented in the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity. Their representatives had been invited to the conferences and had attended. They objected to becoming connected with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Conferences were held with their representatives and those of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity and inducements offered to them to join Local Union 1456 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, but all without success. The Municipal Dock Builders instead started to branch out, conspired to disrupt Local Union 1456 and accepted as members others than those employed as dock builders. Local Union 1456 ordered a strike for recognition by the Contractors' Association, and for better union conditions, and the Municipal Dock Builders filled their places below the wage scale and hours of labor. For this gross violation of union principle

the American Federation of Labor revoked their charter, and the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity expelled them. All of those proceedings, inclusive of the conference held at Seattle, were duly reported to the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity, and by it conveyed through its weekly official printed report to every affiliated union, including Local Unions 40 and 52 of the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union. In all of this time these Local Unions 40 and 52 did not interfere in this procedure, or claim jurisdiction over either the Dock and Bulkhead Builders' Union or the Municipal Dock Builders' Union, nor did the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union file any such claim over piling. Hence, the organized labor movement of Greater New York was disagreeably surprised to find that the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union had granted a charter to the Municipal Dock Builders, in the face of the fact that a component part of the American Federation of Labor, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, were engaged in a bitter struggle to obtain union conditions for their Local Union 1456.

Local Unions 40 and 52 of the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union was duly notified of this unwarranted violation of trades union principles and requested to appear before the General Executive Committee and show cause for their action. Failing to respond, both Local Unions 40 and 52 were expelled by the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity according to article I, section 56, of its constitution. We assume that Local Unions 40 and 52 were instructed in the premises by the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That since the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union has violated every ethic of the American labor movement, and antagonized the basic structure of the American Federation of Labor, we, therefore, pray that this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor disassociate the United Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union until such time as they revoke the charter of the Municipal Dock Builders, or what is now designated to be Local Union 171.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton and William Brennan of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, By order of the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 14-26, 1910, the following agreement was made and ratified, John R. Alpine representing the American Federation of Labor (as taken from page 306 of those proceedings):

AGREEMENT.

"Agreement entered into this 25th day of November, 1910, between the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, to the end that in the creation of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned and the respective employees thereof, better understandings may prevail and the best interests of all be more generally protected. It is mutually agreed by the subscribers hereto that if the following plan is faithfully adhered to by the organizations at interest it will serve to effectually remove any and all disputes that have heretofore existed, or that may arise in the future, and we guarantee to carry into effect the full spirit and intent of this agreement mutually entered into.

"Section 1. The International Union of Steam Engineers and International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall, through the directions of their respective international officers, cause to be created where local unions of both organizations exist joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's interests and promoting the creation of joint agreements with their employers. This action shall be taken as soon as possible and not later than January 1, 1911.

"Section 2. It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organization herein mentioned with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, as well as assisting in the settlement of disputes of any nature that may arise.

"Section 3. In the event of disagreement between the conference boards already referred to, the international representatives of both organizations in dispute shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor to properly dispose of the same. In the event of failure with regard to settlement, the president of the American Federation of Labor shall appoint some member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to act as referee, and the latter's decision shall be final and binding on all parties to this agreement.

"Section 4. Since it is mutually agreed by both parties to this agreement that the question of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned and the employers thereof, as concerns the date of commencement and expiration of such agreements is primarily the cause for existing differences, it is therefore unanimously decided by the subscribers of this agreement that in the future, when creating new agreements with their employers, the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall make such agree-

ments jointly, and these agreements shall be identical with regard to date of commencement and expiration.

"Section 5. It is also further agreed that both organizations shall assist each other in organizing steam plants, and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers who have the hiring of firemen, water tenders, oilers or helpers shall hire members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen wherever possible.

"MATT COMERFORD,

"JOHN L. McNAMARA,

"JOHN J. GLASS,

"JAMES G. HANNAHAN,

"International Union Steam Engineers.

"TIMOTHY HEALY,

"C. L. SHAMP,

"JOSEPH W. MORTON,

"International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"JOHN R. ALPINE,

"Representing American Federation of Labor.

"Vice-President Alpine: I move the adoption of the report of the committee and the ratification of the agreement. (Seconded and carried.)"

WHEREAS, At the St. Paul Convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers, held in September, 1912, that organization changed its laws to take in firemen, water-tenders, boiler-washers, oilers and helpers, which class of men rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, and by so doing violated the above agreement with the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, made at the St. Louis Convention; and

WHEREAS, The Rochester Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 11-23, 1912, passed the following resolution, and the committee reported on this case as follows (as taken from pages 337 and 338 of those proceedings):

"Resolution 120: Whereas, The proceedings of the bi-annual convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers held at St. Paul, Minn., in September, 1912, shows that the aforesaid organization extended a claim for jurisdiction by change of title and also by amending Article XIX, Section 1, to read as follows:

"A candidate for membership in a local of the International Union of Steam Engineers must be a competent engineer or apprentice engineer. He shall possess a license in localities where such is required. When a candidate presents himself for membership and is out of employment, the local union shall be judge as to the wisdom of admitting him to membership"; and

"WHEREAS, From many localities complaints have been received from local unions of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen against the actions of the International Union of Steam Engineers for their infringements on the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen as granted

by the American Federation of Labor in violation of Section 2 of Article II and Section 11 of Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the said action of the International Union of Steam Engineers was in direct violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and in conflict with the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen as granted by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam Engineers be and is hereby instructed to refrain from admitting to membership firemen, oilers, water-tenders, boiler-washers and firemen's helpers under the guise of apprentices, or any other term which may be applied to them, while employed at any of the above.

"The committee reported as follows: Section 2, Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that:

"No affiliated international, national, or local union shall be permitted to change its title or name if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor."

"While the representatives of the Steam Engineers have assured your committee that it is not their intention to admit to membership anyone coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen without first having complied with the provisions of section 2, article IX, as quoted above, yet it is not denied that the constitution of the International Union of Steam Engineers has been so amended as to make eligible to membership therein as apprentices men now coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen."

"In view of the plain provisions of the law, which requires that an organization must secure the consent of a convention of the American Federation of Labor before it shall have the right to extend its jurisdiction over the members of another affiliated organization, your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution."

"The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried"; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 10-26, 1913, decided as follows on this question (as taken from page 303, Committee on Executive Council's report)

"Engineers—Change of Title."

"Under the caption of 'Engineers—Change of Title,' the Executive Council reports the action of the Engineers' organization changing its title so as to read 'International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers,' with the distinct understanding that this change was not

for the purpose and should not give to that organization any extension of jurisdiction. Your committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council in this matter be approved."

"The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote."

And pages 334 and 335 of the Adjutant Committee's report:

"Secretary Golden: Your committee begs to report that the question of jurisdiction between the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the International Union of Steam Engineers has been the source of much discord and serious injury to both organizations; decisions have been rendered by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor which have defined, in concise and unmistakable terms, the jurisdiction of each. Notwithstanding this fact, the question of jurisdiction is still the cause of friction and of the further introduction of resolutions relating thereto. It is obvious to your committee, as it must be to the delegates to this convention, that if the greatest measure of progress is to be made by either, it is imperative that these organizations shall co-operate and shall work in harmony for the advancement of their members and the development of the organizations. Your committee has endeavored to impress upon the officers of both organizations the necessity and the advantage of such co-operation, and it is pleased to report that the prospect of harmonious co-operation between the Engineers and the Firemen is brighter now than it has been in the recent past."

"Your committee has been requested by representatives of both organizations to suggest a plan of action whereby harmony may be restored and co-operation secured. Your committee finds that some years ago an agreement did exist between these two organizations which, although since abrogated, might profitably be made the basis of a new understanding. With the hope that your committee may be correct in this opinion, it recommends:

"(1) That each organization shall faithfully and in a spirit of brotherhood observe the jurisdictional rights of the other, as they are laid down by the American Federation of Labor."

"(2) That as soon as possible after the adjournment of this convention the executive boards of these organizations meet in joint conference for the purpose of consummating an agreement along the following lines:

"The International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall, through the direction of their respective international officers, cause to be created, where local unions of both organizations exist, joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's interests and promoting

the creation of joint agreements with their employers.

"It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organizations with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, and to assist in the settlement of any internal or trade dispute that may arise.

"In the event of a disagreement between these conference boards, the international representatives of both organizations shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor properly to adjust it. In the event of failure with regard to the adjustment of any such dispute, the president of the American Federation of Labor should be authorized by this joint agreement to appoint some representative to act as mediator and, if necessary, to decide such internal questions of dispute.

"The agreement should further provide that wherever it is possible to do so contracts between employers and the unions should be made jointly, and should become effective and expire on the same dates.

"It should be further agreed that each organization shall assist the other in organizing all plants within its respective jurisdiction; all engineers, members of the engineers' union, who have authority to hire men whose work comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen should be encouraged and urged by the officers and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers to employ members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"Your committee further recommends, if agreeable to both organizations, a representative of the American Federation of Labor be selected by the Executive Council to assist in formulating an agreement along the lines recommended herein.

"The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote"; and

WHEREAS, Said joint conference was held, as called for by the Seattle convention, John B. Lennon representing the American Federation of Labor, and although the Seattle convention laid down lines for a working agreement, the engineers' representatives refused to enter into any agreement unless it carried with it a plan of amalgamation; therefore, no further agreement was entered into and the matter was again taken up by the Philadelphia (Pa.) convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 9-21, 1914, and the Adjustment Committee made the following report on the case, which was adopted (as taken from page 395 of those proceedings):

"Your committee is informed that a convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen is to be held August, 1915, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. We recommend, therefore, that the president of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor attend the above convention for the purpose of laying before the convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen the purpose and benefits of amalgamation, and the officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen are requested to extend an invitation to the president of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to be in attendance at that convention.

"In the meantime both organizations stand instructed not to trespass on the jurisdiction of each other, the jurisdiction to mean that which is recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

"The report of the committee was adopted;" and

WHEREAS, The international officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen instructed all their local unions to take up the matter of amalgamation at at least four different meetings of their organizations and discuss it so that every member of their local unions would have a chance to express his own opinion on it as he saw fit, and then for the local unions to instruct their delegates to the Cincinnati Convention on this question so that the entire views of their membership could be expressed at that convention, and in no case did any of the international officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, or its organizers, try in any way to influence the membership on this question, but informed them that the opinions of the rank and file, free from any outside influence, was what was wanted; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers, and President Comerford of the Engineers, addressed the Cincinnati Convention, and the convention decided by unanimous vote not to amalgamate with the Engineers, and by the statements and arguments given by the delegates at that convention it was plain to see that amalgamation can never be successfully carried out by these two international unions, as it was clearly shown by the firemen from all parts of the country that in nearly every case an engineer has a right to hire and discharge and is the boss of the fireman, and in many cases the engineer contracts for a certain sum of money the whole job of operating the mechanical department of the plant of which he is engineer and hires his own help such as firemen, oilers and helpers, and no trade unionist wishes to be a member of the same union with his boss or contractor, and no one with the interest of the wage-worker at heart would insist on him doing so; and it was also clearly shown that in thousands of cases the firemen now have shorter hours and better pay than the engineers on other jobs. The firemen's convention then acted upon the suggestion of President Gompers, and elected a committee to meet with a like committee of the engineers for the purpose of establishing an agreement by which better conditions and co-operation of the mutual advan-

tage of the engineers and firemen might be obtained; and

WHEREAS, The above is the action of the firemen's convention and previous conventions of the A. F. of L. on this subject, all of which have been ignored by the International Union of Steam Engineers, who never seemed to pay any attention to the laws of the American Federation of Labor or the guaranteed rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, waiting and expecting, it is supposed, to get some American Federation of Labor Convention which might render a favorable decision to them on this case and then no doubt they would respect it; and

WHEREAS, The engineers in many localities are taking firemen, oilers and helpers into their union on the threat that if the men don't join them they will lose their jobs, for the engineer is boss, and they also organized what they term apprentice engineers, composed of firemen, oilers and helpers, and these same men are working cheaper and longer hours for the purpose of displacing members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; these facts have been clearly shown, especially in Detroit, Mich., where an investigation was made by the Detroit Federation of Labor; and such action on the part of the Engineers' Union not only works a hardship on the members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, but are against the laws and rules of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers to withdraw the apprentice charters they have issued in the city of Detroit, Mich., and elsewhere, and to drop from their membership all persons employed as firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and helpers, and to not use the term "apprentice" to cover such tradesmen, and that they should appoint or elect a committee of three to meet a like committee of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, which is already elected, at the suggestion of President Gompers, to work out a working agreement on the lines laid down by either the St. Louis or the Seattle or this convention, so that the interests of both international unions will be promoted and the jurisdictional rights of each international be protected as defined by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, If the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers refuses to respect the jurisdiction rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, as already defined by the American Federation of Labor, and continues to take into membership firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and helpers under the guise of apprentices or any other term, as long as they are working at the above class of work, or if it refuses to make a working agreement, as referred to above, that its local unions be deprived of representation in

the different State and city central bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor until such times as the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers agrees to respect the laws and carry out decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, William Brennan of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The stationary firemen employed by the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company of Chicopee Falls, Mass., were locked out by the chief engineer, who is also master mechanic, on account of their membership in the firemen's union; and

WHEREAS, Said company has refused to meet a committee of the firemen or the Holyoke Central Labor Union; and

WHEREAS, The Westinghouse Company has been declared unfair by the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the Holyoke (Mass.) Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the products of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company be declared unfair and do all in its power to stop the sale and shipment of the products of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company until such time as it agrees to stop its discrimination against organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the establishment of the eight-hour work day by legislation by the adoption of the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation that we go on record and hold solid for the eight-hour work day by legislation, both industrially and politically, and that every delegate use all of his influence in his local union and boost for the eight-hour law by legislation, that some day we will all be working eight hours per day and thereby keeping in line with the increased productiveness of modern machinery;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the spirit, intent and purpose of the foregoing resolution be adopted by this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates J. E. Giles, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773, and Newton A. James, Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, During recent years office workers in Washington, New York, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, San Francisco and other cities have organized into local unions; and

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in any other calling, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no short-cut road will bring them to better wages and conditions; and

WHEREAS, Nearly all of the above-named local unions have expressed themselves in favor of forming a national union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to make an investigation into existing organizations of

office workers, the need for such organizations, the field for further organization and the whole question of the advisability of organizing a national union, and to make an early report of its findings; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor designate one of its special organizers to work among the office employees of the District of Columbia and of the country as long as practicable during the coming year; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the meantime the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in connection with the central labor bodies, be instructed to begin the organization of office workers wherever possible in any of the cities of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 4:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m. Friday, November 12.

FOURTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 12, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 12, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Adams, Alnsworth, Anderson, Beasley, Bergstrom, Bomar, Boswell, Brown (F. H.), Carter, Castro, Christman, Coffey, Corbley, Curran, Dean, Ernst, Evans, Feeney, Fletcher, Foley (D. F.), Ford, Gallagher, Galvin, Gavlak, Glass, Green (W.), Guscetti, Hammer-schlag, Hanley, Hannahan, Harris, Harrison, Hayes (F. J.), Holm, Hylen, Jennings, Keller, Kraft, Lamoreux, Leber, Letroade, Mahoney, McDonald, McGovern, Miller (E. D.), Miller (O.), Mitchell, Moore, O'Connor, Pettit, Shlaman, Spiegl, Spooner, Steidle, Thompson, Triska, Wessel, White.

President Gompers announced that up to expiration of the time provided for the introduction of resolutions, midnight of Thursday, 153 resolutions had been submitted and referred to the proper committees, together with the various subjects dealt with in the report of the Executive Council.

In introducing to the convention Mr. J. H. Patten, fraternal delegate from the Farmers' Union and Farmers' National Congress, President Gompers spoke of the friendly and cordial relations that have been growing in recent years between organizations of labor and organizations of farmers.

Mr. J. H. Patten: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—I am very happy to have the honor of being the farmers' delegate to this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I have been identified with the Farmers' Union and the Farmers' National Congress, and consequently in close touch with and representing some of the Granges, particularly at Washington. I bring, not only their fraternal greetings, but their sincere appreciation of the helpful hand this organization, and especially its officers, have extended to us in Washington in our efforts to secure legislation. We appreciate it.

Recently much has been done to remove a wrong impression that was for years cultivated among the farmers with regard to the objects, aims and purposes of organized labor. A great deal of poison was spread by certain selfish interests that tended to arouse the antagonism of the farmers from one end of this country to the other; but the in-

terchange of fraternal delegates from local, state and national bodies, and the great help and assistance which your officers have rendered us in our legislative efforts at Washington, has shown the farmers, and especially the leaders, that the objects and purposes—the struggles and afflictions—of the tillers of the soil, the men in the field, are strictly analogous to the difficulties the working men in the factories, the mills and the mines are meeting with.

Last year I tried to suggest some of the difficulties which the organized farmers had met; I attempted to point out that they were the first people in English history to be imprisoned for restraining trade, simply because a few of them got together and tried to better their conditions. Likewise in this country the first men convicted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law were some farmers in Grant County, Kentucky. And so the story goes. We meet with the same effort to speed us up as producers. Even the Federal Government does everything it can to make the farmer produce more; but not a solitary, single effective thing to develop the science of marketing, or to help the farmer secure for his produce a decent and reasonable price.

In our organizations we have started an agitation and we are bringing pressure to bear upon Congress to do as much toward developing the science of marketing, as it is doing to develop the science of production. For instance, it is estimated that the products of the farm last year cost the consumers \$13,000,000,000, of which the farmers received only \$6,000,000,000. One of our legislative demands is that something be done by the Federal Government to see that the farmer gets more for his products and that the consumer pays less for what he buys. There is no reason why the government should not do something, for instance, toward reducing the price which the consumer of potatoes pays for potatoes, and toward seeing that the producer gets more for those potatoes. It is estimated officially that the potato crop sold for about \$60,000,000 last year. That is what it cost the consumers, yet the producers of potatoes received only \$8,000,000 for that crop.

Another matter the organized farmers are interested in is rural credits legislation. The report of your Executive Council deals with that, and shows how obliging they have been in helping us in our efforts. We believe that as much ought to be done toward making the farmer's credit available as has been done toward making the credit of the business man and the banker available.

Another matter we are deeply interested in is proper immigration legislation. The South has had some experience with the influx of cheap pauper labor. The bringing of slaves to the Southland in such large numbers resulted in driving the farmer of average circumstances to the mountains, where he became the "Hillbilly," the "Sandalapper" and the "Poor White" of the South. Unless he could buy a large amount of land and a large number of slaves he could not compete in the production of cotton. With the abolition of slavery the poor whites came down into the factories and on to the farms.

If the doors of the Pacific Coast had been opened to the Chinese and Japanese coolies it would have resulted in driving the average white farmer of this coast to the hills and the mountains, where he would have eked out a precarious existence by hunting, fishing and the attempt to find gold. The farmers are opposed to the Chinese coolie, they are opposed to the admission of the Japanese coolie; they know that if he is put down beside them—the same as if he were put down beside the workman in the city—they will be driven from the farms. That is what happened in the South as a result of bringing large numbers of slaves to that section. It would have another result; it would enlarge the farm and bring about a capitalistic system of production.

Now we submit that the ideal condition of agriculture in this country is one in which there is the largest number of intelligent, patriotic white farm home owners, and for those reasons we are unalterably opposed to the dumping of large numbers of cheap laborers into this country so as to bring about the conditions I have spoken of. There are many other matters, such as the extension and maintenance of free rural delivery, extension of the parcel post, direct election of officials, that have become a part of the farmers' legislative program.

I come today from the farmers with their hearty fraternal greetings, to assure you that they are coming into a better understanding of your aims and purposes; that they, too, believe in decent wages, reasonable hours and wholesome working conditions, whether in the factory or on the farm. Among some of them the idea is growing that there ought to be closer co-operation between the producers in the country and the consumer in the city. And in closing I want to say that some of them are getting the notion that the other hand grasping the calloused hand of labor is the horny hand of the tiller of the soil. I thank you.

President Gompers stated that the convention appreciated fully the fraternal greetings of the farmers' organizations and their growing willingness to co-op-

erate with the organized labor movement.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

Hotel Oakland, Oakland, Cal.,
November 11, 1915.

Hon. Samuel L. Gompers,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
San Francisco, California.

My Dear Sir:

The National Grange in Forty-ninth Annual Session extends its fraternal greetings to the American Federation of Labor now meeting in San Francisco, with our wishes for a successful session.

Very truly yours,

C. M. FREEMAN,
Secretary, National Grange.

The Secretary also read a telegram from Arthur C. Culver, Secretary New Mexico State Federation of Labor, inviting President Gompers to visit Albuquerque, N. M., on his return to Washington, as the guest of the State Federation.

A telegram from the Allied Printing Trades Council of San Antonio, Texas, was read, in which an invitation was extended President Gompers and members of the allied printing trades to visit San Antonio upon their return journey.

The Secretary read a telegram from the Allied Printing Trades Council of Baltimore, Md., inviting the convention to select that city for the 1916 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers called for reports of committees. The chairman of the committees announced that no reports were ready to present.

Delegate Smith announced that copies of the Oregon Labor Press, containing a draft of the Oregon land and loan measures, which would come before the convention, had been distributed by the Central Labor Council, and asked that the delegates study the measures carefully.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that the convention take a recess to 9:30 a. m., Saturday, in order to give the committees an opportunity to work. The motion was seconded.

After announcements of committee meetings, the motion was carried, and at 10:30 a. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 13th.

FIFTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 13, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 13, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Shanessy, Sovey, O'Brien, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Conway, Christman, Boyden, Ford, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Mahoney, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Flore, Letroadec, O'Connell, Call, Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Moore, Miller (O.), Silsman, Clark, Bergstrom, Donlin, Deviny, Kearney, Anderson, Pettit, Gavalt, Hanley, Short, Heberling, Hatch, Spiegl, Ryan (P. J.), James, Coffey, Harris, Ferguson, McGinley, Jennings, McGovern, Doyle, Woodman, Boswell, O'Dell, Keller, Skemp, Spooner, Kraft, Adams (B. A.), Smith (E. E.), Anderson (E.), Hall, Leber, Gallagher, Batchelor, Castro, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Milton, Holm, Brown (F. H.), Hammerschlag, Corbley, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Lamoreux, Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

San Diego, Cal., Nov. 12, 1915.
Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

A cordial invitation is extended to you and the delegates attending the American Federation of Labor convention to visit San Diego and her beautiful exposition before you return to your homes.

G. A. DAVIDSON,
President Panama-California Exposition.

The Secretary read a communication from Secretary H. B. Tritipoe, of the Stenographers, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, Washington, D. C., stating that he had been instructed by his organization to extend greetings to the convention and an invitation to hold the 1916 convention in Washington.

A message of greeting from the United Hebrew Trades, New York City, was read by the Secretary.

The Secretary also read a communication from the Board of Trustees of the town of Sausalito, Cal., inviting the delegates to visit that town during a festival to be held there on November 12-16.

President Gompers: Yesterday after adjournment President W. D. Mahon, of

the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, showed me a telegram he had from the attorney of that association in regard to a case pending before the Federal court in one of the districts of Indiana over which Judge Anderson presided. The Secretary will read the telegram.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 11, 1915.
Wm. D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, care American Federation of Labor Convention, San Francisco, Cal.

Just returned from Indianapolis, where, after an all-day argument before Judge Anderson, our contentions were sustained that the Federal court had no jurisdiction of the Fort Wayne strike case, and upon our motion the case was dismissed.

JACOB C. LEBROSKY.

President Gompers: It may be interesting to state this fact, that perhaps of all the judges on the Federal bench whose point of view and whose conduct have been hostile to the contentions of the working people of our country, Judge Anderson stood out among the most conspicuous. When the Clayton bill was passed by Congress, signed by the President and became law, the first presentation of the claims contained in the Clayton bill were at that time characterized by Judge Anderson as "bumcombe." It is interesting to know that time has had its influence even upon Judge Anderson's mind and action.

Vice-President Duncan: It may not be so interesting to the other delegates as it is to our delegation to know that all the Granite Cutters in the State of California have been on strike for a new agreement since June 1st of this year; that since the convention has been in session we have been able to secure a settlement with a substantial increase of wages, and all our men return to work Monday morning under a new agreement.

Vice-President O'Connell: I desire the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution. I have been instructed by the Metal Trades Department to introduce it. No objection being offered, Vice-President O'Connell introduced the following resolution:

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate James O'Connell, President Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The York Manufacturing Company of York, Pa., has for years indicated by its action that its policy was one of hostility towards the trades-union movement; and

WHEREAS, The interests of the metal-working trades which have been injured by the attitude of the York Manufacturing Company have been jointly considered by the International unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and at the sessions of this department; and,

WHEREAS, After jointly considering the welfare of the metal-working trades unions in 1911, the Presidents of the affiliated organizations decided to put forth an effort to organize this plant; and

WHEREAS, The non-success of the effort is largely due to the fact that several international organizations claim jurisdiction over the installation and setting up of this class of machinery; and

WHEREAS, The membership of the International Association of Machinists decided not to install or set up the product of this company, but members of other international organizations claiming jurisdiction over this work, would take advantage of such opportunities to do this work, and thereby destroyed the possibilities for bringing about organization in this plant; and

WHEREAS, In view of this fact the International Association of Machinists signed an agreement with the management of the York Manufacturing Company, which declares this company fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Said company's attitude towards organized labor has not been such as to warrant the general declaration that they are fair to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Feder-

ation of Labor, in convention assembled, put itself on record as not recognizing the York Manufacturing Company as being fair to organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend every assistance to the Metal Trades Department in its endeavor to organize and bring about an agreement with the York Manufacturing Company covering all crafts employed.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Vice-President Duncan: Two or three of the committees that have the greatest number of subjects before them have hearings this morning. The committee of which I have the honor to be chairman has more resolutions before it than usual, and I would like to make a suggestion. If any of the committees are ready to report, those who will have to absent themselves because of committee work, either as members of the committees or to attend hearings, will not be able to hear the reports. If the committees can work the balance of to-day and this evening I think they will all be ready to attend the session Monday morning. I, therefore, move that after announcements the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning. (Seconded.)

The chairmen of the various committees announced places of meeting, and the time at which hearings would be had.

Delegate Murphy, of the local Entertainment Committee, announced that a reception and ball would be held at the Civic Auditorium, Grove and Larkin streets, at 8 o'clock this (Saturday) evening. He stated that fifteen thousand trade unionists would be present at the ball, and invited all the delegates and visitors to attend.

The motion to suspend the rules and adjourn was carried, and the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 15.

SIXTH DAY—Monday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov., 15, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Mullaney, Sovey, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Tracy, Christman, Boyden, Ford, Feeny, Comerford, Moser, Letroadec, O'Connor, Kean, Irwin, Call, Moriarty, Green (W.), Walker, Germer, Moore, Valentine, Miller (O.), Kearney, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Heberling, Hatch, Spiegl, James, Coffey, Ogletree, Harris, Jennings, McGovern, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, O'Dell, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson, Hall, Leber, Lawson, Sleeman, Castro, Miller, Fletcher, Woodmansee, Dean, Triska, Voll, Bomar, Holm, Brown, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Corbley, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

The Hague, Holland, Nov. 13, 1915.
Samuel Gompers,
A. F. of L. Convention,
San Francisco, Cal.

Regretting impossibility of an international conference at San Francisco, I beg your convention to accept my best international wishes.

LEGIEN.

The Secretary read a communication from President William Koerber and Secretary L. O. Dorsey, Local No. 7, International Union of Elevator Constructors, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Baltimore, Md.

The Secretary read a telegram from Clinton S. Hancock, Business Manager District Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Baltimore, Md., extending fraternal greetings to the convention and inviting the American Federation of Labor to meet in Baltimore in 1916.

A communication from Tom Mooney, International Workers' Defense League, was read by the Secretary. The writer asked the privilege of the floor for ten minutes to present the case of Joseph Hillstrom, under sentence of death in Salt Lake City, Utah.

The request was granted by unanimous consent of the convention, and Mr. Mooney made a brief statement of the

charge against Mr. Hillstrom, his trial and the methods used by the prosecution to obtain a conviction.

At the conclusion of the statement the subject matter was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to bring in a report during the sessions to be held on Tuesday.

Delegate Kempton, Utah State Federation of Labor, made a brief statement of the Hillstrom case. He stated that organized labor of Utah believed Mr. Hillstrom had been convicted without any direct evidence of his guilt, and urged that efforts be made to secure a new trial.

Secretary Morrison stated that a resolution forwarded to him by the printers and bookbinders of Washington had arrived too late to be presented before the expiration of the time for introducing resolutions, and unanimous consent was obtained for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The Public Printer having recommended to Congress, last year, an increase to certain employees of the Government Printing Office, as follows:

"In view of the technical nature of most of the work handled in this office and the knowledge and skill required on the part of the employees, I recommend that authority be given to me to increase the pay of the printers and bookbinders from 50 cents to 55 cents per hour, and the bookbinders machine operators from 55 cents to 60 cents per hour"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States, is hereby urged to grant at the coming session, the authority requested by the Public Printer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, President International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, In May, 1915, the members of Machinists Local No. 354, and the members of Federal Labor Union

No. 6170 (Horseshoe Nail Makers) employed by the Capewell Horseshoe Nail Company of Hartford, Conn., started negotiations for a renewal of agreement, such negotiations including a demand for an increase in wages; said demand being based upon the fact that the cost of living had been materially increased and that this company paid a lower rate of wages than other firms engaged in the manufacture of the same product; and

WHEREAS, Every effort put forth by the officers and members of these organizations resulted in failure to secure the just and equitable increases asked and no other recourse being left open, the men went on strike to enforce their demands in May, 1915; and

WHEREAS, The following firms: The Union Horseshoe Nail Co. of Chicago, Ill., The Fowler Horseshoe Nail Co. of Seymour, Conn., and the Standard Horseshoe Nail Co. of New Brighton, Pa., use the Union Label of the A. F. of L., The Capewell Horseshoe Nail Co. being the only non-union and unfair manufacturer of horseshoe nails in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., that we request all affiliated organizations and all friends of labor to use every legitimate means and influence to make the strike effective and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take the necessary steps to place the facts before the labor movement with the view of bringing this strike to an early and successful termination.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Morrison, Laundry Workers, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, During the past year many statements have appeared in the newspapers to the effect that aliens residing in the United States have endeavored, either on their own initiative or carrying out the instructions of some foreign government, to obtain information relative to the arsenals, navy-yards and military reservations of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to use its utmost endeavors to have a law passed by Congress reserving the privilege to visit the arsenals, navy-yards and military reservations to American citizens only.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Vice-President O'Connell, Chairman of the Adjustment Committee, requested the members of that committee to re-

tire from the convention in order to go on with hearings of several cases. He also named delegates of several organizations he wished to attend the hearings.

Vice-President Duncan stated that the Committee on Resolutions, of which he was chairman, had not disposed of more than half of the resolutions referred to that committee. He stated a partial report could be made, which would deal with many questions of interest to all the delegates, and suggested that no reports be made until all the delegates could be present.

A motion was made and seconded that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 9:30 a. m. Tuesday, to allow the committees to complete their reports. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.) referred to that part of the minutes of the 1914 convention dealing with the question of State federations of labor and city central bodies, which reads: "That the Executive Council be instructed to secure for the information of the next convention the names of locals in States not in affiliation with their State federations, and from central bodies and building trades councils the names and numbers of unaffiliated locals in their cities. That this information be submitted to the next convention in printed form. The Executive Council is to recommend to the next convention the appointment of a special committee whose duty it shall be (during the convention) to inquire of international officers the reasons for non-affiliation of their locals. The Secretary of this Federation is to supply, if possible, to each international the names of its unaffiliated locals at least sixty days prior to the convention."

Delegate Gallagher asked if the committee had been appointed and if the Secretary had secured the information referred to.

Secretary Morrison: The information was gathered during the year, and during the time we were receiving the information we corresponded with officers of all the internationals urging them to have their locals affiliated.

President Gompers stated that the special committee had not as yet been appointed.

Vice-President Alpine: The matter Delegate Gallagher refers to is in the

hands of Committee on State Organizations. I believe that committee will report in a manner that will cover the subject.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from John J. Whelan, Secretary San Francisco Council No. 615, Knights of Columbus, inviting delegates who are members of that order to attend a special entertainment arranged for them at 150 Golden Gate Avenue Tuesday evening.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from John L. Rugen, Recording Secretary Chauffeurs' Union, Local 265, San Francisco, requesting the delegates when hiring automobiles to insist upon having chauffeurs who are members of Local 265.

After announcements of committee meetings the motion to suspend the rules and adjourn was carried, and at 10:30 a. m. an adjournment was taken to 9:30 a. m. Tuesday, November 16th.

SEVENTH DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

San Francisco, Nov. 16, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 16th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Christman, Boyden, Feeney, Comerford, D'Alessandro, Mareschl, D'Andrea, Brock, Morrison (H. L.), Letroadec, Kean, Diehl, Hayes (F. J.), Green (W.), Steidle, Hylen, Pettit, Hanley, Coffey, Harris, Jennings, McGovern, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson, Hall, Leber, Severance, Lawson, Camomile, Gallagher, Castro, Miller, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Kennedy, Spear, Bomar, Holm, Brown (F. H.), Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Corbely, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.).

Secretary Morrison read communications from Paul Newkirk, Secretary Branch No. 9, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, Baltimore; James H. Preston, Mayor of Baltimore; Otto H. Smith, Brewery Engineers and Firemen, Baltimore, and the Electrical Workers of Baltimore, extending greetings to the convention and inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next session in Baltimore, Maryland.

The secretary also read communications from E. T. Tyra, Mayor of Fort Worth, Texas; C. W. Woodman, State Labor Commissioner, and W. E. Hensell, Chairman Entertaining Committee Brotherhood of Carpenters, Fort Worth, Texas, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

An invitation from the Label Section of the San Francisco Labor Council to the delegates to attend a meeting on November 17th at 8 p. m. in the Labor Temple was read.

A communication from C. L. Myer, Secretary Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Cal., was read, in which the officers and delegates were invited to visit that city after the adjournment of the convention.

Secretary Morrison read an invitation from the Woman's Board, Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, Cal., inviting the officers and delegates to visit that exposition after leaving San Fran-

cisco, and tendering the hospitality of the headquarters of the Board in the California Building to those who visit San Diego.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Colorado Springs, Colo., Oct. 28, 1915.
Mr. Frank Morrison,
Sec'y A. F. of L.,
San Francisco, Cal.

To the Officers and Delegates of the A. F. of L. in convention.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

We ask that you endorse our request to organize all paid firemen in this country, as we wish to have a National Association of Firemen.

The Firemen's Association of Colorado Springs wish to send their greetings to the officers and delegates in convention; their feelings of gratitude for what organized labor has done for them cannot be expressed in words.

One of the greatest benefits derived by the organization of firemen is the two-platoon system, which we have the pleasure to report we are now enjoying with our families and know that it was due to the efforts of organized labor in this locality.

We secured a State organization from the Colorado State Federation of Labor convention which met in Denver on September 20th last, and hope that a national organization will meet your earnest approval and merit your support. We beg to remain,

Yours fraternally,

A. N. PALMER, President.

W. H. GRAHAM, Secretary.

Seattle, Wash., Nov. 15, 1915.

Samuel Gompers,

President A. F. of L.,

Convention Hall, San Francisco.

Greetings to the Officers and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention from the multitude of children, women and men who depend upon the action of the convention for their welfare. We sincerely hope the knockers will bury their hammers and put their shoulders to the wheel—the only wheel that can turn conditions for the betterment of all humanity.

BUTCHERS' UNION, Local No. 81.

Department of Labor,

Office of the Secretary,

Washington, November 11, 1915.

Samuel Gompers, President,

American Federation of Labor,

San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of the invitation of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to visit and address the

convention any time during its two weeks' session.

It has been a great disappointment to me that the pressure of official business at Washington has prevented me from accepting the invitation. May I not, however, through you, say a few words to the convention on a subject that is very close to my heart?

As a member of the trade-union movement practically all of my lifetime I have, in common with others, participated in the great and ever present struggle for human liberty, human rights, and human uplift generally. As a result of my observations and experience in that movement it has been thoroughly impressed upon my mind that men must first achieve liberty before they attain their other rights. In the struggle of the centuries gone by, step by step, all classes of labor save one, have achieved a measure of freedom until in this country at least workmen are no longer compelled to work against their will or physically forced to fulfill a civil contract to labor. The single exception is the seamen of the world, including those of the United States. After a legislative struggle of more than twenty years, in which the seamen were vigorously supported by the balance of the trade-union movement of our country, the Seamen's bill was enacted into law by the Sixty-third Congress and the last vestige of serfdom by legal requirement was thereby wiped from our statute books. The seamen are freemen now and are able to stand erect before all the world, the owners of themselves and their own labor power.

The struggle has been a bitter one and the end is not yet. The same interests that fought the enactment of the measure are now putting forth every possible effort to secure its repeal, principally upon the plea that it was a hastily enacted, poorly considered measure which will drive the American merchant marine from the seas. What an absurdity! For sixty years prior to the enactment of the Seamen's law we had no merchant marine worthy of the name. It had practically gone out of existence. Surely the Seamen's Law could not be blamed for destroying something that did not exist. It is a matter of record that the American merchant marine has grown more rapidly in the past eight months than it ever did before, although every man who invested in vessels under the American flag knew that the law would go into effect on November 4th. And, in addition to that, American shipyards have more vessels under way for American shipowners than has ever been the case since steel superseded wood in the manufacture of ships. There could, however, be no permanent privately owned American merchant marine until the two great obstacles to its maintenance had been swept out of its way. You can have no permanent privately owned American merchant marine with an American personnel in its crews until it is just as profitable for American capital to be invested in American vessels as it is to be invested on land, and just

as profitable and free and safe for American men to go down to the sea in ships as it is to labor on land. The Seamen's act plus the Panama Canal act has made possible the achievement of this much to be desired end.

There were two very important reasons why the American merchant marine had dwindled. The first of those reasons was that it cost the American shipowner more for his vessel, for the same carrying capacity, than it cost his foreign competitor. That meant a greater investment upon which dividends were to be earned than his foreign competitor had to invest for the same carrying power. That has been partly modified, as a result of the Panama Canal act, which gives him the right to register foreign-built vessels for over-sea trade. The American shipowner will not, however, be entirely upon an equal basis with his foreign competitor until he is permitted to use the vessels which he owns, no matter where he purchases them, in exactly the same kind of trade that his competitor can use them in. In other words, he must have the opportunity of using them in the coastwise trade as well as in the over-sea trade in order to be upon an equality with his competitor. But the disadvantage has been greatly modified and it is not costing the American shipowner now much more, if any more, for his vessel, at the same carrying capacity than it is costing his foreign competitor.

The other great cause for the dwindling of the American merchant marine was that it cost the American shipowner more for his operating expenses than it cost his foreign competitor; and that increased cost in operating expenses was not due to the fuel or other supplies used on board the vessel, for those things could be purchased in exactly the same markets that the foreign shipowner purchased them in and at exactly the same cost. The difference was due to the greater cost of labor for the American shipowner than for his foreign competitor. The labor itself represents about from ten to eighteen per cent. of the cost of transportation and the difference in wages ranged from twenty to two hundred per cent. Now the question naturally arises, Why was it that the foreign shipowner was able to secure his labor so much cheaper than he had a big advantage over the American shipowner in operating expenses? And the answer lies in the fact that while all other men in the civilized world had been given their freedom, that while slavery and serfdom had been abolished on land, the seamen of all the world, including the United States, still remained bondsmen to the vessels upon which they signed the ship's articles. The economic effect was direct: A shipowner under a flag of some foreign country, signed his seamen in that foreign country. If he was flying the flag of England, he signed his seamen in the British Isles or in the Colonies from which the vessel sailed. And then when those seamen came to the United States, instead of having an opportunity of ending a

civil contract to labor, as any other workman had the right to do, that right was denied him, and if he left the vessel upon which he had signed he was looked upon as a deserter, and we who had so unanimously adopted the Thirteenth Amendment to our Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States, set the machinery of our police power in motion and hounded down the seaman, as we hounded down the slaves years ago, and carried him back to the vessel from which he had deserted and compelled him to fulfill his civil contract to labor against his will. And by utilizing that police power and running down the seaman, carrying him back to the vessel upon which he came, we maintained for the foreign shipowner the advantage he had in being able to sign his seamen in a port where the wages are lower than they are in the United States.

The Seamen's act changes that condition of affairs. It not only says to the American shipowner that American seamen shall be free to leave their vessel when the vessel is in a safe port in this or any other country, but it says to the foreign shipowner, "When your seamen come into American ports, the very fact that they are in our waters, and under our jurisdiction makes them free men."

The result must be inevitable. You have two vessels lying at your dock: One of them is manned by American seamen securing the wages paid out of an American port; the other is manned, if you will, with Lascars, signed by an English vessel out of some of the ports of India, and those Lascars will, by the underground method if no other presents itself, learn of the wages that are paid to American seamen out of American ports and that they have the right to insist upon similar wages. Ultimately—it may take time to work out—ultimately they will insist upon having just as much wages for their work as the American seaman receives for his.

That will mean that the American shipowner will be placed on the same level from a competitive standpoint as his foreign competitor is placed. And if under those circumstances, with but the same initial cost of his plant, with the same operating expenses as others have, the American shipmaster is unable to compete with the rest of the world, then I have missed my guess of the shrewdness of a Yankee skipper.

But that is not all. That deals solely with the question of human liberty. Human liberty is the basis of all, but there are other phases. One of the other phases of this very important subject is the question of safety at sea; and in dealing with the question of safety at sea, it has been too often dealt with exclusively from the standpoint of the passenger, and the thousands upon thousands of seamen in our freighters, vessels carrying no passengers, are apt to receive scant consideration except that which grows out of the fact that certain conditions are dangerous to passenger vessels. But because we have an interest in maintaining the safety of those

who travel by sea as passengers, we are led to include the same provisions for the welfare of the seamen who operate the freighters.

Among the other things the Seamen's bill insists upon is that seventy-five per cent. of the crew, who sign the ship's articles, no matter what department they may be in, shall understand the language of the officers of the vessel. Now that does not mean that they must understand English; nor does it mean that they must understand German in a German vessel, English in an English vessel, French in a French vessel; but it means that there must be no interpreter standing between the master of the ship and the crew when an emergency arises when a second's time may mean the saving or the losing of a thousand lives.

It is not only essential that there should be a sufficient number of qualified men to man the vessel under normal conditions, but it is also essential that there should be a sufficient number of men qualified to man it under abnormal conditions. And why? Because your wrecks, your loss of life, do not take place under normal conditions. You have no need under normal conditions for any great number of men or any particular skill. But it is in the abnormal conditions, where wreckage from various causes confronts you, that you need the man there who not only has the skill to perform the labor, but who has exercised that skill with a sufficient frequency to be able to do it with a cool head and a clear judgment. And so the Seamen's bill, in addition to the language test, provides for a standard of skill, not only with regard to sailors, but with a new class that has been created, called life-boat men.

Nearly every condition of employment relating to seamen is determined by law or regulation. Seamen are not like other men in that respect. A man on land may make his contract with his employer in a way that would be mutually satisfactory and agreeable. Not so with the seamen. Why? Because after the vessel leaves the dock and puts out to sea there is a community of risk, and because of the community of risk there must be some central head whose orders must be obeyed. And wherever you place power in the hands of any individual there is a tendency to gather more power towards himself.

And because of that tendency in human nature to use the power it has to gather more power, when you place the absolute power in the hands of one man over the lives and property of others at sea, where for the time being he is beyond the reach of governmental control, then you must by law regulate and limit those powers.

The provisions of the Seamen's act are not imposed solely upon American vessels. That must be clearly understood. They are imposed upon American vessels now. It will be June next before it goes into effect with other vessels. And that is due to the fact that we have not only passed laws regulating the life

of the seamen but we have entered into treaty arrangements with other countries by which they regulated the activities of our seamen in those countries, and we regulated the activities of the seamen in our country. Those treaties required a certain notification before they could be ended. Usually one year's time. Three months' time was given to the President of the United States in which to prepare for the renunciation of the treaties, and so, in the early part of June of this year, the treaties were renounced and beginning with the early part of June of next year, not only the seamen of the United States will be free but the seamen of every country in the world whose vessels trade in American ports.

So the Seamen's bill stands out as one of the great landmarks in history. The Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Clayton act and the Seamen's law, giving freedom to all seamen in the waters of the United States, stand out preeminently in the struggle for human liberty.

As to the claim put forward for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, that it was forced out of business because of the enactment of the Seamen's law, the records of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington prove that the statement is without foundation. In February, 1913, the general manager of the company appeared before the committee and during his testimony stated in substance that the Pacific Mail Company was going out of business because they were unable to operate profitably in the Oriental trade under the laws then in existence and the hope that they might be able to operate in the coastwise trade through the Panama Canal was made impossible of realization by the passage of the Panama Canal act prohibiting railroad-owned vessels from using the Panama Canal. And as the Pacific Mail Company was owned principally by the Southern Pacific Railway Company it was shut out from that trade and consequently they were going out of business whether the Seamen's bill passed or not.

It should be observed that the vessels sold by this company are still carrying commerce under the American flag. It is also worthy of note that the vessels were sold at a time when more trade was being offered from the Orient to the United States than all vessels in the trade, including the ships of the Pacific Mail, were able to properly carry.

But, aside from that, the freedom and safety of our people should take precedence at all times over private profits. We need a merchant marine that will take care of our commerce in times of peace and whose vessels and crews can be our reliance in times of war. If private capital cannot operate vessels successfully under these conditions, and they certainly have not been successfully operated during the past sixty years under the old laws which these people

desire to return to, then the welfare of our people would seem to require our Government to step into the breach to own and operate such vessels as may be necessary for the extension and maintenance of our commerce, and operate them in a manner that will maintain the rights and liberties of the workmen employed and the safety of all.

May I not, therefore, express the hope that the present convention of the American Federation of Labor may go on record opposing any effort to repeal the Seamen's law or to again rivet the shackles upon sea-faring men that have been so recently broken asunder, and that the criticism of those who assert their inability to operate vessels at a profit unless they have serfs for their workmen should be met by a declaration in favor of the acquisition and operation of vessels by the United States Government on a basis of liberty, justice and safety.

Sincerely yours,

W. B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor.

Treasurer Lennon: I move that the secretary be instructed to make a minute in the proceedings expressing the regret of this convention at hearing of the death of Mr. Booker T. Washington.

The suggestion was made that a minute also be added expressing the regret of the convention at the death of Secretary Wm. Launer, of the Glass Bottle Blowers.

Both suggestions were adopted unanimously.

Report of Committee on Ways and Means.

Delegate White (J. P.), Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

RESOLUTIONS IN THE MATTER OF JOSEPH HILLSTROM.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 16, 1915.
To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We, your Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the appeal affecting Joseph Hillstrom, report as follows:

That we have examined this case as thoroughly as time would permit, and have listened to lengthy statements from persons who claim to be conversant with the facts, and we beg leave to offer the following resolution for immediate consideration and action:

WHEREAS, Joseph Hillstrom, a workman of the State of Utah and active in the cause of labor, has been sentenced to death by shooting, by a Utah court, and the date of his execution has been fixed for the 19th day of November, 1915; and

WHEREAS, The circumstances surrounding the said conviction and sentence are such as to make the grounds for this conviction and sentence appear to be utterly inadequate and matters of the gravest doubt, in that the evidence was of a purely circumstantial nature and highly improbable, and the rights of the said Joseph Hillstrom do not appear to have been sufficiently, or at all, safeguarded, but on the contrary seem to have been violated to such an extent that the said Joseph Hillstrom did not have a fair and impartial trial; and

WHEREAS, The feeling against the said Joseph Hillstrom as a labor agitator was such as to have militated against him with the jury, greatly to his detriment; and

WHEREAS, We are of the opinion that the said Joseph Hillstrom did not have a fair and impartial trial; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we urge the Governor of the State of Utah to exercise his prerogative of clemency in this case, and to stop the execution of the said Joseph Hillstrom, and that he be given a new and fair trial; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to forward at once copies of these resolutions to the Governor of Utah, to the Board of Pardons of the State of Utah, to the Swedish Ambassador, and to the President of the United States, and that they be published in the American Federationist and in the official publications of the affiliated unions.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
JOHN P. WHITE, Chairman.
J. C. SKEMP, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee on Ways and Means. The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Chairman White suggested that an open letter to the Board of Pardons of the State of Utah by Mr. Hillstrom's attorney, and a statement prepared by Mr. Hillstrom on the eve of the date first set for his execution be printed. The suggestion was approved by the convention.

The open letter and statement follow:

**OPEN LETTER TO THE BOARD OF
PARDONS OF THE STATE
OF UTAH.**

To the Board of Pardons of the State of Utah,

Salt Lake City, Utah.

Gentlemen:

Assuming that your reasons for denying clemency to Joseph Hillstrom are correctly set forth in the public press this morning, and for the purpose of showing that they are not founded on

either the law or facts in the case, but are intended to and do delude and deceive the public, I respectfully make the offer to publicly discuss the facts at any time in any city in the United States with any member of your board, or all of them; such discussion to be before the date assigned for his execution.

I make this request to afford an opportunity to refute, as I feel I can, among other things, the false, wicked and cowardly aspersion on his character—that Hillstrom has heretofore committed any crime or that he has now, or ever has had, any criminal record—now for the first time so bravely urged as a sufficient justification for taking his life.

This matter, as you all must realize, is one now of national, if not international importance, and has excited intense interest from New York to San Francisco; and I would be, as the attorney for this condemned man, of "meaner stuff than men are made of" if I did not, in the brief time of life now allotted him, challenge you and each of you to the proofs!

I am only anxious and determined that if Hillstrom is judicially murdered, the people of this country—the great jury to whom we must all go at last—shall fully understand just where rests the full measure of responsibility for "the deep damnation of his taking off."

Any communication will reach me addressed to this city.

Very respectfully, O. N. HILTON.
Denver, Colorado, October 17th, 1915.

MR. HILLSTROM'S STATEMENT.

When I was up before the highest authorities of the State of Utah I stated that I wanted a new trial and nothing but a new trial, and I will now try to state some reasons, why I am entitled to that privilege. Being aware of the fact that my past record has nothing to do with the facts of this case, I will not dwell upon that subject beyond saying that I have worked all my life as a mechanic and at times as a musician. The mere fact that the prosecution never attempted to assail my reputation proves that it is clean. I will therefore commence at the time of my arrest.

On the night of Jan. 14th, 1914, I was laying in a bed at the Eselius house in Murray, a town located seven miles from Salt Lake City, suffering from a bullet wound in my chest. Where or why I got that wound is nobody's business but my own. I know that I was not shot in the Morrison store and all the so-called evidence that is supposed to show that I was is fabrications pure and simple. As I was laying there half asleep, when I was aroused by a knock on the door, somebody opened the door and in came four men with revolvers in their hands. A shot rang out and a bullet passed right over my chest, grazing my shoulder and penetrating my right hand through the knuckles, crippling me up for life. There was absolutely no need of shooting me at that time because I was helpless as a baby and had no weapons of any kind. The only

thing that saved my life at that time was the officer's inefficiency with firearms.

I was then brought up to the county jail where I was given a bunk and went to sleep immediately. The next morning I was pretty sore on account of being shot in three places. I asked to be taken to a hospital but was instead taken upstairs to a solitary cell, and told that I was charged with murder and had better confess right away. I did not know anything about any murder and told them so. They still insisted on that I confess and told me that they would take me to a hospital and "treat me white" if I did. I told them I knew nothing of any murder. They called me a "llar" and after that I refused to answer all questions. I grew weaker and weaker and for three or four days I was hovering between life and death, and I remember an officer coming up and telling me that according to the doctor's statement I only had one more hour to live. I could, of course, name all these officers if I wanted to, but I want it distinctly understood that I am not trying to knock any officers because I realize that they were only doing their duty, and in my opinion the officers who were in charge of the county jail then were as good officers as can be found anywhere. Well, I finally "pulled through" because I made up my mind not to die.

When the time came for my preliminary hearing, I decided to be my own attorney, knowing that it could be nothing against me. I thought I'd let them have it all their own way and did not ask any questions. When the court went into session I was asked if I objected to having the witnesses remain in the courtroom during the trial, and I replied that it was immaterial to me who remained in the courtroom. All the witnesses then remained inside, and I noted that there was a steady stream of "messengers" going back and forth between the witnesses and the county attorney during the whole trial, delivering their messages in a whisper. When the trial commenced there were at first some witnesses of little importance, but then a man came up that made me sit up and take notice; he put up his hand and swore that he positively recognized me and that he had seen me in the Morrison store in the afternoon of the same day that Morrison was shot. I did not say anything but I thought something. This man was a tall, lean man with a thin pale face, black hair and eyes and a very conspicuous black shiny mustache. I don't know his name and have never been able to find it out. (Keep this man in mind, please.)

The little boy, Merlin Morrison, was the next witness that attracted my attention; he was the first one to come up and look at me in the morning on the day after my arrest. Being only a boy, he spoke his mind right out in my presence, and this is what he said: "No, that is not the man at all; the ones I saw were shorter and heavier set."

When he testified at the preliminary

hearing I asked him if he did not make that statement, but he then denied it.

I accidentally found a description of the bandit in a newspaper, however, and the description says that the bandit was 5 feet 9 inches tall and weighed 155 pounds. That description seems to tally pretty well with Merlin Morrison's statement: "The ones I saw were shorter and heavier set." My own height is six feet and I am of a slender build.

The next witness of importance was Mrs. Phoebe Seely. She said she was coming home from the Empress Theater with her husband and she met two men in a back street in the vicinity of Morrison's store. One of them had "small features and light bushy hair." This description did not suit the county attorney, so he helped her along a little by saying, "You mean medium colored hair like Mr. Hillstrom's, don't you?" After leading her along that way for a while, he asked her this question: "Is the general appearance of Mr. Hillstrom anything like the man you saw?" She answered: "No, I won't—no, I can't say that."

This is the very same woman who at the district court proved to be the star witness for the prosecution; she did not only describe me into the smallest details, but she also told the jury that the man she saw has scars on both sides of his face, on his nose, and on his neck. I have such scars on my face, and that was practically the testimony that convicted me. Just think of it, a woman not knowing a thing about the murder, passing a man in a back street in the dead of a winter night, and six months later she described that man into the smallest details, hat and cut and color of clothes, height and build, color of eyes and hair, and a number of scars, and when asked, "Is the appearance of Mr. Hillstrom anything like the man you saw?" she answered, "No, I won't—I can't say that." Her husband who was with her was not even there to testify. It is true that the prosecuting attorney put his questions in such a way that all she had to say was, "Yes, sir," and "All the same, sir"; but she said that just the same, with a hostile judge, and attorneys, who merely acted as assistant prosecuting attorney, the prosecuting attorney had what in the parlance of the street would be called "easy sailing."

The next witness was Mr. Zeese, detective. When I was sick in bed at the Esellus house in Murray, the lady of the house gave me a red bandana handkerchief to blow my nose on, at the trial she told that she had several dozen bandana handkerchiefs that were used by her boys and brothers when they worked in the smelter. After my arrest, Mr. Zeese went to the Esellus house looking for clues. He found this handkerchief, and with his keen, eagle eye he soon discovered some "creases at the corners." With the intelligence of a super-man, he then easily drew the conclusion that this handkerchief had been used for a mask by some "bandit," then he capped the climax by going on the stand and telling about his marvelous

discovery to the judge. Mr. Zeese is well known in Salt Lake City, and comments are unnecessary.

The next witness at the preliminary hearing, Mrs. Vera Hanson. She saw two or three men outside of the Morrison store shortly after the shooting, she heard one of the men exclaim, "Bob," or "Oh, Bob," and she thought that my voice sounded the same as the voice she had heard on the street. I then asked Mrs. Hanson this question, "Do you mean to tell me that you thought that the single word Bob, were able to recognize my voice," now I am coming to the point.

After the preliminary hearing I got a record of the hearings and took it to my cell in the county jail. I immediately discovered that they had been tampered with, that everything I had said had been misconstrued in a malicious way. It was a little hard to prove it at first but on page 47, I found the questions that I had put to Mrs. Vera Hanson, and there the tampering was so clumsy that a little child could see it. In the records the question reads like this, "Do you mean to tell me that you through the single word, mark, "single word," "Oh, Bob, I'm shot" could be able to recognize my voice. "O, Bob, I'm shot," four or five words, here anyone can see that the official court records were altered for the express purpose of "proving" that somebody was shot in the Morrison store. I then started to look for testimony of a man with black shiny mustache but to my great surprise I could not find it anywhere in the records in spite of the fact that this man had positively recognized me at the preliminary hearing. No wonder that this very dignified stenographer, Mr. Rollo, who is also stenographer for the United States Supreme Court, was shaking like a leaf when he put up his hand and swore that the records were "correct" in every detail. The strange part of it was the State Supreme Court in a statement prepared by them for the press are, so my attorney told me (I am not allowed to see any papers), making the very same mistake, they say that Mrs. Vera Hanson said in her testimony, "O, Bob, I'm shot," which is not correct.

At the time when I was shot I was unarmed. I threw my hands up in the air just before the bullet struck me. That accounts for the fact that the bullet hole in my coat is four inches and a half below the bullet hole in my body. The prosecuting attorney endeavors to explain that fact by saying "that the bandit would throw one hand up in surprise when Arlin Morrison got a hold of his father's pistol." He also states that the bandit might have been leaning over the counter when he was shot. Very well. If the bandit "threw up his hands in surprise," as he said, that would of course, raise the coat some, but it would not raise it four inches and one-half; "leaning over the counter" would not raise the coat at all. Justice McCarty agrees with the prosecuting attorney and says that throwing his hand up would be just the very thing that the

bandit would do if the boy Arlin made an attempt to shoot him. Let me ask Mr. McCarty a question, suppose that you would some night discover that there was a burglar crawling around in your home, then suppose that you would get your gun and surprise the burglar right in the act, if the burglar should then reach for his gun, would you then throw up your hands and let the burglar take a shot at you and then shoot the burglar afterward? Or would you shoot the burglar before he had a chance to reach for his gun? Think it over, it is not a question of law but one of human nature. I also wish Mr. McCarty would try to find out if it is possible to raise a coat on a person four and one-half inches in the manner described by the prosecuting attorney. We will now go back to the bullet, after the bullet had penetrated the bandit, the prosecuting attorney says that "it dropped to the floor" and then disappeared, it left no mark anywhere that an ordinary bullet would, it just disappeared, that's all. Now, gentlemen, I don't know a thing about this bullet but I will say this, that if I should sit down and write a novel, I certainly would have to think out something more realistic than that, otherwise I never would be able to sell it. The story of a bullet that first makes an upshoot of four inches and a half at an angle of 90 degrees, then cuts around another corner and penetrates a bandit and finally make a drop like a spit ball and disappears forever, would not be very well received in the twentieth century. And just to think of it that the greatest brains in Utah can sit and listen to such rot as that and then say that "Hillstrom" got a fair and impartial trial.

I have heard this case reheated many times and I wish to state that I have formed my own opinion about this shooting. My opinion is this: Two or three bandits entered the Morrison store for the express purpose of killing Mr. Morrison. As they entered, both of them shouted: "We've got you now," and started to blaze away with automatic colt, pistols caliber "38," and having the advantage of a surprise it does not seem reasonable that they would allow a boy to shoot them. The story about that remarkable disappearing bullet, the fact that the official record were changed for the purpose of proving that somebody was shot in that store; all that goes to show that there is a decided lack of evidence that anybody was shot in that store outside of the two victims. Nobody saw the Morrison gun fired. Merlín Morrison ran in deadly fright into some backroom and hid himself. In spite of the fact that he was almost scared to death he "counted seven shots" and that is supposed to be some more proof that the Morrison gun was discharged. Six shots were fired by the bandits and all the bullets found. But there had to be seven shots fired, otherwise there would be no case against me. The boy "counted seven shots" and that "evidence" is introduced by the State as proofs that the Morrison gun

was discharged. Any sensible person can readily see what chance a frightened boy or anybody else for that matter, would have to "count the shots" when two bandits are blazing away with automatic pistols. There were some officers there who claimed that they smelled the end of the gun and that thereby they could tell that the gun had been recently discharged, but the gun expert from the Western Arm Co. exploded that argument. He stated that it was a physical impossibility to determine with any degree of certainty, at what time a gun has been discharged, in a case where smokeless powder is used, on account of the fact that the odor of powder is always there. Then there was that empty chamber in the Morrison gun. An officer testified that it was customary among police officers to keep an empty chamber under the hammer of their guns. Morrison used to be a sergeant of police I was told. Then there was "a pool of blood" found two or three blocks away from the Morrison store and the prosecution made a whole ocean out of it in spite of the fact that the Utah State chemist would not say that it was human blood. He said that the blood was of "Mammalian origin."

Then there is Miss Mahan, who is supposed to have heard somebody say: "I'm shot." At the preliminary hearing she was very uncertain about it. She said she thought she heard somebody say those words but was not by any means sure about it. Now, that's all there is, to my knowledge, and I am positively sure that all this so-called evidence which is supposed to prove that the Morrison gun was discharged on the night of Jan. 10, 1914, would not stand the acid test of a capable attorney, such as I am now in a position to get. At the time of my arrest I did not have money enough to employ an attorney. Thinking that there was nothing to my case, and always being willing to try anything once, I decided to "go it" alone and be my own attorney, which I did at the preliminary hearing.

A few days after that hearing an attorney by the name of McDougall came to see me at the county jail. He said he was a stranger in town and had heard about my case and would be willing to take my case for nothing. Seeing that that proposition was in perfect harmony with my bankroll, I accepted his offer. I will say for McDougall, though, that he was honest and sincere about it and would no doubt had carried the case to a successful finish if he had not got mixed up with that miserable shyster, Mr. Scott. Before my trial, I pointed out the fact that the preliminary hearing records had been altered, but they said that the said record did not amount to anything anyway, and that it would do no good to make a holler about it.

Then the trial commenced. The first day went by with the usual questioning of jurors. The second day, however, something happened that did not look right to me. There was a jury of eight men entered the courtroom. They had

been serving on some other case and came in to deliver their verdict, which was one of "Guilty." Then the court discharged all the jurors and they all started to go home, but then for some reason Judge Ritchie changed his mind and told three of them to come back and go up in the jury box to be examined for my case. I noted that these men were very surprised and that they did not expect to be retained for jury service. I have, therefore, good reasons to believe that they were never subpoenaed for the case, but just simply appointed by the court. One of these men, a very old man by the name of Kimball was later on made "foreman" of the jury. During the course of the trial I was surprised to see that some of the witnesses were telling entirely different stories to the ones told by them at the preliminary hearing and I then asked my attorney why they did not use the preliminary hearing records and pin the witnesses down to their former statements. They then told me that the preliminary hearing had nothing to do with the District Court hearing and that they did not amount to anything. They did, however, use said records a little but only for a bluff. After I had watched this ridiculous grandstand play for awhile I came to the conclusion that I had to get rid of these attorneys and either conduct the case myself or else get some other attorney. I therefore stood up the first thing in the morning one day and showed them the door. Being the defendant in the case, I naturally thought I should have the right to say who I wanted to represent me, but to my surprise I discovered that the presiding judge had the power to compel me to have these attorneys in spite of all my protests. He ruled that they remain as "friends of the court" and that settled it. Mr. Scott went after one of the State witnesses in a way that convinced me that he really could do good work when he wanted to. After he got through with this witness (Mrs. Seely) he came up to me and said: "Now then how did you like that?" I said: "That's good, but why didn't you do some of that before?" "Well—er—" he hesitated, "this was the first witness we had marked for cross-examination." If that is not a "dead give-away" then I don't know anything. It will be noted that Mrs. Seely is one of the last witnesses for the State.

I will now say something about the pistol which I had in my possession when I called at Dr. McHugh's office to have my wound dressed. That pistol was a "Luger" caliber 30, a pistol of German make. I laid my pistol on the table while the doctor dressed my wound and I thought that he would be able to tell it apart from other pistols on account of its peculiar construction. He said he did not know, however, what kind of pistol mine was. That was an even break, and whenever I get an even break I am not complaining. He did not, like most of the State witnesses, commit perjury, and is therefore, in my opinion, a gentleman. There was an-

other doctor, however, by the name of Bink, who dropped in while Dr. McHugh was dressing my wound. He only saw the pistol as I put it in my pocket; he so said at the preliminary hearing, but at the district court hearing he came up and deliberately swore that my pistol was exactly the same kind of pistol as the one that Morrison and his son were killed with.

As I said before, my pistol was a "Luger" 30. It was bought less than a month before my arrest in a second-hand store on west South Temple street, near the depot. I was brought down there in an automobile by three officers, and the record of the sale was found on the books; price, date of sale and everything as I had stated. The books did not show what kind of a gun it was, however; and as the clerk who sold it was in Chicago at the time, a telegram was sent to him to which he sent this answer: "Remember selling Luger gun at that time. What's the trouble?" I bought the pistol on Dec. 15, 1913, for \$16.50. Anybody may go to the store and see the books.

Now, anyone can readily understand that I am not in a position where I could afford to make any false statements. I have stated the facts as I know them, in my own simple way. I think I shall be able to convince every fairminded man and woman who reads these lines that I did not have a fair and impartial trial, in spite of what the learned jurist may have said to the contrary. Now if you don't like to see perjurers and dignified crooks go unpunished; if you don't like to see human life being sold like a commodity on the market, then give me a hand. I am going to stick to my principle no matter what may come. I am going to have a new trial or die trying.

Yours for Fair Play,

JOSEPH HILLSTROM.

The report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report was made a special order of business for 11 o'clock Wednesday morning, with the understanding that if another committee should be reporting at that time it would not be interrupted.

The report of the Committee on Adjustment was made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Thursday morning, with the understanding that if the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report was not completed it would not be interrupted.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows upon the subjects in the report of the Executive Council referred to that committee:

Protection of American Citizens' Rights.

Upon that portion of the report of

the Executive Council under the above caption the committee recommended concurrence and approval by the convention of the subjects dealt with.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Pan-American Labor Relations.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this convention endorse the action taken by the Executive Council in connection with the subject referred to in this portion of the report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor Day.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the sentiments expressed in this portion of the Executive Council's Report be endorsed and that the Executive Council's recommendations be concurred in.

The report of the committee was adopted.

New Legal Opinion on Eight-Hour Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to express its gratification over the decision relating to the application of the Federal Eight-Hour law which has been made by Attorney General Gregory, and which sustains the position relative to the application of the law which has been maintained by organized labor since the law was enacted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Report on Legislative Progress.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to call particular attention to the magnificent record of accomplishment contained in this portion of the Executive Council's report. Never before in the history of the American labor movement or in that of the American Federation of Labor have so many measures of vital importance to

labor's welfare, its protection and its rights, secured the approval of Congress.

These measures enacted by the Sixty-third Congress have given legal sanction and approval to conditions and rights which labor had vainly endeavored to have established since the beginning of modern industry.

Labor has been freed from the authority which had been usurped by Federal courts when issuing injunctions in connection with industrial disputes. Labor has been delivered from the decision of the United States Supreme Court which had placed trade-union activities under the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, and it has now been emphatically declared by Congress that labor can no longer be considered as an article of commerce or subject to the laws relating to property rights.

This remarkable and unparalleled record of achievements is most important evidence of the soundness and practical value of the policies adopted by the American Federation of Labor to secure legislation required for labor's welfare.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Public Versus Private Construction of Naval and Other Vessels.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Bureau of Labor Safety.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee recommended concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Employers' Liability—Workmen's Compensation for Injuries.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that full endorsement be given to this portion of the report, and that approval be given to the additional provision which

has been prepared by the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duncan: The additional provision is that compensation be paid for death or illness from occupational diseases. This is a very important subject and it is a very valuable addition. The committee may have something of a general nature to recommend to the convention upon the subject of workmen's compensation and employers' liability after it has been further discussed by the committee.

I may state in connection with this addition to the list that recently a decision was given in the State of Massachusetts which is very far-reaching and affects a great many trades where they have consumption that is attributed to occupational diseases. Some of the compensation laws will not permit of the decision that was rendered in Massachusetts, and I mention it so that it will be in the minds of the delegates for what it may be worth. A member of my own trade in Milford, Massachusetts, died from consumption. The consumption was traced to what is known as stone-cutters' consumption, an affection of the bronchial tubes because of the dust the men breathe which irritates their throats. This man died from consumption traceable to the breathing of dust in the granite industry, and about ten months after he died, the fight having been made in the courts, consumption was decided to be an occupational disease and the amount of money warranted by the law in the State of Massachusetts was paid to the man's family.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Political Liberty of Civil Service Employees.

Upon the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends approval of all that is contained in this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Eight-Hour Law.

Upon the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs with the recommendation contained in that portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Piecework—Taylor System—In Government Service.

Upon the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends concurrence with this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Amendment to the Hours of Service Law.

The committee recommended the adoption of the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Government Ownership of Mount Vernon and Monticello.

The committee recommended approval of the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Old Age Pensions for Government Employees.

The committee recommended approval of the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Popular Government.

The committee recommended approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Amendment to Postal Savings Bank Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee recommended as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the proposed amendment to the Postal Savings Bank Law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Denatured Alcohol.

The committee recommended approval of the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Manufacture of Stamped Envelopes.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the legislation desired.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Bureau of Mines.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with satisfaction the passage of this act.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Safety Appliances and Regulations.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to have the measure enacted into law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Postoffice Clerks—Night Work—Salaries, Etc.

The committee recommended concurrence in the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee refers Resolution No. 28 to the Committee on Report of Executive Council, as that committee is dealing with the subject-matter contained in the resolution.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 1 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Silasman and D. A. Carey

of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, By an act of Congress approved May 11, 1908, enlisted musicians in the army and navy of the United States of America are prohibited from entering into competition with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, The then Attorney General, Charles Bonaparte, decided that this act of Congress did not apply to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., because the Marine Corps, so he alleged, was not a part of the navy; and

WHEREAS, Since this decision the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., the best-paid and provided-for enlisted band in the world, has continued to practically monopolize the music business of the civilian musicians of the District, and is continually interfering in the District of Columbia, to the detriment of the musicians of the whole country, by offering its services for expositions, state fairs, and other prominent functions, with a view of excluding the civilian musicians of the various states from such employment; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that the Marine Band, or sections thereof, is frequently furnished free for social functions given by men prominent in the affairs of the nation, high political and social influence is always brought to bear to defeat any effort to confine this band to its legitimate duties as every other enlisted band is; and

WHEREAS, It is within the prerogatives of the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue an order restraining the Marine Band from entering the competitive field against civilian musicians in or out of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, respectfully requests His Excellency, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue the necessary order prohibiting the Marine Band, of Washington, D. C., from interfering with the professional engagements of the civilian musicians, either in or out of the District of Columbia, as intended by the law approved May 11, 1908, which was arbitrarily set aside by a decision of the then Attorney General of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with an official of the American Federation of Musicians, endeavor to secure a personal interview with the President to lay this matter before him.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Silsman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The civilian musicians of the United States of America have for the past 25 years made every possible effort to secure legislation which would absolutely prohibit the enlisted musicians of the army and navy of the United States from entering into the competitive field, and more particularly the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, In this effort the civilians were supported by the National League of Musicians, which has since developed into the American Federation of Musicians, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and after 25 years of agitation a bill, approved May 11, 1908, was passed by Congress prohibiting enlisted musicians in either the Army or Navy from competing with civilian musicians; and

WHEREAS, When this bill was approved and about to be enforced the commander of the Marine Corps did not apply it to the Marine Band of Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, This being a question of law, was referred to the then Attorney-General of the United States, Charles Bonaparte, who in June, 1908, took the matter under advisement and did not come to a decision until the day after the general election, November of that year, and then he made the astounding decision that the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., was not a part of the Naval Service of the United States, which decision resulted in this band, which was really the objective point to be reached by the law, being allowed to continue in the competition with the civilian musicians of the country; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing the absurdity of such a decision, the American Federation of Musicians, through its proper officers, made an appeal to the President of the United States to have the matter again referred to the Law Department of the United States, with a view of exactly defining the relationship of the Marine Band of Washington, D. C., to the United States Government, which decision was by the President referred to the Attorney-General, and to which no answer has to this day been received; and

WHEREAS, To forever settle this question, a joint bill was introduced in the House and Senate, which, if passed, will forever end the competition of enlisted musicians in the United States service in any capacity with civilians, to engage in any pursuit, business or performance in civil life for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment of local civilians in their respective arts, trades or professions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Fed-

eration of Labor, hereby records and declares itself in favor of the said bill, as appended to this resolution, prohibiting the said enlisted musicians from competing with civilians for civil employment and instructs its Legislative Committee to do everything in its legitimate power to have the said proposed legislation enacted.

JOINT RESOLUTION.

In Reference to the Employment of Enlisted Men in Competition with Local Civilians.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter no enlisted man in the service of the United States, the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private, shall be detailed, ordered, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire, or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in their respective arts, trades, or professions.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

Treasurer Lennon: Does that include men assigned to technical teaching in some of the colleges and schools?

Secretary Frey: The resolution refers only to enlisted men. It was not the intention of the committee to bar out the services of army and navy officers. The committee intended it to refer only to enlisted men.

Delegate Miller, Musicians: That bill, exactly as it was read by the secretary of the committee, was introduced in the House of Representatives, when Mr. Wilson, the present Secretary of Labor, was chairman of the Labor Committee. The same question was asked by members of the committee. The answer was that it referred only to enlisted men who come in direct competition with civilians in these occupations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee recommends that Resolution No. 3 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Slissman and D. A. Carey of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The machine has finally invaded the field of music, and today there are concerns manufacturing machines that are displacing musicians all

over the United States and Canada. In many instances such machines have displaced orchestras of as high as fifty musicians, and the American Federation of Musicians has determined to do as the printers did with the Mergenthaler machine when it was introduced, namely, to claim the right to operate it; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Musicians has absolutely no more objection to the music machine than the printers had to the Mergenthaler, and have decided that wherever these machines are placed that they shall be operated by members of the A. F. of M.; and

WHEREAS, These machines are being placed, more generally in picture and vaudeville houses. In many instances the regulation in picture houses is but one musician; from that on up, according to the size of the building, seating capacity and price of admission; and

RESOLVED, by the American Federation of Labor, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor extend every possible assistance to the American Federation of Musicians in enforcing their demands on the employers of music where machines are placed.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: Resolution No. 4 was taken up in conjunction with Resolution No. 10. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 4.—By the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many unions at the present time are unable to properly protect the interests of their members or protect their cause; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of modern machinery and methods of doing work is rapidly bringing a number of the crafts so closely together that it is practically impossible to define the line of demarcation in relation to the jurisdiction of said crafts; and

WHEREAS, Federation by affiliation, as under the present system, will not solve the problem, but only by amalgamation of all trades into groups that can be known as the Mason Group, Iron Group, Pipe Trades Group, Building Finishing and Wood Working Group, Printing Trades Group, Tobacco Industry Group, and the Leather Industry Group, etc., can this condition be met and the solution found; and

WHEREAS, This amalgamation should be brought about without undue friction, but by mutual consent; all trades amalgamating to cover jurisdiction and membership; and

WHEREAS, Said amalgamation can be perfected by establishing a district or divisional form of organization, working under one general constitution and

one set of general officers and by granting to each division the right of self-government to the fullest extent, subordinate to the constitution of the division of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, assembled in Superior, Wis., recommend to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held during the year 1915, that the General Executive Board be instructed to take this matter up with all affiliated International Unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of any organizations being agreeable to said plan of amalgamation, the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor shall proceed to work out such plan of amalgamation with the favorable organizations at the earliest possible date and that all affiliated organizations be requested to support said amalgamation whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Fred L. Bourne of the Oregon State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is a well recognized fact that organization of the workers in the industrial field is a necessity; and

WHEREAS, Such organizations of the workers have to contend with powerful industrial organizations of employers for the just portion of the product of their members' toil; and

WHEREAS, This continuous struggle makes imperative the most strong and efficient and non-frictional organization among the workers; and

WHEREAS, The development of our modern industries, and the activities of employers' associations makes the craft union, with its jurisdictional problems and the possibilities therein for the employer to array one set of craftsmen against another set or sets of same, inoperative in many instances, and slow of results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the State Federation of Labor, That this Convention instruct its delegate to petition the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in San Francisco, 1915, to elect a committee of twelve representative men of labor, whose duty it shall be during the period elapsing between conventions of the A. F. of L. held in 1915 to investigate the feasibility of Industrial Unionism vs. Craft Unionism; to get the sentiment on this question insofar as possible, of the individual unionists affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and if said commission finds Industrial Unionism is practical and popular with the general membership of the A. F. of L. it shall devise ways and means whereby the A. F. of L. may gradually change from a Craft Union organization to one of Industrial Unionism.

Your committee recommends non-con-

currence with both resolutions and the reaffirmation of the principles relative to forms of organization presented by the Executive Council in its report to the Rochester (N. Y.) convention in 1912, which reads as follows:

In connection with this declaration it is necessary to call attention to a frequent misconception of the term "autonomy" as it is used by the American Federation of Labor. Some have mistakenly interpreted it to mean that a trade union cannot expand its jurisdiction, or amalgamate with another organization of the same or if a kindred trade in the same industry. The term "autonomy," as applied, has been used as an obstacle to such extension, growth, and amalgamation. No such construction or interpretation can be justly given the term. Broadly and specifically speaking, the term "autonomy" means self-government, as automaton and automatic, self-acting; autobiography, self-writing the history of one's own life; automobile self-propelling; deriving its general application from the root word, auto, self. We are prompted to this explanation by several instances in which the term "industrial unionism" is applied, as against trade unionism, with its autonomous self-government, as well as by a circular which was recently issued by the Metal Trades Council of Toledo, Ohio, in which the affiliated organizations and the delegates to this convention are urged to favor an amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, so that—
"National and international trade unions shall have the right to amalgamation; such amalgamation must be endorsed by a referendum vote of the organizations affected, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting upon such amendment in each organization, shall be necessary to make the amendment legal and binding."

Such a proposition is based upon the misconception that the American Federation of Labor prevents, or has the power to prevent or place obstacles in the way of, amalgamation of national or international trade unions when they so desire to amalgamate, when as a matter of fact every effort has been made by the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council, and our organizations to bring about amalgamation of national and international unions, and where that has been impossible for the time being, to endeavor to have them co-operate and federate for their mutual advantage.

Attention is also called to the provision of this suggested amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, that if it were adopted it would require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting to bring about amalgamation, when as a matter of fact, amalgamation of several organizations has been effected by conference and agreement ratified by a majority of the membership, or a majority of the convention, voting upon the ques-

tion. Thus it will retard and not facilitate.

Years ago we severed the affiliation of the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and declared that inasmuch as its members performed the work in several of the machinery trades, the members thereof should belong to the International Association of Machinists. The Allied Metal Mechanics' International Union became part of the International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists' Helpers' unions have become part thereof.

The Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union amalgamated with and became a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the American Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters has had its charter revoked because it refused to amalgamate with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

In accordance with the instructions of the Atlanta Convention, efforts were made to have the International Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers amalgamate with the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, and Steamfitters' Helpers. Because of the refusal of the former, we have endeavored to carry the instructions into effect that there should be but one organization recognized in the pipe fitting industry, and that the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers. The United Association has within its membership those branches of the trades included in its title.

The International Molders' Union of North America now encompasses molders of all metals, and some years ago the Coremakers' International Union became amalgamated with it.

The Longshoremens have pilots and steam shovelmen in addition to their own workers, longshoremens.

Blacksmiths have chain makers and helpers.

The Lasters' International Union became amalgamated with the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union.

The Iron and Steel Workers are organizing the unskilled with the skilled of the trade.

The miners have jurisdiction over all work in and around the mines.

Granite Cutters have added polishers, rubbers, sawyers, and the tool sharpeners have been part thereof from the beginning.

Quarry Workers have added derrickmen, boxing and strapping.

Railroad Telegraphers have added station agents, signalmen, train despatchers, telephoners, pneumatic interlockers and staffmen.

The Journeymen Tailors' International Union, the United Garment Workers of North America, and the Ladies Garment Workers' International Union are endeavoring to bring about an amalgamation of the three organizations, or to bring about a closer co-operative effort.

So on might we quote nearly all of the national and international unions in

their constant effort to a more thorough and comprehensive organization of their own fellow workers in the trade, or in kindred trades.

And yet it is also true that in some few organizations the amalgamation of various branches of one industry having been accomplished, they have voluntarily separated into a number of international unions of their respective branches. That is especially true of the International Typographical Union, which until some years ago had under its jurisdiction and part of the organization the compositors, proofreaders, pressmen, bookbinders, stereotypers, and electrotypers, mailables, news-writers, photo-engravers. By agreement the bookbinders, stereotypers and electrotypers, and photo-engravers, have formed separate organizations from the International Typographical Union, and generally co-operating in their local and national councils.

The American trade union movement is one of constant growth, development and expansion. Since its inception, the American Federation of Labor has been the most practical and beneficial general organization of the wage-workers of the continent; has taken cognizance of the constant change and transition in industry and by every means within its power has sought not only to effect the organization of unorganized workers, but to bring about unity, solidarity, and fraternity among organized workers, and has stimulated by every means within its power the necessity for closer co-operation, federation and amalgamation of existing trade unions to the end that each may be helpful to all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link; that the grand army of organized labor cannot advance much further than its most backward column; that the labor organizations are made up of human beings who are not cast in plastic molds; cannot be placed in rigid forms, and therefore, it must concede that the authority vested in the affiliated unions and their members must be the largest consistent with the general progress and the welfare of the entire wage-working masses.

The American Federation of Labor has organized central bodies in hundreds of cities, and State federations in nearly all the States in America; has instituted a large number of international unions and numberless local unions, and has developed the system of Industrial Departments which federate the organized workers of the different crafts, trades and callings and which co-operate for the common protection and advancement of the interest of all.

The American Federation of Labor realizes that there is still much to do, but repudiates the insinuation which is implied by the term "Industrial Unionism" as it is employed by the so-called "Industrial Workers of the World" in antagonism to "Trade Unionism" for in that implication the false impression is conveyed that the trade unions are rigid, unyielding, or do not adjust themselves to meet new conditions and do not ad-

vance, develop or expand, whereas the whole history of the trade union movement in the past thirty years demonstrates beyond successful contradiction, that there is not a day which passes, but which witnesses in the trade union movement in America the highest and loftiest spirit of sacrifice in order to co-operate with our fellow-workers for their interest and common uplift.

In line with the historic, intelligent, and comprehensive attitude which the American Federation of Labor has pursued since its inception, we urge still greater effort and energy in the work of more thoroughly organizing the unorganized workers, pursued to its fullest extent; to urge upon the organized workers a more thorough co-operation, to advocate amalgamation of organizations of kindred trades and callings, and a more thorough federation of all organized labor, to the end that economic, political, moral and social justice shall come to the toilers, the wealth producers of America.

Delegate Bourne stated that Resolution No. 10 did not deal with the same question as Resolution No. 4, but merely asked for a committee to investigate the question of organization by industries, to learn the sentiment of organized labor on the question, and if the committee or commission should find industrial unionism practical and popular that the American Federation of Labor devise ways and means to change from a craft union organization to an industrial union organization. He stated the resolution was endorsed by the Portland Central Labor Council, and urged that the convention consider its merits.

Delegate Smith, Portland Central Labor Council, stated that the resolution originated in that body and was considered favorably by many members of the labor movement in Oregon and the entire west.

Delegate Walker (H. H.) discussed the question at some length. He referred to a number of instances in Illinois where the employees of large industries could have been organized if it had been possible to place them in one organization, but they refused to be divided up among several of the international organizations that claimed jurisdiction. He urged that some means be devised to take care of men in such industries.

Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions, in discussing the question, said in part: If we are not mistaken, the policy carried out by the American Federation of Labor provides for the organizing of these men at the present

time and for keeping them in their local federal unions until such time as they either can be welded into a national or international union or placed in some union where they properly belong.

Secretary Frey discussed the question at some length, and referred to the amalgamations that have taken place in various organizations in recent years.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee, spoke at some length in favor of the report of the committee. He stated that there are in the American Federation of Labor now, and always have been since its institution, industrial organizations as well as trade organizations; that men and women composing the industrial organizations and the trade organizations decide for themselves the form of organization they desire.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Bourne and Delegate Smith.

President Gompers discussed the question at length. In referring to the incidents mentioned by Delegate Walker, he stated that the American Federation was doing its best to reach the classes of employees mentioned, and called attention to the report of the Executive Council for the past year, which shows that efforts were made to amalgamate different organizations. He stated that some of the efforts had been successful, and some had failed because organizations would not consent to amalgamate. In discussing the request for a committee or commission to investigate the subject, President Gompers stated that the declarations of the Rochester convention were the result of the deepest and most careful investigation of the subject that could be had within the labor movement.

Delegate Van Lear, Machinists, spoke in favor of the adoption of Resolution No. 10. He urged that something new might be brought out by an investigation and that the declarations of the Rochester convention should not be considered as a final declaration on the subject of industrial or craft organizations.

Delegate Brown, Timberworkers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He referred to the fact that in the Rochester convention the jurisdiction of the Shingle Weavers had been extended to embrace the other two divisions of

the timberworkers, the loggers and the saw mill men; that the amalgamation had not proved entirely successful; that although the Shingle Weavers had voted almost unanimously for the amalgamation, if the proposition were again submitted to them the Shingle Weavers would probably vote to go back to their former organization and allow the loggers and saw mill men to go into organizations of their own.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He stated that the Electrical Workers believed the American Federation of Labor gave the right to each affiliated organization to determine for itself what form of organization best suited it, and if that form of organization should ever be changed it would be

done only by the vote of the members themselves.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Hines of the Sheet Metal Workers.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 181 in the affirmative to 31 in the negative.

The following delegates desired to be recorded as voting in opposition to the report of the committee:

Thomas Van Lear, Machinists; F. L. Bourne, Oregon State Federation of Labor; J. A. Taylor, Machinists; Eugene E. Smith, Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon; C. L. Mayo, Minneapolis Trades Council.

At 1 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

SEVENTH DAY—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock p. m. Tuesday, November 16, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Balne, Metz, MacPherson, Christman, Brennan, Baxter, D'Andrea, Sullivan (J. L.), McSorley, Brock, Letroadec, Kean, O'Connell, Irwin, Call, Britton, Diehl, White (J. P.), Hayes (F. J.), Green (W.), Flaherty, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Short, Golden, Fitzpatrick, Coffey, Harris, Jennings, McGovern, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Sleeman, Camomile, Castro, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Sullivan (John), Milton, Bomar, Holm, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Riley (T. G.).

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Henry F. Broenig, of the Journeymen Horseshoers' Union, Baltimore, Md., stating that it was the desire of his organization that the next convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in Baltimore.

Delegate Walker, United Mine Workers, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution from the Mining Department:

Resolution No. 158—By James Lord, President, and James Roberts, Acting Secretary, Mining Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The miners of Morenci, Clifton and Metcalf, Arizona, for the first time in the history of these camps have organized; and

WHEREAS, The mining companies issued notices to the men, to the effect that they must sever connections with their union and sign a blank form prepared by the mine management to that effect; and

WHEREAS, Upon their refusal to so do, they were forced to strike for the right to belong to a labor union; and

WHEREAS, For more than two months they have maintained their struggle, as not a wheel is turning, or a man working in any of the three camps, except those authorized to so do by the union; and

WHEREAS, The powers of the Governor's office or those of the office of the Sheriff are not being used to demoralize or defeat the strikers, and be it said to the great credit of the Governor of Arizona and the Sheriff of Greenell County, that they have zealously guarded the honor and trust placed in their keeping by the people of that State and country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the strike of the miners and kindred workers of Morenci, Metcalf and Clifton, and that it urge upon the affiliated organizations that whatever assistance be within their power, be rendered to the Arizona strikers in this struggle, and sent to F. B. Hocker,

Treasurer Relief Committee, Box 511, Clifton, Arizona.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Harrison obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate G. B. Harrison, of Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union, No. 14605:

WHEREAS, The sick and death benefits administered through our local, trade and federal labor unions are a great factor in getting and retaining members; and

WHEREAS, Members, when changing their vocations, often fail to transfer to the organization having jurisdiction over their work, because of the fact that the benefits to which they were entitled have increased materially in value by reason of their long membership; and

WHEREAS, It is most desirable that this condition be corrected, in order that unionists, driven by unscrupulous employers and other forces from one trade or craft to another, should not be made to suffer unnecessarily; and

WHEREAS, It appears practicable to evolve a plan whereby the American Federation of Labor could administer such benefits (with the possible exception of strike benefits), and thus make the amounts of benefits due dependant upon the number of consecutive years an individual has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor rather than to any particular craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Board to investigate thoroughly the feasibility and possibility of such a scheme, and submit a detailed report, together with a practical plan, if possible, to the next annual convention.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 7 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There are now certain organized crafts that are opposing the efforts of the Butcher Workmen in some localities in their efforts to secure the closing of meat markets on Sunday; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at several conventions gone on record as favoring one day's rest in seven; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation

of Labor endorses the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in their efforts to secure one day's rest in seven or the Sunday closing of meat markets in all localities and pledge them their moral support in their efforts.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee has acted upon Resolution No. 9 in conjunction with Resolution No. 122. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate F. H. Ainsworth of Federal Labor Union 14,374:

WHEREAS, It is a fundamental principle for which democracy has long struggled against the powers of autocracy, that no one man might decide the right of another man in matters pertaining to life, liberty or property; and

WHEREAS, This principle finds expression in our courts of equity and criminal procedure by the provisions for appeals from the decision of any tribunal of original jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the military branch of the Government, findings of courts-martial are subject to review and appeal by superior independent authority; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Civil Service Law is found the only organization wherein the members may be deprived of the fruits of years of faithful and valuable service by the judgment of one man; and

WHEREAS, In the administration of the Civil Service Law there is no appeal from the decision of the head of the department reducing or dismissing any subordinate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the principle of appeal in any case of decision or ruling affecting the welfare of any public employee; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor are empowered to take such steps as they may deem advisable to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States to the end that an appellate tribunal, upon which the employees shall have representation, be created for the purpose of reviewing appeals from the decisions of department heads in demoting or removing public employees from office.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Under the present Civil Service laws Government employees may be removed from the service or demoted without the right of a fair trial before

a tribunal where witnesses for the accused may testify; and

WHEREAS, Under the Constitution of the United States, the meanest criminal, whatever his crime, is assured a trial by jury; and

WHEREAS, It appears to be simple justice that when the Government employee's removal or demotion in rank is sought, that he be given an opportunity to have his case reviewed before an impartial board of review; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse and instruct its officers to seek the establishment of a Court of Appeals to be created in the Civil Service Commission, consisting of three members, one of whom shall be an employee of the United States under the classified Civil Service law, with the power to review and hear testimony in cases where employees in the Civil Service have been demoted or dismissed.

The committee recommends that both resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: Your committee has acted upon Resolution No. 12 in conjunction with Resolution No. 132. The committee recommends that the resolutions be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employees upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in this condition: men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service, or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employees is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the position taken by previous Conventions by indorsing the efforts of affiliated civil service bodies to secure the enactment of a satisfactory retirement law for superannuated Government workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist representatives of affiliated civil service employees in calling the attention of the Sixty-fourth Congress to the urgent need of this legislation.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate John J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The United States is the only large country in the world that has not made suitable provision for its superannuated and otherwise disabled civil employees; and

WHEREAS, The governments, firms and corporations that have established plans of retirement on service annuities for employees of this character have found this method of dealing with superannuation not only just and reasonable from a humane point of view, but also in the interest of efficiency and economy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to use every available means to secure the establishment of a retirement system for Federal civil employees which will not, either directly during employment or indirectly, cause them to suffer a reduction in wages during employment.

The committee recommends that both resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postoffice clerks throughout the country are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Postoffice Clerks is endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the postal service by securing a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m. and prior to 6 a. m. for postoffice clerks and letter carriers—a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of affiliated postoffice clerks to effect a reduction of night work in the postal service and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks in seeking legislative relief from the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 15 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates E. William Weeks, E. M. Ware and W. J. Adames of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen:

WHEREAS, The men engaged in the repairing and building of cars, trucks, and other railway equipment, are compelled to work a large part of the time in rain, heat and other inclement weather because of inadequate shelter to protect them from same; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions are injurious to the health, safety and comfort of such employees; and

WHEREAS, In several states in the Union efforts have been made to have remedial legislation enacted, requiring railway companies to provide adequate shelter for such employees, and have failed because of the combined opposition of the railways; and

WHEREAS, The railways are usually interstate concerns; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we in Convention instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen in having introduced in Congress a bill requiring the railways to build adequate buildings over their repair tracks for the protection of the men engaged in the repairing or building of cars, trucks and other railway equipment.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 20—By the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity, in an effort to abolish involuntary unemployment in Oregon, has drawn up for submission to the people thereof by the initiative and referendum a measure designed to accomplish this purpose and make the land and natural resources accessible to the people, said measure being known as the "People's Land and Loan Measure;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we petition the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to aid us in placing this measure on the ballot and passing same at the coming general election, as follows:

(1) By commending the measure to the workers and producers of Oregon and urging their undivided support of same.

(2) By recommending to all affiliated organizations voluntary moral and financial assistance.

(3) By instructing the organizers of the American Federation of Labor who

may be in Oregon during either campaign to aid us insofar as they may without interfering with their specific duties.

(4) That the convention urge all affiliated internationals to aid us by instructing organizers and officers when in Oregon to co-operate with us insofar as they may without interfering with their specific duties.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take up the subject with the Oregon State Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland: This legislation in Oregon is being urged by the Central Labor Council of Portland. It will be presented to the voters. We have the entire support of the labor movement in Oregon, and we would like to have some endorsement from this convention. I would like to ask the committee how long it will take to get action on this proposition.

Secretary Frey: The question will probably be taken up by the Executive Council immediately after the adjournment of the convention.

Delegate Bourne spoke briefly in favor of the resolution, and stated that quick action was desired.

Delegate Smith, in explaining the measure, said in part: This measure is the direct result of study and investigation on the part of the Central Labor Council of Portland of the question of unemployment, and what can be done in a legislative way to abolish that evil. In Oregon, as in many other States, or practically all the States, the large interests are backed by the money power and have control to a greater or less degree of the land and the natural resources. In Oregon we have as our fundamental industry the timber industry, and the Southern Pacific Railroad and the great timber barons have possession of our resources. In studying the unemployment problem we decided there was only one way to get these resources back. We have many men in our State, as you people have in your States, who would like to get out on the land. They cannot do so without paying the inflated speculative prices, and if they do have an opportunity to get on the land they haven't the money

to do so. This bill is a combination of what is familiarly known as single tax and State aid. It does not go all the way. The only way we can hope to get the land and the natural resources back to the people is through taxation. It seems government has never been able to limit taxation, and we propose to levy as a State tax such a sum per year as is equal to the land rent, whether it is used or whether it is not. A third of all this rental will be placed in a homeseekers' loan fund. From this fund men and women in the country and in the city can borrow from the State a sum equal to \$1500. They will have twenty years to repay it. The first five years they will pay no interest except the administrative expense of the loan. The next fifteen years they will pay a small rate of interest. We hope this will grow and develop so that in time we will not have any private banks in Oregon. Under this bill there can be no tax levied on personal improvements by a mere scratch of the pen. It will have to be done by and through the consent of the people. If property is sold for delinquent taxes the State will pay all the delinquent taxes and the value of the improvements that have been made. When the State once acquires title to a piece of property because of delinquent taxes the title from that time on is vested in the State and it cannot be sold to private individuals. It must be leased.

Delegate Smith described at some length the benefits that would accrue from the legislation and the work that had been done in perfecting the bill.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Resolution No. 21—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, On July 24, 1915, the excursion steamer "Eastland," her decks packed with human beings, capsized while lying at her dock in the Chicago River, drowning nearly 900 men, women and children; and

WHEREAS, Four officials of the Chicago-St. Joseph Steamship Company, owner of the vessel, are named in an indictment returned by the grand jury in Cook County, said indictment containing five counts charging substantially the following:

1. That they knew the "Eastland" was unseaworthy and had no stability.

2. That they permitted 2,500 passengers aboard the vessel, which is more than its carrying capacity.

3. That they were negligent in hiring an incompetent engineer, and that because of his lack of skill he was unable to control the boat properly.

4. That there was not sufficient help on the ship to manage and control her properly.

5. That the ballast tanks were allowed to be out of repair, and not filled with water.

WHEREAS, The United States Steamboat Inspection Service, a bureau of the United States Department of Commerce, is, under the law, charged with the duty of correcting the very faults mentioned in every one of the five counts; the officials of the inspection service are required by law to examine into the seaworthiness of such vessels; they are required by law to determine the maximum number of passengers to be allowed on board; they issue and may revoke the licenses under which the engineers and the master serve; they are required by law to determine the number of crew in the deck and engine departments of such vessels; and it is their duty, under the law, to see that the vessels are kept in proper repair; and

WHEREAS, It is proper that the owners should be brought to the bar of justice to answer for the terrible loss of life, but the government bureau which permitted the owners to operate the vessel under such dangerous conditions should also be made to answer for its negligence; particularly since it is the same laxity and disregard of the law made possible the terrible disaster in New York some years ago, wherein about 1,000 persons lost their lives in the burning of the excursion steamer "General Slocum"; it is the same bureau, with exactly the same personnel, whose disregard of the law was admitted by its officials after the disasters on the Great Lakes in November, 1913, when twelve ships were lost with every person on board; it is the same bureau that remained inactive while many other disasters have occurred; and

WHEREAS, The uselessness of the Steamboat Inspection Service cannot be justly charged to underpaid subordinates, but must be laid at the door of the higher officials, particularly to those whose decisions have affected the actions of the subordinates; and

WHEREAS, The law is such that the higher officials cannot be reached under the criminal statutes; and

WHEREAS, It has been announced by the Hon. Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, that as soon as Congress convenes steps will be taken to bring about a general and thorough investigation of the entire United States Steamboat Inspection Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Feder-

ation of Labor in convention assembled that the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois be requested to insist upon the selection of an impartial commission to conduct such investigation, and to oppose the creation of any alleged investigating body having in its membership any official of the inspection service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Senators and Congressmen from the State of Illinois and to all other Senators and Representatives.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The original resolution did not provide that copies be sent to all the Senators and Representatives, but merely to those from Illinois. At the suggestion of President Gompers provision for sending to all Senators and Representatives was added to the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted as amended by the addition of the sentence suggested by President Gompers.

Resolution No. 26—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The shipping on the Sound now centers in such manner as to make the City of Seattle the most convenient port to be reached by any seaman who is sick or injured; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse the petition of the International Seamen's Union of America with reference to the establishment of a Marine Hospital in Seattle, Washington.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to ship subsidies which take public moneys for the purpose of promoting private gain; and

WHEREAS, An American merchant marine can be built up on a basis that will give freedom to the seamen and safety to the traveling public without resorting to subsidies; and

WHEREAS, The present world crisis has demonstrated that the building up of an American merchant marine is essential for the extension and protection of our foreign trade and vital to the interests of all classes of our people; and

WHEREAS, An American merchant marine with an American personnel is the only safe method of providing an

effective naval auxiliary which will promote our commerce in times of peace and furnish us the means of defense in times of danger; and

WHEREAS, Private capital has failed during the past fifty years to develop or maintain a merchant marine under our flag, leaving the vital interests of the country unprotected either by the building and operation of the necessary ships or the creation of a trained body of seamen upon whose allegiance the country must depend in a crisis; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is heartily in favor of the immediate creation by the United States Government of an American merchant marine to be manned by American seamen under conditions that will make them an effective naval reserve, and recommends to the Congress of the United States prompt passage of legislation for the establishment of a shipping board for the building or purchase of vessels by the United States Government to be operated for the development of our foreign trade under conditions that will give safety to the traveler and freedom to the seaman and to be available as an effective naval auxiliary for the protection of our country in time of war; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to present this resolution to the President and Congress of the United States and that all affiliated bodies be advised to adopt and submit the substance of this resolution to their respective Senators and Congressmen.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, The United States is one of the few civilized countries that has no retirement provision for its superannuated civil service employees; and

WHEREAS, The absence of retirement legislation is costly to the Government and to the employees; men are either retained beyond their years of usefulness or they are dismissed after giving their life's work to the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled that we endorse the efforts of the Federal civil service employees to secure the early enactment of an equitable retirement measure; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to give all possible aid to affiliated civil service employees in calling the urgency of this situation confronting aged Government workers to the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Secretary Fr  y: Your committee rec-

ommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

Delegate Smith, Portland: Does that recommendation carry with it approval of the resolution?

Secretary Frey: If the committee disapproved of the resolution they would have so reported.

The committee considered Resolution No. 35 in conjunction with Resolution No. 50, and recommends that the resolutions be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Each year large sums of money are expended in the building and maintaining of Army and Naval Stations in the United States and its various Territorial possessions; and

WHEREAS, By an investigation it has been found that a considerable portion of the labor employed on the construction work is of an alien or non-citizen character and to the detriment of the citizen workmen of this United States who, in many, if not nearly all instances have been discriminated against by the contractors and their agents who are engaged in supervising this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby go on record as being opposed to such procedure and herewith protest against the discrimination as has and is now being practiced against American citizens' labor, in the building, equipping and maintaining our Army and Naval Stations within the United States and its Territorial possessions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to communicate this protest to the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, and to the Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, calling their attention to these facts and requesting them to use their good offices to see that the rights of the American workman be safeguarded, and that he be given the right to work on all construction work being done for the United States Government, whether such work be done directly or indirectly, by day labor, or through the use of contract labor; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to draw up a petition to Congress asking that body to enact a law that will prohibit the employment of alien labor on all Government work in preference to citizen labor of these United States and its Territorial possessions.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates J. E. McClory, J. D. Barnes and Sam Tobin,

of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, Each year the Government of the United States expends large sums of money in the building and maintaining of army and naval stations in the United States and its various territorial possessions; and

WHEREAS, By an investigation it has been found that nearly all of the labor employed on the construction work is of alien or non-citizen character and to the detriment of the citizen workmen of these United States who in many, if not nearly all instances, have been discriminated against by the contractors and their agents who are engaged in supervising this work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being opposed to such procedure, and herewith protest against the discrimination as has and is now being practiced against American citizen labor, in the building, equipping and maintaining of our army and navy stations within the United States and its territorial possessions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its Secretary to communicate this protest to the Secretary of the United States Navy, Hon. Josephus Daniels, and to the Secretary of War, Hon. Lindley M. Garrison, calling their attention to these facts and requesting them to use their good offices to see that the inalienable rights of the American workmen are safeguarded, and that they be given the right to work on all construction work being done for the United States Government either directly or indirectly being constructed for the United States Government by day labor or through the use of contract labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor have its Executive Council draw up a petition to Congress asking that august body of lawmakers to enact a law that will prohibit the employment of alien non-citizen and Oriental labor on any Government work in preference to citizen labor of these United States and their territorial possessions.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 36 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Within the past few years public opinion and sentiment has become much awakened to the justice of

adequate compensation to workmen injured by industrial accidents, and during that time marked progress has been made in favorable legislation providing compensation for injuries or deaths of employees and giving recognition to the rightful liability of an employer for the safety of workmen in his employ; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government should properly be foremost to set a high example and take the lead over the several States in humanitarian measures of this character, the scope of which is world-wide; and

WHEREAS, The provisions of the compensation acts of the United States Government applying to accidents and injuries of its employees, are inadequate and not up to the standard of similar laws in a number of the States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, hereby pledges fullest support to secure Congressional enactment of laws for compensation of injuries to the Government employees in keeping with the best of the recent State laws. We urge that such Government laws embody provisions (1) Compensation of every day of injury; (2) a more adequate death benefit instead of one year's pay as at present; (3) compensation to extend for a greater period than one year if injuries are serious, and partial or total disability results; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted through proper channels to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable action by that body.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, More than half of the entire distribution of mail in the postal service is done at night, necessitating the service of thousands of clerks; and

WHEREAS, Neither by a time or a wage differential does the Postal Department recognize the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, In practically all industries where night work is necessary those performing it receive some recognition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, that we pledge our support to the efforts of affiliated clerks in attempting to secure remedial legislation granting a time differential to night workers in the postal service.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 53 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger and Solomon Polakoff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Fourteen separate indictments have recently been found by the grand jury of the County of New York charging twenty-four officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union with various serious crimes, including murder in the first degree, robbery, extortion and riot; and

WHEREAS, The trial of the murder charges, involving eight officers and members of the organization, was concluded a few weeks ago and has resulted in a full and speedy acquittal of all defendants; and

WHEREAS, The evidence upon the trial has clearly demonstrated that all charges against the union members and officials were wantonly and deliberately manufactured by a notorious gang of scab herders aided by a group of unscrupulous employers and connived by a prejudiced and biased public prosecutor; and

WHEREAS, The wholesale prosecution on trumped-up charges against our brothers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is manifestly aimed at the union as such, seeking to exhaust it by extensive taxing and costly litigation and to brand it before the public as a criminal organization;

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we denounce the prosecution of the officers and members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as a revolting surrender of the machinery of justice to the enemies of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our moral support to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and that we call on all affiliated labor organizations to respond generously to its appeal for funds to defray the cost of the defense of the numerous cases still pending against its members and officers.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Through the endeavors of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, meritorious provisions were added to the Army and Naval appropriation bills, on March 3, 1916, by which it will be less difficult to ob-

tain positive, clear-cut legislation which will permanently prohibit the objectionable stop-watch, speeding-up, premium bonus Taylor, system, of driving and intimidating employees in Federal departments; and

WHEREAS, This work of the Executive Council meets with the unqualified approval of this Convention; yet, it being a certainty that efficiency committees have been selected in other departments of the Federal Government, and are now at work in the various bureaus, interviewing employees, timing their work, and recording the use of materials, and in various other ways demonstrating that when a final report is made it will contain recommendations looking toward the establishment of some so-called efficiency system kindred to the notoriously unfair Taylor system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, That the President of this organization and the Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law prohibiting the use of moneys appropriated by that body in the furtherance, encouragement or advancement of any stop-watch speeding system in any department of the Government of the United States.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate H. M. Lornsen, of the Astoria Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The special privileged parties in the salmon industries operating on the Columbia River, in the States of Oregon and Washington (the salmon packers operating fish-wheels and seines on the upper Columbia River, where no commercial fishing should be permitted, some of which are also interested in the deadly fish-traps on the lower river), managed by means, best known to themselves, to have a law passed during the 1915 legislative session in both States, which provides for a treaty in which it is stipulated "that neither of the States can alter or amend its salmon laws covering the Columbia River, unless the other State consent thereto," also that the next session of the United States Congress be petitioned to ratify this treaty, thus taking away from the citizens of these States their right to avail themselves of the initiative and the referendum on the very much needed legislation for actual salmon protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that proper steps be taken, by every means possible, to stop this attempt of the aforesaid packers to prevent proper salmon legislation.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate B. W. Sleeman, of the Central Labor Council, Salem, Oregon:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to child labor, its opposition being one of the declaration of principles; and

WHEREAS, There is in this country a movement to make child labor laws less effective, and more difficult of enforcement; and

WHEREAS, It appears that the agency now being used to create a sentiment against strict "Child Labor Legislation" is the National Congress of Mothers; and

WHEREAS, Prominent women in the latter named organization are attempting to break down child labor laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention direct the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to investigate conditions governing the employment of children and women in the mills at Clifton, Pennsylvania; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the result of the investigation be furnished to all State branches and central bodies.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to take up with the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 71 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate F. A. Scoby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Seventeenth General Convention of the Coopers' International Union, held in San Francisco, Cal., in September, 1915, unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the different State Boards of Health to better inspect packages and containers used for the transportation of food stuffs and the necessities of life; and

WHEREAS, Burlap, cotton, and paper bags as well as unclean second-hand barrels, are fast coming into use as containers for the shipment of sugar, meats, flour, cereals, fruits, vegetables, and other commodities; and

WHEREAS, The use of the wholesome, clean and sanitary wooden barrel will soon be discontinued if the attention of the general public is not called to the menace that now confronts the public health by the use of such substitutes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, and the Executive Council in particular, call the attention of the National Health

Commission at Washington, D. C., to this evil and through Federal legislation agitate the enactment of a law that will insure the transportation of all articles of food in clean receptacles that the public health may be better safeguarded.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate E. B. Boyden, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Conclusive evidence given before the Industrial Relations Commission in Chicago this year, shows that the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies vigorously oppose the organization of their employees by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, by the use of the blacklist, intimidation, extensive secret service and other means; and

WHEREAS, The evidence given before the Industrial Relations Commission affirmed (facts long known to organized labor) that telegraphers work under conditions in regard to wages, hours of labor and freedom of speech and action so deplorable, that it is hard to believe they could exist in a free country; and

WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America is conducting a campaign to thoroughly organize the employees of these telegraph companies, a campaign which is daily increasing in vigor, despite the fact that a large per cent. of those engaged in this craft are employed by this telegraph monopoly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention here assembled heartily endorses House resolution No. 355 introduced and supported by Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland in the Sixty-third Congress of the United States, providing for the Government ownership of the telegraph, and advocates and will support any similar measure introduced in the next Congress of the United States, with a provision included, granting to the employees of the Government engaged in such service the right to organize.

The committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Silsman and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The San Diego, California, Panama Exposition has announced that this enterprise is to be continued for another year; and

WHEREAS, This Exposition has been declared unfair by the American Federation of Musicians on account of its unfriendly attitude in persistently using

non-union civilian musicians and securing the services of bands of enlisted musicians of the United States Army and Navy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that a protest be filed with the War and Navy Departments against permitting enlisted bands to be used by this Exposition detrimental to the American Federation of Musicians; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send a copy of this resolution to the Secretaries of War and Navy as the sense of this convention.

The committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates John Williams and John J. Sullivan, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

WHEREAS, Realizing that the interests of labor would be immeasurably improved if the wage schedules of all crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor terminated on the same date of each specified year, and that efforts should be directed with a view of achieving this end; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to take the matter under consideration, and if in their judgment they deem the plan feasible, that they be requested to refer the proposition to the various national and international unions for their approval or disapproval.

Secretary Frey: The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have considered this question and recommended that correlated trades endeavor to have their trade agreements terminate at the same time, but there are many trades who find that certain periods of the year are the more favorable to them for the entering into of trade agreements with employers and for this most valid reason your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is on record as being opposed to an exorbitant initiation fee; and

WHEREAS, It is a deplorable fact that certain organizations within the American Federation of Labor still impose an unreasonably high initiation fee

upon those who desire to become members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, that no labor organization should charge a higher initiation fee than ten dollars, and that an appropriately worded circular letter upon this subject be submitted to all affiliated organizations urging upon them to act accordingly.

The committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate F. C. Severance, of the Sacramento Federated Trades Council:

WHEREAS, It is a familiar thing in moving pictures to exhibit scenes of drunkenness in which the principal actors are represented as working men; and

WHEREAS, The place of revelry and excess in many instances is shown as a saloon or cafe of the type generally patronized by working men; and

WHEREAS, The constant parading before the minds of the people of the United States of the untrue charge that drunkenness and debauchery are common among the toilers and the poor is a stigma upon the entire laboring element of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we as representative workers unanimously disapprove and condemn such pictures as described above and protest against them as being unfair to that vast army of sober and industrious men who form the ranks of the labor unions of the United States.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 98 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, there are many violations affecting the membership of Local 847, International Longshoremen's Association, of the port of New York, N. Y., because of the violations of laws pertaining to safety at sea, and more especially those pertaining to the safety of the men employed on the various barges and harbor crafts of the port of New York and vicinity on account of the laws not being enforced, this being more noticeable in the smaller ports of New Haven, Conn.; New Bedford, Conn.; Providence, R. I., etc.; and

WHEREAS, Local 847 of the Inter-

national Longshoremen's Association has not had the power to force this question to an issue; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, have the United States Government instruct its inspectors to insist upon the enforcement of the law relating to safety at sea.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 100 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Supreme Court has made a decision interpreting the Illinois State Compensation Law, and the Federal Liability Law as applied to the workers in the transportation industries in such a manner that, where the injured worker or his dependents have no case under the Liability Law, it must be settled under that law, and where he has a good case and could collect large damages under the Liability Law, that it must be settled under the Compensation Law; and

WHEREAS, Various States have compensation laws either elective or compulsory, while the workers engaged in transportation or in interstate commerce are governed by the Federal Liability Law, which is confusing and gives judges great latitude in construing compensation and liability legislation in favor of the corporations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its officers to draft and present to the next Congress, and use all their influence to have enacted a compulsory workmen's compensation law, to be applied to all industries, or as far as it is practical to apply it within the federal jurisdiction.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends that the resolution as amended be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Frey: The committee acted upon Resolution No. 103 in conjunction with Resolution No. 130, and recommends that the resolutions be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate J. B. Dale, of the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Civil Service Commission has invaded the rights of the

workmen employed on Mare Island Navy Yard by an order forbidding them to participate in politics in the city of Vallejo; and

WHEREAS, They have further invaded their rights by an order forbidding them to hold office in the Vallejo Trades and Labor Council, contending that said Council is a political organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the incoming Executive Council to use all honorable means to secure a law that will circumvent further invasion by this non-legislative and non-judicial body.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate John J. Deviny of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Freedom of speech and freedom of the press is a fundamental principle of our Government and was engrafted into the Constitution of the United States, which says that freedom of speech and freedom of the press shall not be abridged; and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of our citizens are employed under the civil branch of our Government, and they do not enjoy in a full measure freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which was vouchsafed to them and guaranteed them by the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The Civil Service employees can take no part in political campaigns in which the welfare of city, state or nation is concerned, no matter how meritorious is the cause; and

WHEREAS, This is a menace to the Government itself and a blow to the rights of a free people, and was never intended by the patriots who fought to throw off the yoke of tyranny; and for the preservation of our Republic, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the city of San Francisco, register its unrelenting opposition to any scheme or system which denies freedom of speech to any class of citizens or to any man, and that the Executive Council frame a bill which shall be enacted into law, with the purpose of curing the evil of preventing any person or persons from enjoying full freedom of speech.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Dale, in discussing the question, said in part: Last January the Secretary of the Navy issued an order to the citizens of Vallejo that if they did not morally clean house and reduce the number of saloons in the city the

Navy Department would transfer work elsewhere. Then the Civil Service Commission issued an order to the effect that if they participated in the politics of the town they would lose their jobs. A naval officer, retired, is serving as one of the commissioners of the city of Vallejo. He is retired, of course, but a naval officer just the same. How the Civil Service Commission can reconcile itself to a proposition of that kind is more than I can understand. The workmen of Vallejo ask that the Executive Council use its good offices to the end that a law be framed to permit the citizens working in the various arsenals and navy-yards the right to have something to say about their own cities and towns. I urge you to keep the proposition in mind when you return to your various fields of labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 105 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Periods of industrial depression are of frequent occurrence and cause loss of employment to thousands of wage earners throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, These industrial depressions are often prolonged and made more acute by the political methods that have been followed in dealing with the question of tariff schedules; and

WHEREAS, An agitation is now in progress throughout the country in favor of taking the tariff out of politics, through the creation by Congress of a permanent non-partisan tariff commission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses the idea of a non-partisan tariff commission.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is a law in effect known as the 65-foot Motor Boat Law, which permits a boat under 65 feet in length to be operated by a non-licensed pilot and engineer and by so doing not only works a hardship upon the members of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, but endangers the

lives of those operating these boats as well as the lives of such persons as are carried as passengers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming President of the International Longshoremen's Association be, and is hereby instructed to use every effort in his power to assist the officers of the L. T. P. A. in having this law repealed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be given the delegate representing the International Longshoremen's Association in the American Federation of Labor Convention and that he urge that body to lend all possible assistance in having this law repealed.

The committee recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Federal, State and municipal commissions having power to fix rate for the transportation of commodities and determine terminal charges, must necessarily take into consideration the wages paid to the employees engaged in the work of transportation; and

WHEREAS, Rates and terminal charges have a direct influence on wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association, in session assembled, refer this subject to the American Federation of Labor, in order that the Executive Council may be instructed to make a thorough investigation and take the proper steps to protect the rights of the wage-earners.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 115 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti, of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a referendum, known as Proposition No. 2, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood shall protest emphatically against the growing departmental policy of requiring terminal railway post office clerks and transfer clerks to perform certain necessary tasks connected with their work on their own time, thus obliging such clerks to work in excess of a standard of

eight hours a day; and that the officers of the Brotherhood shall avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to secure redress of this grievance"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of and the stand taken by the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks as outlined in this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist the affiliated postal employees in carrying out the purpose of this resolution.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 118 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti, Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, by a referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a referendum, known as Proposition No. 1, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood shall protest emphatically against any departmental policy calculated to increase the hours on duty of road clerks and to decrease the necessary lay-off period, whether by taking off crews, 'swing men' or helpers, or by any other reorganization methods; that the officers of this Brotherhood shall avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to make such protests effective; and that, if the need for such action shall arise, the officers of this Brotherhood shall carry an appeal for an investigation of the question to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations"; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention, on page 103, after citing interviews and correspondence between officers of this Federation and Postoffice Department officials on the subject of reductions and demotions, declares as follows: "We recommend that this convention declare emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the Government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of and the stand taken by the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, as well as the report of the Executive Council of this

Federation bearing on this matter; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention declares emphatically against reductions in the salary of the employees of the Government in the postal or any other service and against undeserved demotions, and particularly when such demotions are made for the purpose of effectually reducing salaries; and that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to be prepared to assist in carrying out the purpose of this resolution.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti, Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a resolution, known as Proposition No. 4, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood, availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, shall call the attention of Congress to the fact that railway mail service employees are discriminated against in that they are required to perform service averaging a minimum of eight hours per day for 312 days of the year, being allowed no holidays nor any vacation period (contrary to the rule in every other branch of the Federal service); and that the officers of this Brotherhood agitate this question and seek the allowance by legislation of an annual fifteen-day vacation"; and

WHEREAS, Besides averaging a minimum of eight hours per day for 312 days of the year, exceedingly arduous extra duty is performed by employees of the railway mail service during each December without any extra compensation, thus indirectly further justifying the just claim for an annual fifteen-day vacation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the claim of the employees of the railway mail service, and pledges its moral influence and assistance in seeking the allowance by legislation of an annual fifteen-day vacation for railway mail service employees.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 126 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks by referendum vote of its membership of June 26, 1915, did adopt a resolution, known as Proposition No. 3, of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the Brotherhood, availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, shall seek the enactment of legislation defining the number of hours of duty to be required of railway postal clerks"; and

WHEREAS, In seeking the enactment of such legislation the arduous duties and the excessive physical and mental strain inseparable from the occupation of railway postal clerks should be given full consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks as outlined in this resolution, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist in seeking legislation defining the number of hours of duty of railway postal clerks, with due consideration of the excessive physical and mental strain and arduous duties of railway postal employees.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate Frank J. Guscetti of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, An effort was made to incorporate in last postoffice appropriation bill a clause providing for biennial in lieu of annual promotions, which proviso was defeated with the whole postal appropriation bill principally because certain irreconcilable differences developed over the question of railroad rates for carrying mails; and

WHEREAS, Postal employees' salaries are none too high, and have not kept pace with the increased and increasing cost of living, and when it is considered that the Income Tax Law provides a tax of only 1 per cent on incomes in excess of \$4,000 and up to \$20,000, and only 2 per cent on incomes from \$20,000 to \$50,000, while biennial promotions would affect postal employees' salaries from 6 to as high as 10 per cent; and when it is further considered that none denied that the proposed alteration in the law was in effect a war tax upon postal employees, and of a nature apparently confiscatory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor unalterably opposes any attempt to change the present annual promotions to biennial promotions, and that the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor is pledged to the affiliated postal em-

ployees in opposing any such change in the next postal appropriation bill.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate John J. Deviny, of the International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is in agreement with public sentiment that the United States Government in the exercise of the function of an employer of labor should take the lead in establishing ideal working conditions for its employees; in other words it should be the model employer; and

WHEREAS, The custom of suspending work on Saturday afternoons, thus giving their employees a half holiday each week throughout the entire year, has been very generally adopted by private employers, and by some of the United States Government departments; and

WHEREAS, The Federal employees in Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, have enjoyed a half holiday on Saturday afternoons during the summer months only, for several years past, and this practice has demonstrated its desirability both from the viewpoint of the Government and of the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby instruct the President and Executive Council to use any and all means to secure the extension of the Saturday half holiday period throughout the entire year to all divisions and departments of the Federal service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of this federation is hereby instructed to forward copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the members of the Cabinet and to labor representatives in Congress.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 142—By the Delegates representing the International Typographical Union at the request of Omaha Typographical Union No. 190:

WHEREAS, The winter is coming near and will throw out of work thousands of men, who, in many cases, after their few saved dollars are gone, do not see any other way of existence than to stand on street corners begging from passers-by for a nickel or a dime, in this way constituting a most troublesome nuisance for the public; and

WHEREAS, It is the Christian duty of our most glorious nation to do everything for this unhappy class of people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our union communicate with the American Federation of Labor, that said federation take steps to induce the Congress to build at Government expense in every city of over 100,000 population homes where this most suffering class of people may find shelter in the cold winter nights and a few warm meals over the day.

Secretary Frey: Your committee recommends the adoption of the following substitute for the resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to prepare measures to be introduced into Congress, State Legislatures and municipalities which shall provide for the erection of buildings in which unemployed may find lodging during the winter months and in which they shall be supplied with nourishing meals while unemployed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the substitute offered by the committee.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners, opposed the substitute offered by the committee, and offered the following as a substitute for their report: "That instead of asking for free lodging houses we recommend that the governments—State, city and national—provide means whereby the undeveloped resources of the country shall be brought into operation in a way that will put the unemployed workers at work." (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan, in speaking for the report of the committee, said in part: The committee in recommending a substitute for the resolution offered by the printers had no thought of doing anything to prevent employment for the unemployed. The purpose of the recommendation of the committee is to cover such emergencies as happen in our great cities in the winter time when employment is bad and men have no money with which to secure shelter. The resolution came to the committee specifying that the federal government should do a definite thing in cities of 100,000 inhabitants or over, and instead of simply endorsing that excellent idea of finding shelter temporarily for unfortunate men and women, the committee asked the general labor movement to use its influence to see that these unfortunates have shelter during such periods as I have spoken of, not limiting it to cities

of 100,000 or over, and including States and municipalities.

Delegate Smith, Portland, spoke in favor of the report of the committee, and referred to his experience as a member of a municipal committee on employment and a similar committee of the Central Labor Council of his city.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, stated that he regretted the motion of Delegate Cannon was offered as a substitute for the report of the committee and favored separate action on the propositions. He stated that he favored both propositions but wished to have them acted upon separately.

After further discussion Delegate Cannon offered his motion as an amendment to the report of the committee.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), suggested that the question be acted upon separately, or that the amendment be referred back to the committee in order that the committee might bring in a report that would represent the sentiment of the labor movement better and meet the needs of the situation in a more adequate way than did the motion of Delegate Cannon.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Van Lear, Vice-President Duncan, and Fraternal Delegate Stelzle. Delegate Van Lear suggested that the committee had overlooked the second "whereas" in the resolution, which referred to the Christian duty of the nation, and suggested further that the great houses of worship be opened to the migratory workers when in need of shelter.

In reply to the statement of Delegate Van Lear, Vice-President Duncan stated that when men and women were hungry and in need, the churches were usually found doing everything within their power to help alleviate their condition.

Fraternal Delegate Stelzle spoke of his connection with the Mayor's committee on unemployment in New York City during the past winter, and of his connection with the employment committee of the federated churches of New York City, and stated how each committee had done its best to relieve suffering.

Delegate Woll arose to a point of order and stated that matters of religious discussion did not properly come before the American Federation of Labor. Presi-

dent Gompers stated that the point should have been raised when the first reference was made to the churches.

Delegate Woll repeated his point of order, and President Gompers ruled that the question of religion was not being discussed. Delegate Woll stated that he would not appeal from that ruling.

Delegate Stevenson, Typographical Union, spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the amendment of Delegate Cannon.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.) stated that the question of employment was being considered, and would be reported upon, by the Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Woll moved that the entire subject be referred to the Committee on Report of Executive Council to bring in a comprehensive report on the question of unemployment in all its phases. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth spoke in favor of the report of the committee and opposed the amendment.

Delegate Woll withdrew his motion and Delegate Smith moved that the entire matter be referred back to the Committee on Resolutions for further consideration. (Seconded.)

Secretary Frey opposed referring back to the committee, as the committee had dealt with only a very small part of the problem and had not endeavored to take up the question of unemployment, which was already in the hands of another committee.

The motion to recommit to the Committee on Resolutions was lost.

The amendment offered by Delegate Cannon was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Secretary Frey: That completes the partial report of the Committee on Resolutions.

President Gompers, by direction of the Convention, transmitted the preamble and resolutions adopted by the Convention in the case of Joseph Hillstrom to the Governor of the State of Utah, to the Board of Pardons of Utah, to the Swedish Ambassador in Washington, and to the President of the United States.

In his telegram to the Governor and to the Board of Pardons, preceding and

following the resolutions, President Gompers said:

"The American Federation of Labor in Thirty-fifth annual convention assembled in San Francisco by unanimous vote adopted the following preamble and resolutions and directed that I transmit them to you by telegraph:

(Resolution quoted.)

"The sentiments, judgment and desires expressed in the above are earnestly shared by me, and I trust that clemency may be exercised in the interest of justice and humanity."

In his telegram to the Swedish Ambassador preceding the resolution he said:

"I have just telegraphed the Governor and the Board of Pardons of Utah the following, which was unanimously

adopted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, now assembled in this city." (Resolution quoted.)

In his telegram to the President of the United States preceding and following the resolutions he said:

"The convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled here unanimously adopted the subjoined preambles and resolutions:

(Resolution quoted.)

"May I not prevail upon you to exercise your great influence to at least help in saving the life of Joseph Hillstrom, particularly when there is so much doubt concerning his case."

At 5:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Wednesday, November 17th.

EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 17, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m. Wednesday, November 17, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kramer, Sovey, O'Brien, Barnes (J. D.), Boyden, Mahoney, Brock, Letroadec, Kean, Call, Curran, Slissman, Steidle, Pettit, Gavlak, Hanley, Harris, Jennings, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Spooner, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson, Leber, Severance, Camomille, Castro, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Bomar, Holm, Hammerschlag, Corbely, Carter, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

The White House,
Washington, D. C., Nov. 17, 1915.
Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of
Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

The President has received your telegram embodying resolutions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor concerning the case of Joseph Hillstrom, and has this morning again telegraphed the Governor of Utah urging the justice and advisability of a thorough reconsideration of the case.

J. P. TUMULTY.

Report of the Committee on Education.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has carefully considered those parts of the Executive Council's report referred to us, as well as having thoughtfully examined the several resolutions offered and submitted to this committee for attention.

The introductory chapter to the Executive Council's report, as well as its concluding chapter, describe in the most effective terms possible and in a clear, concise, convincing and intelligent fashion, the true objects and purposes, the struggles and trials, the hopes and aspirations, the triumphs and achievements of the organized workers of our country.

A careful review of these accomplishments, a fair and accurate analysis of the procedure followed, and a sincere, honest and thoughtful observation of the high and humane ideals prompting the associated activities of the workmen and women of our country, can lead to no other conclusion than that the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor in co-operation with all its component parts, has secured to the workers immense advantages and has made for the greater physical, moral and educational force in dealing with all problems confronting the workers in all their social, political and industrial relations.

It is not the purpose of this committee to commend upon the physical advantages secured for the workers through their organization. We do desire, however, to call attention to the great mental progress realized, both in conception of ideals and in the procedure adopted for the ultimate attainment of labor's hopes and aspirations so well expressed through the Executive Council's report. Indeed, we believe that the advantages of co-operation in the mental phase of our movement is as great and as essential as in the physical expression of our organization. We realize that many minds view any single object or event from as many different points of view and that it does not fall within the gift of any one mind to grasp all the various sides and phases of all objects or events. In every line of endeavor each contributes his mite, and it is the co-ordination, the combined effort of many minds in each line of activity and of thought which leads to a better understanding and greater perfection of our movement.

To-day we find almost every line of activity having its association, local meetings, national or international conventions, for the purpose of enabling all the workers in a given line of employment to profit by the experience of all others similarly engaged, and to secure harmony of action. Almost every trade and vocation has its association meeting to discuss all matters pertaining to their specialty. Ultimately we meet in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of enabling all the workers of our country to profit by the experience of each other and to secure the greatest and most extensive voluntary co-operation and unity.

of action possible of attainment. All this is a mental association, the united efforts of many minds to a common end.

The report of the Executive Council, both in its generalization as noted in the introductory and concluding chapters, as well as in its detailed description of the most important events and occurrences of the past year, is therefore a most valuable document. Its importance is due not only because of its relation of physical accomplishments, but also because of its educational achievements in bringing into one concrete united effort, the hopes and aspirations, the ideas and ideals of all workmen and women of our country.

We congratulate the Executive Council upon its thorough understanding and ever ready and willing response to the hopes and aspirations of the workers, and we strongly urge and recommend the careful reading and study of this report by all who are connected with and who would have a true and accurate conception of the ideas and ideals of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Suffrage in the District of Columbia.

Under the above caption of the Executive Council's report, we are advised that the residents of the District of Columbia are still disfranchised. We also note that the financial and commercial interests are opposed to the granting of right of suffrage to the people of the district because of mercenary and selfish motives.

We concur in the Executive Council's suggestion for public discussions to persuade the people of this district to assert themselves in securing the voting privileges. We recommend that the Executive Council should not only foster and encourage such discussions, but that all national and international unions urge members of their local unions and residents of the District of Columbia to actively participate in the development of a public demand for the franchising of residents of the district.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Mother's Day.

Under the caption "Mother's Day," the Executive Council's report directs attention to the endorsement of the pro-

posed enactment of the law designating the second Sunday in May as "Mother's Day," and of the effort having been made to have same enacted into law. We recommend the Executive Council continue its effort in whatever manner it is deemed best to secure the early enactment of this proposed law.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The American Federation of Labor Exhibit.

Under this caption the Executive Council in its report describes quite fully the exhibit of the American Federation of Labor constructed in the Palace of Education and Economy, Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The members of our affiliated unions having personally viewed this exhibit unquestionably have been greatly impressed with the graphic description of labor's struggles and triumphs and of the immense benefits realized and enjoyed through co-operation of the workers. Perhaps its greatest educational value is not the impress it has left on the minds of members of organized labor who have viewed this exhibit, but the impress left upon the general public, which only too often is ill-advised and misinformed of the actual beneficent deeds and accomplishments of organized labor. No better agency could have been devised to familiarize the general public in attendance at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, of organized labor's true hopes and ideals, deeds and accomplishments, than this magnificent exhibit.

Your committee while conscious of the recognition and favorable commendation due the Executive Council for the successful inauguration and management of this enterprise, is also mindful of the splendid co-operation extended it by affiliated international and national unions in contributing charts, literature and publications. We believe that thanks are due all who actively participated in making this exhibit such a splendid success, a great tribute to the cause of organized labor.

Your committee views with a deep feeling of regret the possible destruction and dismembering of this exhibit at the termination of the Exposition. Indeed, we believe this exhibit should prove but a beginning of a new avenue of creating a public opinion favorable to organized

labor. We, therefore, recommend that this exhibit be retained permanently and that the Executive Council shall arrange for suitable space in the new headquarters of the American Federation of Labor building, now in process of construction. We further recommend that all national and international unions who have not contributed a graphic description of their respective successes and accomplishments, be urged to do so, and we likewise urge upon all affiliated unions to continue in sending a number of copies of their official journals to this department each month, for general public distribution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

American Federationist.

The Executive Council's report, under the above caption, has a comprehensive expression as to the true purpose and actual achievements of the official journal of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is heartily in accord with all these expressions. We are firmly of the opinion that the articles and editorials presented from time to time have proven a great stimulus to thought and reflection, that they have aided in preventing a confusion of thought and action among the workers, that they have clearly and intelligently expressed labor's concept of right and justice, and then too, that they have considerably influenced the minds of many of our educators, students, legislators and other government officials.

Grant that the newspapers do continually report some of the detached rays from the thoughts and actions of the American labor movement. These disconnected and often distorted glimpses do not take in the full blaze of light which streams from the American labor movement ideas. Then, too, the ideals and ideas of labor are often dimmed or altogether hidden by the clouds of ignorance or prejudice.

Preoccupied by the cares of life, misled and advised by a partisan and often vicious daily newspaper, members misinformed by designing demagogues, conscious of the ills they bear, but regardless of others they know not of, how often do many of our members exhibit indifference to the vital ideas of our movement?

Such reflections as these impels your

committee to urge all national and international unions to encourage their membership in subscribing for the American Federationist. Then, too, we recommend that central labor bodies encourage their delegates to subscribe to this work. We are also mindful of the good accomplished in publishing articles relating to high dues and recommend continuance of this policy.

Your committee would feel itself remiss in the duties devolving upon it if we failed in highly commending the editorial work of the Editor of the American Federationist, Mr. Samuel Gompers. The clearness and breadth of vision so ably manifested, the comprehensive conception of labor's needs, so forcefully, effectively and accurately described in the editorial work of the American Federationist, is cause not only for commendation but is in itself an educational factor not to be overlooked or to be lightly regarded by our movement.

In connection with the foregoing, your committee has also considered Resolution No. 138. While the substance of this proposal is meritorious, and while we approve of the idea that every delegate to our central bodies should have a clear and accurate conception of the purposes and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and as expressed from time to time through the American Federationist, we find ourselves unable to report favorably to the adoption of this resolution, because of the large financial requirements involved. In lieu thereof, we recommend that not only should all central labor bodies encourage and undertake to subscribe for all its delegates to the American Federationist, but we also recommend that an offer be made to central bodies for a club subscription rate, based on the actual cost of production and distribution.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, The official organ of the Federation, "The American Federationist," is a monthly magazine which contains official reports, news items and editorial utterances of much value to members of organized labor who represent local unions in central labor councils; and believing that by furnishing this magazine free to such delegates would greatly benefit the entire movement as well as make the magazine of more value to the advertisers of union

product, thus benefiting the international unions which compose this Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Educational Committee to whom was referred subjects relating to the "American Federationist," submit some practical plan which will insure the sending of the official organ to the home of every representative of a local union in a central body affiliated with this Federation; and, further, that said committee be requested to report on this resolution at the earliest possible date and suggest financial recommendations, in order that the purposes of this resolution may be carried out at this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.

Under this caption of the Executive Council's report, the value of the Weekly News Letter is eminently set forth. It is an undisputable fact that the American newspaper is becoming almost indispensable to our institutions. What is true of the general newspapers is equally true of the Weekly News Letter. It, too, is becoming rapidly indispensable to our movement. It is essential that we gather from all quarters of the country, materials for contemporary history, and furnish same to the labor press. Under the name of "News," we should communicate all passing events dealing with the workers' welfare. Controlled by able minds among our fellow workers, it serves to inform our membership of war and peace, of the dealings of government, of the movements of commerce, and of progress made by the struggles of the workers.

We note with keen interest the great good the Weekly News Letter has accomplished, the invaluable service it has rendered the labor press and its responsive extension to the ever increasing need. We commend the Executive Council for its successful conduct of this department, and approve of all suggestions urged for its extension in its report.

In connection with this subject we have also considered Resolution No. 18. This resolution is not without some merit. A careful review of the cost involved and the many difficulties to be overcome in successfully establishing a news service so extensive as herein proposed, impells our disapproval of same and in lieu thereof, we recommend the

extension of the Weekly News Letter service to such proportion and in such direction as will best suit the needs and requirements of the labor press in keeping within the finances allowed for the conduct of this department.

Resolution No. 18—By the Portland (Ore.) Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The welfare and progress of our nation depends upon the welfare and progress of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The welfare and progress of Labor are best promoted by a thorough organization of the workers into trade unions as chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such organization would be given a decided impetus by the establishment of labor newspapers containing telegraphic news and a correct interpretation of current events and world happenings (particularly of those directly concerning Labor); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Central Labor Council of Portland and vicinity in regular meeting assembled October 22, 1915, that it petition the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, to direct its Executive Council to, as soon as practicable, organize and establish an International Labor Press News Service, said service to be owned and controlled by a corporation whose stock and bond holders shall be confined to labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation, and papers and journals published and owned by same, and having in its articles of incorporation a provision making it impossible for any one such organization to control the physical properties of the corporation or its policy.

The committee reports that this resolution is covered by the Weekly News Letter.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon recommended that central bodies appoint correspondents to furnish the news promptly to the Weekly News Letter.

The committee incorporated the suggestion as part of the report.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as amended by the suggestion of Treasurer Lennon was carried.

President Gompers: It was called to my attention this morning that at one of our sessions yesterday afternoon there was some sort of demonstration, both of approval and disapproval, by visitors. There is probably no limit to which the delegates of the convention may not indulge themselves, either in approval or disapproval, so long as it conforms to

decent conduct and decent regard for every other delegate's feelings; but while all visitors to this convention are welcome, while our doors are open to them that they may see us at work, and while they are invited here, they must not be and cannot be permitted to give expression to any sentiment or any demonstration either of approval or disapproval. I repeat that visitors are entirely welcome, but I ask them all, in the interest of all, to permit us to proceed with our work without any demonstration of any character. We want you here, but if you make your presence incompatible with the work of our convention, we shall then be compelled to ask the visitors to leave the hall and leave us in peace to do our work.

Vice-President Duncan: Since the chairman has referred to this matter, perhaps my arising should be considered more a question of personal privilege than otherwise. A statement appears in the San Francisco Chronicle of this morning about the incident referred to yesterday afternoon which makes special reference to myself. I have been attending these conventions since 1886. I was present at that time at the formation of this body, and for many years there has scarcely been any delegate present in our conventions that attended that convention except President Gompers and myself. Never in the course of that time have I so conducted myself that I was hissed from the floor, nor was I hissed from the floor yesterday afternoon. I endeavor to transact business in a gentlemanly manner and with a dignity becoming the great movement we here represent. In this morning's Chronicle is a glaring headline, for which the news gatherers, of course, are not responsible. I have great respect for the news gatherers; they work under great difficulties, and sometimes the statements they take to their offices which are not in accord with the policy of the paper are twisted to suit the policy. The headline in the Chronicle says: "American Federation of Labor Vice-President Hissed from the Floor." I will state that I had finished my remarks in full in presenting my views at that time. There may have been those who differed from me. They

are as much entitled to their views as I am entitled to mine. There may have been hisses—the President says they came from the gallery. I was not speaking to the gallery, I was addressing myself to a humanitarian proposition before this convention. I had finished my remarks and sat down. There was evidently applause and there may have been hisses interspersed. I do not know where they came from. The story goes on to say that: "First Vice-President Duncan of the American Federation of Labor was jeered and hissed from the floor at the all-day session of the Federation yesterday." It goes on to say that after Delegate Cannon had spoken Vice-President Duncan leaped to his feet. The fact of the matter is there was no leap about it. I sat composedly in my place. Secretary Frey was about to arise to reply to the statement, but suggested it would be better for the chairman of the committee to do so. I stood as calmly as I stand now at my desk and addressed the convention. The statement on the second page of the paper goes on to say, quoting me: "I might add that I know of no class of people in the nation who help the workers in ——" Closing with a dash as though I had not completed the sentence because of the hissing. I completed the sentence. I referred to the fact that the churches in time of stress and storm helped the working people and helped other people who were in need to the extent of their ability in that direction. I was not prevented from completing the sentence. In concluding the article the statement is made that a motion to refer the entire subject back to the Committee on Resolutions for report later was carried unanimously. That statement is absolutely untrue. The different amendments offered to the report of the committee were dealt with in order in a deliberate manner; they were rejected and the report of the committee was carried; not unanimously, but it was carried. The statement evidently was inspired for some purpose that is not clear. Whether the writer or the paper had something against myself or the convention I know not, but the statements from beginning to end, as far as I am concerned, are absolutely untrue, and I think it would be advisable for this convention in its own way to say to the management of the paper re-

ferred to that the statement is not correct and should be corrected.

Secretary Woll continued the report of the Committee on Education, as follows:

Labor Press.

Under the above caption the Executive Council in its report ably sets forth the good accomplished to our movement by the labor press. The highest degree of civilization yet attained by man is from the greatest knowledge of history and of human nature and endeavor. So, too, the greatest perfection of the labor movement is attainable only by the greatest knowledge of the history, past and contemporary, of the struggles of organized labor. After all, much of our success depends upon public opinion, which in turn depends largely upon the ability to form and express individual opinions. Every individual member of organized labor should be more or less educated, or else our associations shall weaken to a proportionate degree. Conversely, in proportion to the excellence and universality of this education will be the progress and power of our institutions and the happiness of our members.

As indicated in the report of the Executive Council, the labor press is an invaluable aid in the development and in the extension of this latent power of our members.

The labor press, therefore, should receive our most wholesome support and encouragement, and in return the labor press must respond to that declaration made in the Executive Council's report that it "must be clean, free from outside or political partisan domination," if it is to merit continuance of labor's good will and support.

We agree fully in this part of the Executive Council's report and again urge members of organized labor to give the labor press its wholesome support, not only by subscribing, but by also becoming constant readers of the labor press.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Germer, Mine Workers: I am in hearty accord of the sentiment expressed by the committee, and the only request that I have to make is that editors of labor papers and official organs of labor organizations confine

themselves strictly to labor matters and desist from industriously and continually attacking members of the trades unions who happen to differ with them on some matters that are not directly connected with the labor movement.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate Henry Abrahams, of the Chelsea Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, An opportunity has been given to those desiring an industrial training by many, if not all, of our States; and

WHEREAS, A like opportunity should be given all young men and women who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of law, medicine, architecture, civil engineering or any of the learned professions, and as many of our colleges are controlled by the donors, who dictate the policy of such institutions so that knowledge has become a monopoly of the rich; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor the establishment of free State universities where text books, tuition and laboratory work shall be free.

Your committee fully concurs and recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 101.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Industrial Education—Vocational Training, Democratization of Schools.

While distinguished by separate captions in the Executive Council's report, the subjects under the above titles, and as reported by the Executive Council, are practically similar in character, and your committee therefore reports on same under the general subject, Industrial Education.

Education is necessarily the foundation of any republic. Education is necessary to the perpetuity of any republic. It is, therefore, the essential duty of this republic to guarantee every child an adequate education. Everybody believes in education. Differences arise not upon its value, but upon questions of what a true education should consist of, who should be educated, how far and by what method they should be educated, and what persons should conduct such education.

Education should include whatever we do for ourselves and whatever is done for us by others, and for the express purpose of bringing us nearer to the perfection of our nature. In its largest

conception education should comprehend even the indirect effects produced on character and on the human faculties, by things by which the direct purposes are different, by law, by forms of government, by industrial arts, and by modes of social, economic and civic life. Education should comprehend the culture which each generation gives to those who are to be its successors, in order to best qualify them for at least keeping up, and if possible for raising the improvement of human kind which has been attained.

Industrial education in the sense in which this term is ordinarily used, and in which your committee now employs it, means that sort of education which is specially adapted to the needs of men and women whose business in life it is to pursue some kind of handicraft and as defined in the great number of reports made on this subject by the American Federation of Labor, which reports are included by reference in the observations of the Executive Council and upon which your committee's report is predicated.

Judged by a careful observation of all opinions and conclusions agreed to by the American Federation of Labor on this subject, it is clearly and unmistakably evident that the American Federation of Labor has and does approve and favors including the industrial or vocational education into our public school curriculum.

Whilst urgent for industrial education, there is also evident some apprehension that this proposed industrial education may ultimately give way to an attempt on the part of large commercial interests, whereby the opportunities of the workers' children for a general education will be limited, and which will tend to make the workers more submissive and less independent. To prevent this possible menace it is essential that some standard is agreed to by which to judge and determine whether the education fostered tends to a full development of American freedom and of American manhood and womanhood.

We hold the child must be educated not only to adapt itself to his or her particular calling they are to enter later in life, but that they should be educated for leadership as well; that they should have the power of self-direction

and of directing others; the powers of administration as well as ability to assume positions of responsibility.

It is not only essential that we should fit our boys and girls for the industries, but it is equally essential to fit the industries for the future employment of our young men and young women

A careful review of our industrial conditions will further evidence that there are many industries which formerly offered the workers opportunities far more than a sustenance or physical existence, which have been divided and subdivided until the vocation itself, in some instances, is becoming a lost art. The ever-increasing specialization in industrial pursuits, due to existing industrial practices, which limit the workers to but one form of automatic work, or confines them to a highly specialized branch of work, is a very serious evil confronting the workers and society today. As specialization increases, this evil will logically and proportionately increase unless stringent measures are adopted to prevent the evils of monotonous and automatic work. What good will come in imparting industrial education in our public schools, if our children are permitted to be fastened to a machine, requiring but the repetition of a few muscular motions? Vocational education is not enough; extreme specialization must be abolished. The future industrial life of our children demands that their immature years are spent in a proper physical and mental upbuilding. Then, too, industrial education should not be allowed to co-ordinate itself with any arrangement which will bring trained and experienced workers into any trade without regard to the demand for labor in that particular trade or calling. A proper apportionment of the supply of labor to the demand for labor must be maintained. What good will industrial education serve; what benefit can be derived, if by such teaching we are to produce a greater number of trained and skilled workers than is required or is possible to be employed in the respective trades or callings? Industrial education under such conditions can only increase the existing economic pressure upon the workers. Industrial education must, therefore, be based on a careful survey of industrial

conditions and trade requirements, and should meet the needs and requirements of the workers, as well as those of employers and of the industry.

Ever since the establishment of our public school system, there has been a constant and persistent attempt by large commercial interests to control our public system of education, and to do it for their own selfish purpose. These interests have tried time and again to control the courses of preparation and of training our children solely for the purpose of using them in turning out a maximum amount of articles of exchange and commerce at the lowest possible cost to themselves. In substantiation of these assertions we need only reflect upon the effort made a few years ago in Cleveland, Ohio, and more recently in Chicago, Illinois, where the commercial interests succeeded in influencing the respective Boards of Education to adopt rules which denied our public school teachers the freedom of expression and the right of association. To that degree at least, the teaching force of our public schools has been rendered submissive to the will of these commercial interests. These and other manifestations, on the part of the employing and commercial interests to dominate our public schools' affairs, impel your committee to utter a word of caution and to fully advise you that the future of our public schools and the character of teaching our boys and girls, depend largely upon the attitude and exercise of the forces of labor. It is for labor to say whether their children shall receive a real education in our public schools, or whether they are to be turned out as machine made products, fitted only to work and to become part and parcel of a machine instead of human beings with a life of their own, and a right to live that life under rightful living conditions.

Perhaps the most vicious element threatening to divert the movement of industrial education in our public schools from our American ideals of democracy in education, is the continuous effort made by the commercial interests to place industrial education under the direction of a distinctive board of management, separate from the board of administration governing the general education of the children. A division

and separation of authority in educational studies, we believe, will establish a division of educational systems in the minds of the school children and their parents, wherein industrial education instead of proving supplementary to our general education, will be looked upon as the main and most important public system of education. Vocational school courses should at all times be under the guidance and control of school authorities having control of the general education of the children. The unit system of administration is best adapted to educating our children properly for their future guidance as citizens and as workers.

We highly commend the Executive Council for its thorough analysis of the educational needs and problems confronting the workers to-day. Prompted by this analysis of the Executive Council and by the observations, opinions and conclusions herein expressed by your committee, we recommend the concurrence in the several recommendations of the Executive Council noted in its report with the following additional requirements:

1. That in approving industrial education, equal attention should be given to the general educational studies and requirements of the school children. Your committee believes the latter of greater importance to the future welfare of the workers than the former instructions.
2. That industrial education shall include the teaching of the sciences underlying the various industries and industrial pursuits being taught, their historic, economic and social bearings.
3. That all courses in industrial education shall be administered by the same Board of Education or Trustees administering the general education; that no federal legislation on this subject shall receive the approval of the American Federation of Labor which does not require a unit system of control over all public school studies, general and industrial.

We recommend that the Smith-Hughes bill be endorsed by this convention, but that such approval is dependent upon the amending of the bill so as to eliminate the optional system, and that the States accepting the terms of the bill

shall be required to comply to the unit system of control. The bill should also conform to the several recommendations herein submitted.

4. That the Department of Labor, at Washington, be requested and urged to cooperate with the Executive Council in conducting a thorough investigation into existing vocational or industrial schools and systems of industrial education in vogue, in order to determine wherein such teaching has benefited or harmed the workers. That this survey also include a careful investigation into existing shop practices and trade conditions in order to determine what industries, if any, are lacking of trained and experienced workers; such investigation to also determine the number of workers who are trained and experienced and who are out of employment, due to their inability to secure employment, because there are more trained workers in that particular trade or vocation, than the industries can employ. It is likewise desirable that a comprehensive investigation be made to determine the extent of monotonous and automatic work in vogue.

5. That Congress be urged to make a proper and sufficient appropriation to the Labor Department in order to permit of this investigation being made in the most complete manner possible, as well as to enable the Labor Department to enforce all such rules, regulations and laws enacted and intended for the benefit of the workers of this nation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

In discussing the question of the unit and dual systems and the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations, Treasurer Lennon said in part: I wrote this report for the Commission on Industrial Relations. It was signed by two members besides myself. The report that was made by the Industrial Relations Commission emphasized specifically and positively that whatever of vocational work is to be done must be done in and by the public school system, in contradiction of those who have advocated the dual system, of which perhaps Professor Cooley, of Chicago, is the leading man, or one of the leading men, whereby they designed to create a board separate from and entirely in-

dependent of the public school system to carry on this work. That there is a possibility of the Industrial Relations Commission's report approving the dual system is a mistake; it must be under the control of the public school system and under no other control. The only way we approved of the Smith-Hughes bill was in the principle of federal aid to carry on this work. We differed with the bill in the manner of carrying it out. The report of the Industrial Relations Commission favors absolutely, unqualifiedly and without any reservation the unit system of such education in the public school system.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He urged the labor movement to take an interest in everything connected with the public school systems, to encourage the teachers to organize and affiliate themselves with the labor movement, and to take part in the administrative department of the schools.

Secretary Woll stated that the committee had endeavored to deal particularly with some of the more important elements of danger confronting the movement in the matter of vocational education; that the committee had not only dealt with the question of education but called attention to the necessity of protecting industrial production so that education itself will ultimately serve some useful purpose, and quoted the portion of the report of the committee dealing with that matter. He stated that the committee had not touched upon the question involved in the action of the boards of education of Cleveland and Chicago in denying the teachers the right to organize, as that matter would be covered fully in the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Fraternal Delegate Nestor discussed the question at some length, and explained in some detail the Smith-Hughes bill. She stated her appreciation of the fact that the committee had dealt so fully with the question, which is very well understood in Illinois but may not be in other sections of the country.

The question was further discussed by Secretary Woll.

The motion to adopt the report of the

committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Woll: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,
Chairman,

C. C. SHAY,
M. M. DONOGHUE,
JOHN H. FERGUSON,
MARGARET C. DALEY,
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
CHARLES SUMNER,
E. B. BOYDEN,
A. J. HOWLETT,
JOHN O'HARA,
JOHN J. SULLIVAN,
H. L. MORRISON,
JOHN J. FITZPATRICK,
FRANK W. COTTERILL,
MATTHEW WOLL,

Secretary,
Committee on Education.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Spiegl obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate Frank Spiegl, of the Colorado State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Every incorporated municipality in the United States has its Fire Department, the membership of which is composed exclusively of the working class; and

WHEREAS, In almost all of these municipalities these men are compelled to be on continuous duty 24 hours per day, with only short intervals for meals; and

WHEREAS, To improve such intolerable conditions is one of the objects of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every legitimate effort to organize locals of firemen connected with the municipal fire departments of the country, with a view of forming a national organization of members of municipal fire departments to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Green obtained unanimous consent to the introduction and immedi-

ate consideration of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates John P. White and Wm. Green, United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, We have learned with feelings of deepest sorrow that a mine explosion occurred on Tuesday, Nov. 16, at Ravensdale, Wash., resulting in the loss of more than thirty lives; and

WHEREAS, These men who lost their lives were all members of the United Mine Workers of America, and were therefore united to us in a special manner by the bonds of fraternity and brotherhood; and

WHEREAS, It is reported that practically all the unfortunate victims were heads of families who are thus made dependent while left to mourn the loss of their loved ones; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we deplore this awful loss of life and we extend to the bereaved families and friends our sincere sympathy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand a most thorough investigation by the properly constituted authorities of the cause or causes of the awful catastrophe, so that if possible a repetition thereof may be effectively prevented.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Vice-President Alpine in the chair.

Report of Committee on American Federation of Labor Office Building.

Delegate William P. Clarke, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on American Federation of Labor Office Building begs to submit its report upon the matters referred to it as fully set forth in the Executive Council's report.

It is not necessary for this committee to attempt to report upon the history of the movement looking to the establishment of an office building for the American Federation of Labor nor the details necessary for such a building. The fact that previous conventions have instructed for investigation of the matter and finally authorized the Executive Council to make such arrangements as were considered essential for the consummation of the plan, and that the offices now occupied are totally inadequate to meet the requirements of the Federation and its various departments is sufficient within itself so far as refer-

ence to past actions in this regard is concerned.

It will be noted by the report of the Executive Council that a lot has been purchased consisting of 5133 square feet at a cost of \$40,000.00, that ground has been broken for the erection of a five-story and basement building for the sum of \$90,450.00, the building to be completed not later than April 7, 1916. It is also noted that the Executive Council has selected as trustees of the office building, Messrs. Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and James O'Connell.

Your committee desires to recommend concurrence in all that has been done to date by the Executive Council and the trustees as reported upon by them.

The erection of an office building for the American Federation of Labor marks an historical epoch and is indicative of the steady advancement of the American labor movement and its permanency as an institution for the protection and advancement of the interests of humankind. The very spot upon which we are to erect the business home of the Federation indicates stronger than any other one thing the great evolution that has and is taking place in the social and economic improvement of society as a whole. It should be especially noted by this convention that the site purchased was formerly occupied by an old mansion with its slave pens and accessories of slave days and is now to be substituted by a building to be devoted to the business office of the greatest labor movement of America; a movement that has done so much to free the workers from every kind of oppression and slavery. It is the opinion of your committee that in this work looking to the establishment of our office building there appear historical instances that are deserving of record and should be conserved for the future history of the American labor movement.

Your committee believes that the workers of the country will be responsive to the sentiment as well as to the business features of the proposed office building and that many individual members as well as organizations will welcome the opportunity of assisting the trustees in many ways in bringing to completion the building and relieving it of financial burden, and to the end that the trustees may not be

embarrassed but feel at liberty to act, your committee makes the following recommendations and suggests to the convention to urge them upon the trustees for their consideration in the work before them:

First—That all international unions which form the foundation of the American Federation of Labor be invited to subscribe for a marble slab to be appropriately set in the building, it to bear the proper insignia of the organization making the appropriation.

Second—That for the purpose of awakening a genuine interest in this work and in the furtherance of the general purpose and permanency of our movement the trustees shall be empowered to issue such prospectus, emblematic designs, etc., to be furnished to the membership and friends at a price that will be within the reach of all and at the same time be a financial advantage to the trustees in the work assigned to them.

Third—The trustees to be authorized to accept such general help, financially or otherwise, as may be tendered by members and friends of the labor movement, it being understood that the title to the property shall always remain intact as the home of the American labor movement and under the arrangements that have been so ably laid out by the Executive Council.

In the financial requirements of your building, your committee begs to bring to the attention of this convention that the interest upon \$90,450 will approximate \$4,625 per year. Arrangements have been made for three years for the payment of \$2,500.00 per year upon the principal. This is a comparatively small sum to be paid upon a principal which aggregates \$130,450.00. Your committee is therefore of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor should not place itself in a position of being embarrassed in connection with its office building, but that it should meet the principal as quickly as possible. Moreover, the general work of the Federation is such that it cannot permit of disturbance at this time, therefore some emergency plan is required by this convention to the end that the momentary difficulty may be met in a business-like way, so we may enjoy the full ad-

vantages of the great and essential work we have undertaken.

For the purpose referred to above, your committee would recommend that the tax be changed from 2/3 (two-thirds) of 1c (one cent) to 3/4 (three-fourths) of 1c (one cent), establishing an increase of 1/12 (one-twelfth) of 1c (one cent) or, rather, one cent per year per member. Such an increase, though apparently insignificant, will be of a sufficient amount to carry the Federation over this period and bring us early to the point where our office building may be operated on a self sustaining basis. Your committee recommends therefore that the law be changed so as to comply with the recommendations contained herein.

Fraternally submitted,

COMMITTEE,

GEORGE L. BERRY,

Chairman.

J. C. SKEMP,

JAS. G. HANNAHAN,

C. L. SHAMP,

WM. W. CAMPBELL,

EDMUND RALEIGH,

J. B. ETCHISON,

CHAS. MacGOWAN,

CHAS. H. McKENNA,

C. F. FOLEY,

J. A. TAYLOR,

J. M. SUAREZ,

M. E. DECKER,

JAS. L. FORREST.

WILLIAM P. CLARKE,

Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Weeks: If this report is adopted, will the per capita tax be increased to three-fourths of a cent per month?

Vice-President Valentine: It is the recommendation of this committee to the Committee on Laws and it will be so interpreted if it is adopted.

Delegate Smith, Portland: What does the committee mean by saying the trustees will be authorized to accept contributions from members and friends of organized labor?

Secretary Clarke: Several members of the committee intimated that the American labor movement has friends throughout the country who would gladly donate towards the erection of the office build-

ing, and in order that the trustees will not be embarrassed if such donations are offered, the committee has paved the way to accept them.

Delegate Germier: I am not yet entirely clear upon the matter of per capita tax. Do I understand this will come up for final settlement when the Committee on Laws makes its report?

Vice-President Valentine: It will be the recommendation of this convention to the Committee on Laws and they will report on it. It will have to be acted upon again when that committee makes its report.

Treasurer Lennon: The report of the Committee on Laws must be dependent upon the action of this convention on this recommendation. If the recommendation is favorable the Committee on Laws will report as the convention instructs; if it is not favorable, it will be done with. It will not come up on its merits in the report of the Committee on Laws; it will come up under the instructions given by this convention.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building was carried unanimously.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate McCullough, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Secretary Morrison's Report.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a detailed summary of the work of the Secretary's office during the year elapsed since the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention.

Secretary Morrison has presented in an easily accessible and impressive manner the scope and activities of the American labor movement, which is most eloquently summed up in diagrammatic form showing the membership for the year of depression and hard times to have been 1,946,347, a figure in itself eloquent of the power and importance of the American labor movement in the economic and social fields.

The tremendous influence wielded by this body of men in all the avenues of human life, but more particularly in the industrial and commercial world is beyond understanding. It is a law of physics that matter once set in motion never again can be brought entirely to

rest, nor can one particle of matter be distributed in its position without in some way affecting every other of the innumerable myriads of particles of matter throughout the entire created universe. The operation of this law is as immutable and inexorable as any of nature's laws. No man can live entirely to himself or for himself. His influence for good or for evil, for progress or retrogression is inevitably felt by those around him and he can not so completely withdraw himself from communication and intercourse with his fellow men as to entirely be without influence and power in determining finally the result of human achievement during his lifetime, and when this power is multiplied by the association of two millions of earnest, thoughtful, industrious, sober and thrifty men, each with his eye on the future, with his face set firmly to the front, marching shoulder to shoulder in an indomitable phalanx with his fellow workers, who will dare to undertake to compute or determine the far-reaching, overpowering influence of these men on the affairs of the world of which they are so great a part.

We are inclined to be impatient of achievement, fretting and chafing when delayed by one or another of the obstacles we encounter in our efforts to advance, and because of this we often fail to fully appreciate the accomplishment that comes as a result of our united effort.

The year just closed was one of abnormal business and industrial conditions, and labor suffered by reason of the restricted output resultant on the disturbance incident to world conditions, yet we find the closing months of the year full of promise, big with possibilities and inviting all to a renewal of confidence and endeavor. Such decreases as are shown in Secretary Morrison's report for the year are incidental to the depressed conditions and not chargeable to any failure of organized labor either in purpose or effort. The care which Secretary Morrison has bestowed upon his office during the year is reflected in his report. The services he has been able to render to the officers and members of the various affiliated organizations are too numerous to be detailed, but have been fully appreciated by those directly affected.

Your committee desires to congratulate Secretary Morrison on another year of faithful service.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Treasurer's Report.

On page 47 of the Executive Council's report, Treasurer Lennon in making his annual report to the American Federation of Labor confines himself to the mathematical coldness of expression possible in a balance sheet. He sums up his service with a statement that during twenty-six years as treasurer he has handled \$3,377,438.49 of the money of the American Federation of Labor.

It is not possible within the limits of this committee's report to review the history of Treasurer Lennon's connection with the American Federation of Labor, or his services as a member of its Executive Committee, nor would your committee presume to place a money value on the service performed during those years by Treasurer Lennon, realizing that if it were to be expressed in dollars and cents the figures would amount to many times the sum of three million dollars.

The accounts of the Secretary and the Treasurer have been reported on to you by the Auditing Committee and your present committee must be content with merely commending these officers for their fidelity, their punctuality and their accuracy.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

History of the A. F. of L. Departments.

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that these histories be published during the coming year in the American Federationist, and we would further recommend that whenever funds for the purpose are available that the histories be reprinted in pamphlet form for distribution.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Gompers in the chair.

Colorado Mine Workers.

Under this caption will be found an analytical review of the case of the Colorado mine workers, together with references to articles discussing it in

detail, published in the American Federationist since March, 1914, up to and including November, 1915.

This case has been reported on to the convention by the Executive Council and your committee for the last three years, and the end is not yet. However, conditions that did prevail in the Colorado mining districts seem to have been ameliorated in some degree, if not actually improved. The farcical trial of John B. Lawson on a charge of constructive murder was so impudent in all its aspects as to shock a world whose sensibilities had already been somewhat deadened by reason of events transpiring in Colorado under the pretense of maintaining law and order. The protest aroused by the result of that travesty on justice was such as to bring to the powers behind the government of Colorado a realizing sense of the dangerous path along which they were proceeding and caused them to, for the time at least, abandon the pursuit of their victim. John R. Lawson has been admitted to bail pending the disposition of his appeal from the proceedings and sentence in Judge Hillyer's court, with every reason to hope that the higher court will reverse the action there taken, and that Lawson will be given the justice that is his right. In the meantime, Judge Hillyer has been debarred by order of the Supreme Court of Colorado from proceeding any further with the cases growing out of the Colorado strike, and the accused to be brought to trial will be heard before courts wherein justice may be expected.

Another development growing out of this industrial struggle marks a decided change in the attitude of one of the foremost representatives of the money power. Whether or not the union of the employees in the mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company will secure the rights of those men, or will have the effect of making them more certain in the enjoyment of the privileges of free men need not at this time be discussed. The point is that the granting even of the questionable right to organize into the isolated and perhaps ineffective union that has been formed by these employees is significant of a change of heart on the part of a man who had reasoned himself into the remarkable position of believing that he

alone should determine for good or evil the conditions and circumstances under which his employees should toil. That John D. Rockefeller, Jr., should even thus remotely acknowledge the rights of men to associate themselves together for the accomplishment of a common purpose, to present their common grievances, or to further their common interests is a victory for the principle of organized labor much wider than is generally appreciated.

We commend the Executive Council for the attention it has given this case during the year, and recommend that it continue its watchfulness in this direction to the end that so far as possible the best interests of labor in the premises may be fully conserved and protected.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Hatters' Case.

Under the above caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a synoptical review of the proceedings in the case of Lawlor against Loewe and the part that has been played by the Executive Council in the proceedings. The comment of the Executive Council in the closing paragraph of this section of its report is commended because of the brevity and clarity with which it states the position of the American Federation of Labor. We commend the action of the Executive Council in dealing with this important matter during the year just closed.

In this connection your committee considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 144—By the delegates of the United Hatters of North America:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States enacted certain legislation known as the Sherman Anti-Trust law, which was intended to apply to combinations of capital and not to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Sherman Anti-Trust law is also applicable to labor organizations, as shown in their decision in the Danbury Hatters' case; and

WHEREAS, Under this decision the bank accounts of 186 members of the United Hatters of North America, the savings of a lifetime, have already been taken from them, and within the next two months their homes will also be

taken away, although they were never charged with any crime other than that they belonged to a labor organization, nor was it intimated that they participated in any strike or lockout; on the contrary it was openly stated in court by Mr. Loewe and the attorneys for the Anti-Boycott Society that the selection of the defendants was based on ownership of property and not on conduct from which the plaintiffs claim to have suffered injury; and

WHEREAS, The National Association of Manufacturers, through the Anti-Boycott Society, was determined to get the courts to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust law to the organizations of labor, and the fight made against the members of the United Hatters of North America was not against the hatters alone, but against all organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, The decision of the Supreme Court against the members of the United Hatters was largely instrumental in securing the passage of the Clayton bill, which prevents such suits in the future, and is of inestimable value to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges its support to the 186 defendants whose savings of a lifetime are about to be taken from them, thereby leaving them homeless and penniless, and make provisions to raise sufficient funds by assessment or otherwise as will indemnify the defendants for the loss of their homes and savings.

The situation in which the individual members of the United Hatters of North America, whose homes and life-time savings are threatened by the unrelenting rapacity of the American Anti-Boycott Association, which has masqueraded behind the name of D. Loewe and Co. through all this long and bitter struggle, must appeal most potently to our deeper sympathies. We have watched with admiration the patience with which these men have contested in court to save their little property from the greed of those who are now about to clutch it from the grasp of its owners. The offense of these victims of a perversion of the law is that they were members of a trade union and had through thrift and industry laid by a little substance of wealth against the years which have now overtaken them, when they are no longer able to work. When the enemies of organized labor began their desperate onslaught against the United Hatters of North America, a few were singled out from among the affiliated organizations as the ones to bear the brunt of the

test. These men were picked by the vulpine lawyers as the ones whose sacrifice would render the greatest return in cash.

Now that they have exhausted their last remedy at law and are lying prone and helpless at the feet of the victor they look in vain for mercy from those who have pursued them with such tenacious malice and vindictive purpose. The struggle just terminated was not in vain, for from it comes the enactment into the Clayton law of the principle whose application will remove the menace of the attack that has stripped these Hatters of Danbury.

While your committee is in hearty sympathy and full accord with the spirit of the resolution offered in this case, it does not believe that conditions at this time are such as to warrant asking this convention, nor does it believe this convention has the power, to take the extraordinary step of levying an assessment through its affiliated bodies on the membership of the American labor movement. In lieu of such an assessment your committee would recommend that this convention authorize and instruct the Executive Council to send out a notice and appeal to all affiliated international and national unions, and through them to their local unions, and to the state, county and city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions, apprising them of the present predicament of these Hatters at Danbury, Connecticut, and urging upon each member of organized labor who is employed on the.....day of January, 1916, that he donate his earnings of one hour to a fund for the relief of the Hatters who are being despoiled of their property by the American Anti-Boycott Association, and in order that this donation may be made at a uniform hour your committee would suggest that for daylight workers the hour between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and for night workers the hour between nine and ten o'clock at night on the day designated by the Executive Council be set apart as the hour to be donated for the purpose herein set forth.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers: Is the fund that is to be collected through the appeal of the American Federation

of Labor to be distributed by a committee of the Hatters or a committee of the American Federation of Labor?

Chairman McCullough: That is a matter of detail. I suggest that we go along with the reference to the Executive Council, and that the Council provide for the details of the matter.

Delegate Woll: If the report is to be understood in that light it meets with my approval. I wish to utter a word of caution; the labor movement will not try to pay the fine in this case, but will permit the Hatters to administer the relief in such a way that the manufacturers will not obtain any of the money.

Delegate Smith, Portland: The Theatrical Federation, Stage Employees, Moving Picture Operators, Engineers and Bill Posters of Portland have declared a strike on a local theatre. The management of the theatre has brought suit for damages against the Central Labor Council, that approved the strike. It is a purely local matter. What bearing has the amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law on a situation of that sort?

President Gompers stated that the Clayton Act applied to interstate matters and would have no bearing on the matter referred to by the delegate. He referred to the declaration of the Philadelphia Convention urging the labor movement in the various states to endeavor to secure legislation based upon the principles of the Clayton Act.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.) suggested that the hour for which day workers would contribute their wages be from 11 to 12 in the forenoon, as many of the men in the street and electric railway service complete their day's work before 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Suggestions were made by Delegate Altman and Vice-President Perham as to the hour to be selected that would meet the conditions of their trades.

Delegate Cannon suggested that there were organizations that worked two or three days a week, and the report might provide that they contribute their wages for a certain hour on the first day they would work during that week.

President Gompers stated that the committee wished to concentrate thought upon the hour and the day, and if workers who did not work during that particular hour wished to contribute

they could do so; that it was entirely voluntary.

Délegate Miller (O.) spoke of the irregular hours worked by musicians and the difficulty of fixing a time at which they could all contribute.

From the various suggestions offered the committee finally recommended that the report provide that the contribution be for the second hour of any shift worked on Thursday, January 27, 1916.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted as amended.

Detective Agencies and Pseudo Employment Offices.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a report of the action taken in pursuance of resolutions No. 7 and No. 68 of the Philadelphia Convention. This report is an exhaustive résumé of the activities of the several detective agencies and pseudo employment offices, together with some explanation of their methods of working, which will afford valuable information to all who are not thoroughly familiar with the operations of these organized strike-breaking agencies. The report also suggests the remedies that may be applied, together with the text of the law of Illinois dealing with employment agencies and detective bureaus, also legislation introduced into Congress at its last session, and finally the conclusions of the special committee appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to study, investigate and make report, with a model form for a law proposed by the Executive Council.

We heartily commend the Executive Council for its activity in this connection, and recommend that the delegates to this body familiarize themselves with the contents of the special report in order that they may be prepared to take proper action in connection therewith.

In connection with this your committee has considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate T. V. O'Connor and John Kean, of the International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, There are many so-called detective agencies whose sole business is the supplying of strikebreakers in industrial disputes; and

WHEREAS, Many of the strikebreakers thus secured by the so-called detective

agencies, are unskilled aliens, ignorant of our language and customs; and

WHEREAS, Their ignorance and lack of knowledge of the work they are forced to do, often results in accidents fatal not only to themselves, but to the public at large; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the International Longshoremen's Convention in session assembled that we urge our delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to protest against this nefarious system, to the end that some legislative measures be undertaken by the American Federation of Labor to do away with this nefarious system.

The committee recommends concurrence with the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Report on the Dick Military Law.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found report of the action taken by the Executive Council taken in pursuance of instructions from the Philadelphia Convention.

Your committee desires to commend and endorse the action and report of the Executive Council on this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Panama Canal Rules and Regulations.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found the report of the proceedings of the Executive Council in pursuance of resolutions introduced in the Philadelphia Convention.

We commend and endorse the action of the Executive Council in this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Anti-Trust and Injunction Limitation Legislation.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a statement of the efforts made by the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee to secure legislation for the purpose of preventing the use of the Federal funds to prosecute organizations of wage-earners under the anti-trust laws. This report very clearly tells its purpose and we commend the action of the Executive Council in again bringing it before the membership.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Minimum Wages for Federal Employees.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a memorandum of the effort made to secure the adoption by Congress of H. R. 16541 by Representative Gorman of Illinois, in conformity with resolution No. 99 of the Philadelphia convention, presented by the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

We endorse and commend the activity of the Executive Council and Legislative Committee in connection with this bill and recommend that they be instructed to continue their efforts to secure the enactment of a law covering the ground and providing the remedies proposed by the so-called Gorman bill.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Prevention of Accidents Among Longshoremen.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found a record of the activities of the Executive Council in conformity with Resolutions Nos. 109 and 114, adopted by the Philadelphia convention.

We commend and endorse the work of the Executive Council in pursuit of these resolutions and recommend that it be instructed to continue its activity along these lines.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Prohibit New York Boat Owners From Compelling Captains' Families to Live on Boats and Barges.

Under the above caption in the Executive Council's report will be found report of the action taken by the Executive Council in conformity to the provisions of Resolution No. 107 of the Philadelphia convention.

We endorse the steps taken by the Executive Council and commend its activities in this matter and recommend that it be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the legislation requested to provide the relief sought.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Citizenship for Porto Ricans.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found reference to H. R. 14866 and the efforts of the

Executive Council to have it enacted into law. The failure of Congress to pass this bill makes it necessary to renew the effort to provide reasonable relief for conditions in the Island of Porto Rico, that are rapidly becoming intolerable. The social and economic conditions of the inhabitants of this Island are such as can be nowhere else found under the government of the United States and the longer continuance of these people in the position of dependence under the government of which they are a part is a perpetuation of an injustice for which all good Americans must blush for lack of reasonable excuse.

We recommend that the Executive Council and Legislative Committee be instructed to use all due diligence in their efforts to secure the passage of a law that will grant citizenship to the people of Porto Rico.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws.

Under this caption the Executive Council deals with various efforts made to secure the passage of legislation dealing with the condition of unemployment. It also recommends that a special committee be appointed by this convention to study the subject and make a report of its conclusions and recommendations.

Your committee desires to commend the action of the Executive Council in dealing with this important matter and recommends that the special committee asked for be named by this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Teamsters in Postoffice Employ.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a reference to the action taken during the year, under instructions from the Philadelphia convention, directing that the efforts commenced under Resolution No. 54 of the Seattle convention be continued.

We note with pleasure that the Executive Council reports the likelihood that the evils complained of will eventually adjust themselves without the need of specific legislation. We approve and endorse the activities of the Executive Council in connection with this matter

and recommend that it continue its efforts along the line of adjusting the situation to the end that the occasion for complaint be fully removed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Locomotive Inspectors.

In the Executive Council's report under this caption is given information concerning efforts to secure proper legislation to extend the locomotive inspection from the boilers to the engine and tenders of locomotives used in interstate commerce.

Your committee desires to commend the activity of the Executive Council in this connection and to endorse its action in connection therewith.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Impeachments.

In the Executive Council's report will be found references to the outcome of the impeachment charges made against Judge Alston D. Dayton of the Federal bench of the Northern District of West Virginia.

The outcome of this case, while different from what had probably been anticipated by many who had followed the course of Judge Dayton's conduct in dealing with matters presented to him involving the ordinary rights of man, shows very plainly the difficulties that arise when relief is sought from oppression or injustice through means now available. It is absolutely necessary to establish beyond peradventure of doubt the unfitness of a judge for his high position before it is possible to remove him from that position and thereby displace a constant menace. It is unfortunate that the "sweet reasonableness of the law" should be perverted or distorted through the very refinement of reason to the extent that the lay mind is no longer capable of following the thought but becomes lost and bewildered in the maze of syllogistic propositions laid down by those skillful jugglers of phrases who find their pleasure in debating legal points rather than in adjusting human rights.

We concur heartily with the comment of the Executive Council on this case and endorse its expressions without reserve.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Agricultural Credit Legislation.

In the Executive Council's report, under this caption, will be found reference to the matter designated together with the names of the Congressional Joint Committee which is charged with the duty of examining into the question and making report to the next session of Congress.

Your committee does not believe that it is either wise or expedient for this convention to make recommendation of a definite plan for the basis of securing rural credit. The several plans that have been presented for general consideration possess each its own distinctive quality of merit and while we believe that legislation of a national character to secure the funds for the extension of rural credits, in order that farm operations may be carried on with the least possible expense and with the greatest avoidance of hindrance, to the end that producer and consumer will be brought closer together and on terms that are mutually advantageous, we believe that national conditions vary so widely with the several sections of the country that it would be unfair, if not actually dangerous to undertake to prescribe one system or plan for the guidance and control of all.

We would, therefore, recommend that the matter of rural credits aside from the enactment of a general law to govern the fundamentals be left to the determination of the different sections or States for the carrying out of the matter in detail, until such time as experience shall have determined what, if any, is the better course to pursue to insure the rights and properly safeguard the interests of all.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Summary of Legislative Measures of Interest to Labor Which Failed to Pass During Last Session of Congress.

In the Executive Council's report, under this caption, will be found a list of fifteen measures in which labor is directly concerned and more or less vitally interested which failed to pass at the last Congress.

While we share with the Executive

Council in its expression of regret at the failure of these measures, we realize that it was through no lack of earnest effort on the part of the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee that the desired result was not achieved. We congratulate the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee most cordially on the fact that measures of the utmost importance, vital in the highest degree to the interest and advancement of the cause of organized labor were enacted into law through the efforts of the Executive Council and that labor in general has and will greatly benefit thereby.

We commend the activities of the Executive Council in connection with these matters and recommend that it renew immediately on the commencement of the coming Congress its effort to secure the passage of these measures so far as they are yet available.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Carpenters—Brewery Workers.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a copy of the agreement entered into between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, which agreement has the effect of adjusting and settling a jurisdictional difference between the organizations concerned.

We congratulate these organizations on this removal of a cause for friction and commend the Executive Council for the part it had in bringing about this desirable result.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Cigarmakers—Stogiemakers.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a brief reference to the amalgamation between the Cigarmakers and Stogiemakers and the removal of all causes of difference or dissension between these two organizations.

Your committee desires to congratulate the members directly affected by this amalgamation and to wish for them all possible success in their new relations. We commend the activity of the Executive Council in carrying out the recommendations of the conventions which dealt with this matter.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Corcoran, West Virginia State Federation: Having been a member of the Stogiemakers' organization for fourteen years, and having participated in the fights on the floor of the American Federation of Labor conventions in Rochester and Seattle, I feel I would be an ingrate if I were to let this opportunity pass without saying to the American Federation of Labor that the reason the Stogiemakers agreed to amalgamate was owing to the fact that those two conventions treated the matter fairly and gave the Stogiemakers an opportunity to present their case; and to the further efforts put forth after those conventions by the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor, who participated in the conference that brought about the amalgamation. The Stogiemakers to-day are working eight hours a day, are satisfied with the terms of the agreement, and feel that through the amalgamation both organizations will benefit and be

able to organize the many thousands of unorganized stogiemakers and cigarmakers.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Proposed Miners' Amalgamation Failed.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found a reference to the failure to bring about amalgamation between the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America. As this case is one which concerns directly only the two organizations involved, your committee desires to join with the Executive Council in its expression that "we submit that there can be no criticisms on our part or the part of any one of the course pursued by those most vitally interested."

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to 2:00 p. m. of the same day.

EIGHTH DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:00 p. m. Wednesday, November 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kramer, O'Brien, Proebstle, Rader, Barnes, Christman, Brock, Letroadec, Leary, Slisaman, Carey, Triggs, Baker, Morris, Clark, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Hansen, Coffey, Cozzolino, Harris, Jennings, Hart, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Leber, Reagan, Severance, Sleeman, Camomile, Castro, Kraneffeld, Fletcher, Woodmansee, Dean, Triska, Milton, Bomar, Holm, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Joss, Riley (T. G.), Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

San Francisco, November 17, 1915.

Frank Morrison,

Secretary American Federation of Labor, San Francisco.

Dear Mr. Morrison:

Please extend to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor a cordial invitation to visit the Safety Museum of the Industrial Accident Commission. This museum is located in room 209 in the Underwood Building at 525 Market street, San Francisco. We have a large number of exhibits showing safety devices and plans for preventing industrial accidents, and the Safety Department of the Commission is actively engaged in reducing the

death and accident lists in the industries in California.

With best wishes to the delegates, I remain,

Faternally yours,

WILL J. FRENCH,
Commissioner.

The Secretary read communications from the Mayor of the City of Buffalo, the President of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce and the Hotel Keepers' Association, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Buffalo, New York.

The local committee announced that the Label Section of the San Francisco Labor Council would meet this (Wednesday) evening in the Labor Council Temple, Sixteenth and Capp streets, and that all delegates of label unions were especially invited to attend.

The Secretary read a communication from the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Aerie No. 5, extending an invitation to all visiting brothers to visit a meeting to be held Friday evening at 8 o'clock in Eagles' Hall.

A communication was read from Joseph T. Duffy, Vice-President of the

Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' International Union, inviting all the officers and delegates to attend a smoker and entertainment to be given this (Wednesday) evening at 8:30 p. m. in the Knights of Columbus Hall by San Francisco Bricklayers' Union No. 7.

President Gompers: The chair would ask whether the convention would consider it appropriate for the Committee on Education to report to the convention sometime this afternoon a correction of the statements that appeared in one of the morning papers. If it meets with the approval of the convention, that committee will draft a correction and ask for its publication.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.): I move that the Committee on Education be instructed by this convention to have such corrections made. (Seconded and carried.)

Treasurer Lennon: I move that the Committee on Education be requested to submit to this convention a definition of the terms "unit system" and "dual systems" of education. There are two dual systems and only one of the other.

Delegate Woll: The committee has not attempted to define the various systems that may be styled "dual systems," but it has expressed its viewpoint as to the "unit system" and I do not know that we could add much to what we have in the report.

The motion offered by Treasurer Lennon was carried.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate McCullough, chairman of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Wm. F. Quesse, of the Chicago Flat Janitors' Union Local 14332:

WHEREAS, The federal and local labor unions in the building service line, such as elevator conductors and starters, janitors, janitresses, scrub-women, watchmen, window washers, porters and other kindred crafts, at the present time are unable to properly protect their interests; and

WHEREAS, There is a large field to organize the wage workers in these crafts in every city where there are office and apartment buildings or theaters; and

WHEREAS, With the amalgamation of these locals they can better safeguard their interests and extend their organizations to new fields; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor grant them an international charter, subject to the laws and constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and that the Secretary be instructed to call a convention of all the locals interested in the city of Chicago during the month of January, 1916, for the purpose of forming an international union of the Building Service Employees of America.

Chairman McCullough: Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that it make the necessary investigation and if it be found that the proposed international organization can be formed without violating or infringing upon the jurisdictional rights of other affiliated bodies, and it deems such action wise and expedient and for the best interest of all concerned, that it grant the charter requested for the formation of the International Union of Building Service Employees of America.

The report of the committee was adopted.

International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers—Seceding Local Unions.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a report of the efforts made during the year to bring about the amalgamation of the seceding locals with the affiliated International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union in conformity with the resolution of the Philadelphia Convention.

Your committee regrets to note that this effort failed. However, we commend the action of the Executive Council taken under the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, and endorse the efforts made to secure the carrying out in full of the purport of that decision.

In this connection your committee has considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor appointed a special committee to investigate the situation affecting the Brick and Clay Workers, and after a thorough investigation the committee reported in part as follows:

"Since Feb. 1, 1915, a mass of new evidence has been introduced that shows the officers of the international union are not giving their best effort, as all true union leaders should, towards bettering the conditions of labor or increas-

ing the wages of the men employed in the brick and clay industry. We find from the evidence introduced, that the United Brick and Clay Workers of America has made steady progress since Feb. 1, 1915, even though denied recognition by the American Federation of Labor. We find that these union brick and clay workers are working honestly and earnestly for recognition from the American labor movement, so that they may prosper under the guidance and protection of the American Federation of Labor. We feel that if the American Federation of Labor is desirous of having a good, true, loyal, progressive Brick and Clay Workers' Union, they should grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America, or allow state and city central bodies to give them recognition so that the unorganized clay workers can be organized and no obstructions placed in the path of progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor request the American Federation of Labor to reopen the Brick Makers' secession dispute, make a thorough investigation, and if conditions exist such as the evidence submitted shows to exist, grant a charter to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we comply with the request made upon us by the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and that inasmuch as all parties concerned are present in this city, that a special committee be appointed to meet immediately for the purpose of hearing whatever evidence and information placed before it, and to report back to this convention any recommendation or action, which in their judgment will conserve and advance the best interests of the labor movement.

Your committee heard the parties at interest to this case, and recommends non-concurrence in the resolution. We would further recommend that the decision of the Philadelphia convention in this case be reaffirmed and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor lend its assistance in whatever manner it may to the end that a complete amalgamation of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union and the seceding local unions may be brought about.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Walker (J. H.), in discussing the report of the committee, said in part: The recommendation of the committee is to the effect that the action of the Philadelphia convention be reaffirmed and that the Executive Council use what efforts it may to bring about a complete reaffiliation of those local unions. I am not quite sure what the intent is,

but if that means that the Executive Council will make an investigation where there is dissatisfaction, that they will try to bring about an adjustment of the differences between those men and the international on a basis of fairness and in keeping with the precepts of the labor movement, I would not have any objection to it, because I do not think the Executive Council would be a party to anything that would be an injustice to those men. However, if it means that the Executive Council is simply to use its influence to drive these men back into the international organization, leaving the international in its present status, I feel the right thing is not being done and the chances are that the local officers, and particularly those connected with the organizations chartered by the American Federation of Labor, who are located in the district where these disputes are in existence, will be asked—and I presume the State Federation of Illinois will be asked—under penalty of the American Federation of Labor, to drive those men back into the organization.

Delegate Walker spoke at some length on conditions existing in Illinois in the brick-making industry, and recited an incident that occurred at Murphysboro, Illinois, where an officer of the international union referred to made a contract with the brick company for its employees, without consulting the men as to its terms, which contract retained the old scale of wages, conditions of employment and customs, the contract to run for five years. He stated that under the contract the men were not given the right to take up grievances or make any effort to adjust them with the company and could be discharged at the discretion of the company; that the men rebelled, repudiated the agreement, left the international and joined the other locals that were outside of the international; that then under a new agreement for a shorter term they were given an increase in wages, shorter hours and the right to have their grievances taken up and adjusted. He stated that in the agreement made by the international officers the dues and initiation fees were to be paid by the company.

In closing, Delegate Walker said: I do not want to go contrary to the dictates

of the American labor movement; I would much rather go along, much rather do almost anything than refuse to agree with your decision here, but if you take action that requires me to ask men to turn themselves over to that kind of machinery, I will refuse to do it, no matter what the consequences may be. I believe provision should be made for an investigation on the ground to learn the actual conditions, and I hope no action will be taken that will appear to be an endorsement of the wrongs that have been done to those men. I feel if you take the action contemplated, you will do an injustice to those men and create a weakness in the movement of that State.

Delegate Butterworth, Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers, in discussing the report of the committee, said in part: We freely admit that a mistake was made in Murphysboro; that perhaps it was not good policy. We have made efforts for years to organize the Murphysboro plant, organizers of the American Federation of Labor had made efforts to organize it, as the plant was in an important strategic locality for our organization. The local people in Murphysboro, the central bodies, and especially a volunteer organizer of the American Federation of Labor, practically camped on the job for two years in an effort to organize the men. They discovered, as we had, that the men could not be organized without the consent of the company. Unless that plant was organized it would be almost impossible to organize other plants in that neighborhood. Our secretary, Mr. Van Bodegraven, went to Murphysboro, and the proposition was made to him that the company would employ members of our organization, run a union plant and give us an opportunity to boost the label in that part of the State, but they were not willing to bind themselves to pay additional wages and give shorter hours at that time, but verbally made that agreement. They promised that from time to time they would raise wages. The situation was that we had either to accept the agreement as presented or let the men go unorganized. We did not know the company was paying dues. They signed a check-off agreement and later on we received a communication from the secretary of the union that the company had been al-

lowing them a sufficient increase to pay their dues. I am opposed to anything like that.

Delegate Butterworth discussed briefly the injury that had been done the international union by the secession movement, stating that at the time the locals seceded the organization was in a better condition than it had ever been in its existence previous to that time; that it had a good treasury, and was in position to accomplish something for the men. He referred to the action taken by the Seattle and Philadelphia Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and urged that the report of the committee be adopted as read.

Delegate Abrahams, Chelsea, Mass., Central Labor Union, stated that he hoped the convention would do nothing to encourage secessionist or dual organizations, as they were a menace to every national and international organization represented in the convention.

Chairman McCullough, in defending the report of the committee said in part: The committee, in giving consideration to this matter, found its possible action circumscribed by the laws and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and was therefore moved, if not compelled, to report on the matter in conformity with those laws and convention proceedings. It is not a question of the sympathy of the members of the committee with the condition of the brick-workers at Murphysboro; it is not a question of the nature of the contract that was made and then repudiated by those workers; nor is it a question of the relations between the seceding locals, their grievances against their international, and the international itself. The proper place and the only place where the brick-workers can secure remedial action, can obtain the relief they seek, is in the organization from which they seceded, and no matter how they feel today or will feel tomorrow, or how they felt yesterday, in the final analysis, before they can have any harmony, before they can obtain the conditions they seek, they will have to go back to the international union and begin their work for reform there. The committee had that fact and that fact alone before it.

Chairman McCullough stated that the request of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was that the matter be re-

opened for hearing the introduction of new evidence; that the new evidence was placed before the committee; that it was not entirely disregarded by the committee, but they felt it could not be properly considered in connection with the main fact; that even had the evidence been produced before the Philadelphia Convention it would not have affected the decision there, for no matter how much the convention might disapprove of the acts of affiliated organizations or their officers, the American Federation of Labor has no right to inquire into their internal affairs; that such a right belongs solely and exclusively to the membership of the affiliated organizations.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation of Labor, in discussing the matter said in part: When we were before the committee we were asked if, by complying with the request of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, they would nullify or set aside any of the previous decisions or actions of the convention, and we answered that they would not, that all decisions of the conventions and Executive Council in this matter would stand against the people who are outside of the international union; but if a committee of this organization had found it was necessary to change its policy on that particular question, then that committee might make such recommendations as would conserve and protect and advance the best interest of the labor movement. That is the request of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; it is not asking you to go contrary to any previous decision or action.

Delegate Fitzpatrick spoke briefly of a conference in which he represented the American Federation of Labor and which was attended by President Gompers, when an effort was made to settle the strife in the brick-makers' organizations. He stated that in a convention held in Blue Island the officers of the international had been elected for a period of one year, and through some referendum action taken they had fastened themselves on the organization for a number of years and the membership had no chance or opportunity to vote upon it, and because they would not consent to reconsider that action the program of the conference could not be carried out. Delegate Fitzpatrick spoke

at some length of the effect upon the labor movement of his State of the troubles existing in the organizations of the brick-workers.

Delegate Wilson (Jas.) spoke at some length in support of the report of the committee and stated that if grievances such as the one under consideration were adjusted it would have to be done within the organizations and not on the outside after locals had seceded. He stated he was opposed to the convention taking any action that would lead in any way to a recognition of the right of men to secede from their organizations because they were dissatisfied with prevailing conditions.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.), spoke of his experience with secession movements in the organization of the teamsters, and argued that if the report of the committee should be defeated it would encourage the dual movements in the teamsters' organizations and other organizations to remain outside. He stated that the question under consideration, and similar questions in regard to other organizations, had been brought in by delegates of city central bodies or State federations and not by representatives of international unions. He urged the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland, defended the action of representatives of city central bodies and state federations in bringing up questions such as the one under consideration, referred to a secession movement in which he had taken part in the Electrical Workers, and urged that some court of appeals be provided to which aggrieved members can go prior to seceding.

President Gompers, in speaking on the subject, said in part: On Labor Day I was in Marion, Illinois, when a committee of the Brick Makers' Union of Murphysboro came to see me. They showed me a copy of the agreement to which reference has been made. I felt astonished that any organization would ever enter an agreement of such a character. I took a copy of the agreement to Washington and submitted it to the Executive Council. The Executive Council expressed its views upon the agreement very strongly. I did not hesitate to express my own feeling and judgment regarding the agreement. By direction of the Council, I addressed a

letter to the officers of that organization. I received a reply from Mr. Butterworth, who has addressed the convention upon the subject. He expressed himself in the reply as he did upon this floor—that he regretted deeply that such an agreement had been entered into, and hoped the subject-matter would not be brought to this convention. While the matter is referred to in the report of the Executive Council it does not deal with it in such a way as would cast a reflection upon the organization. As stated by Delegate Fitzpatrick, I helped in the endeavor to bring about a reaffiliation of the locals to the international. The effort did not prove a success. I will call the attention of both Delegate Fitzpatrick and Delegate Walker to the part of the report of the committee which says that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will lend its assistance in whatever manner it may to the end that a complete amalgamation of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Union and the seceding unions may be brought about. If I understand the judgment of my associates of the Executive Council, if this declaration is passed by the convention it will mean what it says, that an effort will be made to bring about an amalgamation, and if the intentions of the seceding locals are fair, open and aboveboard if the intentions of the international union officers are honest, open, and aboveboard, it is more than likely the Executive Council will exert its efforts and energies to carry out the purpose as expressed by the recommendation of the committee. After all, not only secession but every activity of a union is interpreted by the intent, and if there be the intent to get together upon an honest and honorable basis, then you will find the Executive Council doing its level best to accomplish that fact. So far as I am concerned, if I am permitted to aid in that work, that assistance will be given.

Delegate Walker: With the interpretation of the report of the committee given by the President, I have not a particle of objection to it; the only feeling I have in the matter is if possible to bring about an amalgamation and consolidation of that organization that

will be for the best interests of the movement.

Delegate Walker replied briefly to statements made by previous speakers in regard to the membership of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted, 152 votes being cast in the affirmative and none in the negative.

Application of Retail Clerks for a Change of Title.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a paragraph dealing with the request of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association for a change of name and charter and the extension of jurisdiction.

After hearing the arguments presented by the representatives of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, your committee is of the opinion that the claims for jurisdiction under the proposed change of name and charter are too broad, and that should they be granted would inevitably result in a multiplication of jurisdictional disputes and a greater confusion in the trades-union movement.

Your committee would recommend that the officers of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association revise their jurisdictional claims along lines which will avoid the complications, and we would further recommend that the Executive Council be requested to assist them if necessary in so adjusting their charter that they may be enabled to secure the advantages they seek under their new basis for organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics.

In the Executive Council's report under the caption Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics will be found a report on the efforts made by the Executive Council to secure compliance by the unions interested with the decision of the Seattle convention which was endorsed by the Philadelphia convention. The Executive Council in a supplemental report, which is part of the proceedings of this convention, calls attention to the fact that the California State Building Trades Council did lately unseat the representatives of the Carpet Mechanics' Local of

San Francisco. The matter is submitted by the Executive Council to the convention for its further consideration and recommendation.

Your committee would recommend a renewal of the instructions of the Philadelphia convention and Seattle convention that the Executive Council use its utmost endeavors to secure the affiliation of the dual organizations in San Francisco and Portland with the Up-holsters' International Union, to the end that a condition which has been of great disturbing influence for several years be removed, and your committee in passing desires to again call the attention of the delegates to this convention, and especially to those delegates who represent the state, county and city central bodies, to the language employed in the report of the Adjustment Committee to the Rochester convention, in which the declaration of the Scranton convention was reaffirmed, and which report was reaffirmed by the Seattle convention. It is of the utmost importance, and emphasis cannot be too strongly laid upon the duty of the subordinate bodies, state, county or city, to co-operate cheerfully and at all times to carry out so far as is possible the expressions of the American Federation of Labor as coming from the convention. Sympathy with the members of a dual or seceding organization should not be allowed to go to the extreme of permitting those organizations to take part in the deliberations of the organizations that are legally represented. Grievances that exist can be more readily righted, evils can be more easily removed and difficulties more promptly remedied through the regular orderly course of procedure than through secession or rebellion, and when the membership of the local unions appreciate the fact that the success of the organizations whose affiliation makes up the American Federation of Labor has been achieved because they have pursued an orderly, regulated, reasonable course in their efforts to attain their ends, the quicker they will come to that point where they will be of service to themselves and to the movement as a whole.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Firemen-Engineers.

In the Executive Council's report is recorded the action taken by the President of the American Federation of Labor in conformity with the recommendation of the Philadelphia Convention and the efforts made to secure a better understanding between the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers regarding the jurisdictional control of these separate organizations. The President reports requesting these organizations to name committees for the purpose of formulating a working agreement which shall govern the organizations.

We commend and endorse the action of the President in this matter.

In this connection your committee considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 150—By Delegates
Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton and William Brennan of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, By order of the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 14-26, 1910, the following agreement was made and ratified, John R. Alpine representing the American Federation of Labor (as taken from page 306 of those proceedings):

AGREEMENT.

"Agreement entered into this 25th day of November, 1910, between the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, to the end that in the creation of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned and the respective employers thereof, better understandings may prevail and the best interests of all be more generally protected. It is mutually agreed by the subscribers hereto that if the following plan is faithfully adhered to by the organizations at interest it will serve to effectually remove any and all disputes that have heretofore existed, or that may arise in the future, and we guarantee to carry into effect the full spirit and intent of this agreement mutually entered into.

"Section 1. The International Union of Steam Engineers and International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall, through the directions of their respective international officers, cause to be created where local unions of both organizations exist joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's inter-

ests and promoting the creation of joint agreements with their employers. This action shall be taken as soon as possible and not later than January 1, 1911.

"Section 2. It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organization herein mentioned with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, as well as assisting in the settlement of disputes of any nature that may arise.

"Section 3. In the event of disagreement between the conference boards already referred to, the international representatives of both organizations in dispute shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor to properly dispose of the same. In the event of failure with regard to settlement, the president of the American Federation of Labor shall appoint some member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to act as referee, and the latter's decision shall be final and binding on all parties to this agreement.

"Section 4. Since it is mutually agreed by both parties to this agreement that the question of agreements between the organizations herein mentioned and the employers thereof, as concerns the date of commencement and expiration of such agreements is primarily the cause for existing differences, it is therefore unanimously decided by the subscribers of this agreement that in the future, when creating new agreements with their employers, the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall make such agreements jointly, and these agreements shall be identical with regard to date of commencement and expiration.

"Section 5. It is also further agreed that both organizations shall assist each other in organizing steam plants, and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers who have the hiring of firemen, water tenders, oilers or helpers shall hire members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen wherever possible.

"MATT COMERFORD,

"JOHN L. McNAMARA,

"JOHN J. GLASS,

"JAMES G. HANNAHAN,

"International Union Steam Engineers.

"TIMOTHY HEALY,

"C. L. SHAMP,

"JOSEPH W. MORTON,

"International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"JOHN R. ALPINE,

"Representing American Federation of Labor.

"Vice-President Alpine: I move the adoption of the report of the committee and the ratification of the agreement. (Seconded and carried.)"

WHEREAS, At the St. Paul Convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers, held in September, 1912, that

organization changed its laws to take in firemen, water-tenders, boiler-washers, oilers and helpers, which class of men rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, and by so doing violated the above agreement with the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, made at the St. Louis Convention; and

WHEREAS, The Rochester Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 11-23, 1912, passed the following resolution, and the committee reported on this case as follows (as taken from pages 337 and 338 of those proceedings):

"Resolution 120: Whereas, The proceedings of the bi-annual convention of the International Union of Steam Engineers held at St. Paul, Minn., in September, 1912, shows that the aforesaid organization extended a claim for jurisdiction by change of title and also by amending Article XIX, Section 1, to read as follows:

"A candidate for membership in a local of the International Union of Steam Engineers must be a competent engineer or apprentice engineer. He shall possess a license in localities where such is required. When a candidate presents himself for membership and is out of employment, the local union shall be judge as to the wisdom of admitting him to membership"; and

"WHEREAS, From many localities complaints have been received from local unions of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen against the actions of the International Union of Steam Engineers for their infringements on the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen as granted by the American Federation of Labor in violation of Section 2 of Article II and Section 11 of Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the said action of the International Union of Steam Engineers was in direct violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and in conflict with the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen as granted by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam Engineers be and is hereby instructed to refrain from admitting to membership firemen, oilers, water-tenders, boiler-washers and firemen's helpers under the guise of apprentices, or any other term which may be applied to them, while employed at any of the above.

"The committee reported as follows: Section 2, Article IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that:

"No affiliated international, national, or local union shall be permitted to change its title or name if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization without having

first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"While the representatives of the Steam Engineers have assured your committee that it is not their intention to admit to membership anyone coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen without first having complied with the provisions of Section 2, Article IX, as quoted above, yet it is not denied that the constitution of the International Union of Steam Engineers has been so amended as to make eligible to membership therein as apprentices men now coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"In view of the plain provisions of the law, which requires that an organization must secure the consent of a convention of the American Federation of Labor before it shall have the right to extend its jurisdiction over the members of another affiliated organization, your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

"The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried"; and

WHEREAS, The Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 10-26, 1913, decided as follows on this question (as taken from page 303, Committee on Executive Council's report)

"Engineers—Change of Title.

"Under the caption of 'Engineers—Change of Title,' the Executive Council reports the action of the Engineers' organization changing its title so as to read 'International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers,' with the distinct understanding that this change was not for the purpose and should not give to that organization any extension of jurisdiction. Your committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council in this matter be approved.

"The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote."

And pages 334 and 335 of the Adjust-ment Committee's report:

"Secretary Golden: Your committee begs to report that the question of jurisdiction between the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the International Union of Steam Engineers has been the source of much discord and serious injury to both organizations; decisions have been rendered by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor which have defined, in concise and unmistakable terms, the jurisdiction of each. Notwithstanding this fact, the question of jurisdiction is still the cause of friction and of the further introduction of resolutions relating thereto. It is obvious to your committee, as it must be to the delegates to this convention, that if the greatest measure of progress is to be made by either, it is imperative that these organizations shall co-operate and shall work in harmony for the advancement of their members and the development of the organizations. Your committee has endeavored to impress upon the offi-

cers of both organizations the necessity and the advantage of such co-operation, and it is pleased to report that the prospect of harmonious co-operation between the Engineers and the Firemen is brighter now than it has been in the recent past.

"Your committee has been requested by representatives of both organizations to suggest a plan of action whereby harmony may be restored and co-operation secured. Your committee finds that some years ago an agreement did exist between these two organizations which, although since abrogated, might profitably be made the basis of a new understanding. With the hope that your committee may be correct in this opinion, it recommends:

"(1) That each organization shall faithfully and in a spirit of brotherhood observe the jurisdictional rights of the other, as they are laid down by the American Federation of Labor.

"(2) That as soon as possible after the adjournment of this convention the executive boards of these organizations meet in joint conference for the purpose of consummating an agreement along the following lines:

"The International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shall, through the direction of their respective international officers, cause to be created, where local unions of both organizations exist, joint local conference boards of equal representation, which shall meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, with the object in view of mutually protecting each other's interests and promoting the creation of joint agreements with their employers.

"It shall be the duty of these joint conference boards to assist the international officers of the organizations with regard to the creation of agreements between employer and employee, and to assist in the settlement of any internal or trade dispute that may arise.

"In the event of a disagreement between these conference boards, the international representatives of both organizations shall proceed to the scene of such dispute and endeavor properly to adjust it. In the event of failure with regard to the adjustment of any such dispute, the president of the American Federation of Labor should be authorized by this joint agreement to appoint some representative to act as mediator and, if necessary, to decide such internal questions of dispute.

"The agreement should further provide that wherever it is possible to do so contracts between employers and the unions should be made jointly, and should become effective and expire on the same dates.

"It should be further agreed that each organization shall assist the other in organizing all plants within its respective jurisdiction; all engineers, members of the engineers' union, who have authority to hire men whose work

comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen should be encouraged and urged by the officers and members of the International Union of Steam Engineers to employ members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

"Your committee further recommends, if agreeable to both organizations, a representative of the American Federation of Labor be selected by the Executive Council to assist in formulating an agreement along the lines recommended herein.

"The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote"; and

WHEREAS, Said joint conference was held, as called for by the Seattle convention, John B. Lennon representing the American Federation of Labor, and although the Seattle convention laid down lines for a working agreement, the engineers' representatives refused to enter into any agreement unless it carried with it a plan of amalgamation; therefore, no further agreement was entered into, and the matter was again taken up by the Philadelphia (Pa.) convention of the American Federation of Labor, held November 9-21, 1914, and the Adjustment Committee made the following report on the case, which was adopted (as taken from page 395 of those proceedings):

"Your committee is informed that a convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen is to be held August, 1915, in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. We recommend, therefore, that the president of the American Federation of Labor attend the above convention for the purpose of laying before the convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen the purpose and benefits of amalgamation, and the officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen are requested to extend an invitation to the president of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to be in attendance at that convention.

"In the meantime both organizations stand instructed not to trespass on the jurisdiction of each other, the jurisdiction to mean that which is recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

"The report of the committee was adopted;" and

WHEREAS, The international officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen instructed all their local unions to take up the matter of amalgamation at at least four different meetings of their organizations and discuss it so that every member of their local unions would have a chance to express his own opinion on it as he saw fit, and then for the local unions to instruct their delegates to the Cincinnati Convention on this question so that the entire views of their membership could be expressed at that convention, and in

no case did any of the international officers of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, or its organizers, try in any way to influence the membership on this question, but informed them that the opinions of the rank and file, free from any outside influence, was what was wanted; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers, and President Comerford of the Engineers, addressed the Cincinnati Convention, and the convention decided by unanimous vote not to amalgamate with the Engineers, and by the statements and arguments given by the delegates at that convention it was plain to see that amalgamation can never be successfully carried out by these two international unions, as it was clearly shown by the firemen from all parts of the country that in nearly every case an engineer has a right to hire and discharge and is the boss of the fireman, and in many cases the engineer contracts for a certain sum of money the whole job of operating the mechanical department of the plant of which he is engineer and hires his own help such as firemen, oilers and helpers, and no trade unionist wishes to be a member of the same union with his boss or contractor, and no one with the interest of the wage-worker at heart would insist on him doing so; and it was also clearly shown that in thousands of cases the firemen now have shorter hours and better pay than the engineers on other jobs. The firemen's convention then acted upon the suggestion of President Gompers, and elected a committee to meet with a like committee of the engineers for the purpose of establishing an agreement by which better conditions and co-operation of the mutual advantage of the engineers and firemen might be obtained; and

WHEREAS, The above is the action of the firemen's convention and previous conventions of the A. F. of L. on this subject, all of which have been ignored by the International Union of Steam Engineers, who never seemed to pay any attention to the laws of the American Federation of Labor or the guaranteed rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, waiting and expecting, it is supposed, to get some American Federation of Labor Convention which might render a favorable decision to them on this case and then no doubt they would respect it; and

WHEREAS, The engineers in many localities are taking firemen, oilers and helpers into their union on the threat that if the men don't join them they will lose their jobs, for the engineer is boss, and they also organized what they term apprentice engineers, composed of firemen, oilers and helpers, and these same men are working cheaper and longer hours for the purpose of displacing members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen; these facts have been clearly shown, especially in Detroit, Mich., where an investigation was made by the Detroit Federation of Labor; and such action on the part of the Engineers' Union not

only works a hardship on the members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, but are against the laws and rules of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers to withdraw the apprentice charters they have issued in the city of Detroit, Mich., and elsewhere, and to drop from their membership all persons employed as firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and helpers, and to not use the term "apprentice" to cover such tradesmen, and that they should appoint or elect a committee of three to meet a like committee of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, which is already elected, at the suggestion of President Gompers, to work out a working agreement on the lines laid down by either the St. Louis or the Seattle or this convention, so that the interests of both international unions will be promoted and the jurisdictional rights of each international be protected as defined by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, If the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers refuses to respect the jurisdiction rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, as already defined by the American Federation of Labor, and continues to take into membership firemen, oilers, water tenders, boiler washers and helpers under the guise of apprentices or any other term, as long as they are working at the above class of work, or if it refuses to make a working agreement, as referred to above, that its local unions be deprived of representation in the different State and city central bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor until such times as the International Union of Stationary and Operative Engineers agrees to respect the laws and carry out decisions of the American Federation of Labor.

The parties at interest having appeared before your committee and presented their case for the information of the committee, and it appearing that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has not as yet taken any step towards compliance with the instruction of the Committee on Adjustments to the Rochester Convention, and which report was adopted by that convention, and it appearing further that there is a trespass on the jurisdictional rights of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen at this time by the Engineers, your committee would, therefore, recommend that the Engineers again be instructed to take steps to comply with the decision of the Rochester Convention that they be instructed to revoke the charter of the dual organization of Firemen now existing in De-

troit and operating under a charter issued by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and we further recommend that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, at their earliest convenience, appoint committees to represent each organization party to this controversy with power to formulate a joint working agreement under which the members of the two international bodies may carry on their vocations without the one infringing on the jurisdictional rights of the other, and we would recommend that a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be designated by the President to lend such assistance as he may to these committees in their work of formulating the joint agreement.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Shamp, Stationary Firemen: I would like to ask the committee what notice they took of the cases where the engineers now have firemen in their organizations that they do not class as apprentice unions?

Chairman McCullough: I think that is fairly well covered in the report of the committee, which instructs the engineers—or asks that the engineers be instructed—to take steps to comply with the decision of the Rochester convention, which covered that point fully.

Delegate Shamp, in discussing the question said in part: While it is true the affair in Detroit is the only one referred to by the committee, I take it the intention is that they drop from their membership our members taken in since the Rochester convention. Ever since the contention has come up the American Federation of Labor has decided that the engineers should turn over to our organization the men they have taken from us and make working agreements with us. Nothing has been accomplished. Right now there are different employers appealing to us and to President Gompers to learn from which organization to hire members. There is nothing at all to hinder our organization and the engineers from working in peace and harmony. We do it in different places throughout the country. When the St. Louis agreement was made everybody thought the

matter was settled, but the engineers in their St. Paul convention changed their constitution and provided to take in our members as apprentices. In the Rochester convention the American Federation of Labor said its decision would have to be carried out. What will be done if it is not carried out? I want to ask the engineers here to-day if they intend to carry out the decision of this convention, no matter what it is. They do not answer.

Delegate Comerford, Steam and Operating Engineers, in discussing the question said in part: At the St. Louis convention we entered into an agreement with the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. The engineers tried their level best to live up to that agreement. What did we find? The first place that agreement should have been put into effect was in New York City. At that time our international union and the United Brewery Workmen were trying jointly to make agreements so that all the trades affected would enter into their agreements at the same time and have them expire at the same time. That was the first time the firemen had a chance to abide by the St. Louis agreement; but they signed an agreement with the brewers of New York City to terminate at a time different from the Engineers' and Brewery Workers' agreements. The result was that our people in New York City demanded that some action be taken by us, so that some time in the future men working in these plants would be able to make agreements that would begin on the same date and expire on the same date. I contend that the firemen are our helpers, and we have just as much right to control the men who assist us in operating power plants as any other trades represented in this hall have to control their helpers. Some day you will have to help these two bodies to get together, and I hope to see the day the report will be made from a platform of the American Federation of Labor such as was made to-day in the case of the Cigarmakers and Stogie-makers, when our young friend here stood up and told you the amalgamation of those two bodies had resulted in the greatest good to both of them. I know that if the engineers and firemen were in one body great good would accrue to

our members and to theirs. You can make decisions and I will comply, but we have twenty-five thousand men scattered over this country who are not willing to do it. You can not convince our people they haven't the right to organize all our trade; a right you have given to other members of the American Federation of Labor. I leave it to the representatives of any organization that has to deal with its helpers whether they would agree to a separate organization of their helpers and allow them to go in and make separate contracts. We know the separate contracts of the firemen have not only prevented them from getting better conditions, but have been a great detriment to the engineers of this country in securing shorter hours and better wages. Our men unanimously favor amalgamation.

Vice-President Perham in the chair.

Delegate Shamp: If the committee had brought in a recommendation for amalgamation, would your organization comply with it?

Delegate Comerford: Certainly.

Delegate Holland, New York Central Federated Union, in discussing the question, denied some statements made by Delegate Comerford in regard to the New York situation. He stated that in New York City the firemen and engineers had worked harmoniously under administrations that preceded President Comerford's; that a joint board had been maintained by the two organizations; that President Comerford opposed it and threatened to suspend or expel locals of the engineers if they remained part of the joint board, and for that reason it was discontinued.

Delegate Holland stated that the firemen objected to belonging to the same organization as the engineers, as 95 per cent. of the firemen working in plants were employed by the engineers; that the superintendents and owners of plants did not hire firemen, oilers, boiler washers and that class of labor. He asked that the convention instruct the engineers to employ union men when employing firemen and the other classes of laborers mentioned and there would be no trouble. He stated that the firemen did not object to working with the engineers, but they did object to being controlled in their organizations by their employers.

Delegate Holland dealt at length with the situation in New York, and spoke of the disputes between the firemen and engineers, and referred briefly to the local union of apprentices chartered by the engineers in Detroit. He objected to such organizations, and stated that conditions would be different if engineers did not have the power to hire and discharge firemen and helpers; that if the owners or superintendents hired those classes of labor a different condition would prevail and there would not be so much objection to belonging to one organization. He cited conditions prevailing in many of the large plants in New York City, referred to conditions that had been obtained for the firemen by their own organizations, and stated that in many instances the firemen received better wages and worked shorter hours than the engineers.

Delegate Healy, in discussing the report of the committee said in part: That resolution recites the differences between the firemen and engineers since this controversy has existed, and there is not one instance in all that time where the firemen have not lived up to the mandates of the convention of the American Federation of Labor. And we intend to live up to the mandates of the American Federation of Labor. All we want is to be allowed to work out our own salvation. It is ridiculous to say that the fireman is the engineer's apprentice. Why are the engineers so anxious to have us for their apprentices? I don't put them all down as our enemies, but there are some engineers that are the hardest taskmasters the firemen have. The chief engineer is the boss of the plant; he hires and discharges the fireman, the water-tender, the boiler cleaner, the oiler and the ash-wheeler. He is one of the officials of the company, one of the office staff, or is looked upon as such, and his business is to run the plant as economically as possible. The chief engineer is the boss and he runs the plant as cheaply as possible. The only reason the engineers want the firemen in their organization is to put them out of business and get them down to thirty-five and forty dollars a month where they were before the firemen had an organization. The assistant engineers are very little better than the

chief engineers; they are looking forward to the day when they will be promoted to chief engineers, and to get those positions they must get in line with the policy of the company. I don't think the American Federation of Labor is going to force the firemen to destroy what they have built up during the last fifteen or sixteen years they have been organized. Do you delegates know the hardships the firemen suffered in the past, and what they still have to suffer, where they are not organized? In the larger cities they are working twelve hours a day two and three stories under ground. Some of the modern buildings have plants seventy-five feet under the sidewalks. We want to relieve these men. I do, because I worked twelve hours a day down in those hellholes and I know what it is. We interfere with no other organization. I will ask any one in this convention if there is a trade union that ever had a jurisdiction squabble with the firemen? Is there a trade union here that the firemen have not been on the level with, in case of strikes or labor troubles? Have the firemen ever put them out of their jobs? No; not once.

Delegate Healy spoke at some length of the work the firemen have done in different parts of the United States; their efforts to organize men in the Standard Oil plants and the plants of other companies; the measure of success they have obtained and the benefits that have accrued to the men by relieving them from the terrible conditions under which they labored; the reduction of their hours of labor, the increases in their wages, and the general betterment of their condition. He suggested that the engineers, in order to increase the number of their members, take into their international union various locals of engineers in New York and other places that are not now affiliated, and try to secure members in various places where there are large numbers of licensed engineers not in their ranks.

Delegate Hannahan, Steam and Operating Engineers, in discussing the question said in part: I want to take exception to Brother Holland and Brother Healy giving all the honor for what is being done to President Comerford, as

the membership of our organization insists upon being recognized as responsible for what has been done. Personally I am not greatly interested in this controversy as the branch of our trade I come from is not mixed up in this fight. I realize, and I am sure you will agree with me, that if we accept the responsibility of this organization, if it does come to us, it will not be an asset but a liability. Prior to the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor an agreement existed that was brought about through the splendid generalship of the chairman of the committee our case was referred to in the St. Louis convention. The decision of the St. Louis convention was reaffirmed in the Atlanta convention. It was decided in that convention that the apprentices should come under the jurisdiction of the journeymen. After that decision was made by the American Federation of Labor, our convention instructed the Executive Board to provide for apprentices, thinking we were carrying out the intentions of the American Federation of Labor. I object to the firemen standing in the way of the advancement of their members to be engineers. They say that few of their craft desire to become engineers. I am sure that hard work, long hours and none too high a wage scale is not desired for the men who do so much in the engine room to promote its efficiency.

Delegate Morton, Stationary Firemen, in discussing the question, said in part: The agreement that was entered into in St. Louis was carried out faithfully and everything was going on nicely until a circular was issued by President Comerford saying from that time on, owing to the situation in New York, any local of engineers that had anything to do with the firemen would suffer the penalty of suspension and possible expulsion. Immediately the local joint board disbanded, and it is not all peace and harmony in Chicago. We have the same fights they have in New York City.

Delegate Furuseth, secretary of the committee, in discussing the question, said in part: There is nothing mysterious in this question between the engineers and the firemen. I think everybody here understands that. The engineer orders the fireman, and, necessarily, thinks himself better than the

fireman. The fireman is a good deal of a democrat and he thinks himself just as good as the engineer. The engineer who has been at sea has got into a certain habit of treating the fireman and the fireman has got into a certain habit of how to take it. As far as President Comerford is concerned, I am very sorry for him, because I am just as sure as I am standing here that in most of these questions he can no more help it than he can fly. The men have interests to serve; that has been described here and need not be repeated. Taking it all together, this committee came to the conclusion to submit the report it has, feeling perfectly satisfied that the firemen are right in this question and that the engineers are wrong. I have no hesitation in saying that as far as I am concerned. Mr. Comerford represents the engineers, and in representing the engineers he does what he can. I hope and trust a great many of the things he has to do and tries to do go somewhat against his grain, but he is representing engineers and the sentiment that has been expressed at his conventions. We cannot, however, do anything else except what the committee recommends. The American Federation of Labor has no power to say to the firemen that they shall submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the engineers. There isn't anything for the American Federation of Labor to do except to contribute helpfully in getting them to understand each other and mutually respect each other. The committee has gone as far as it can go in the matter, or substantially as far as it can go.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Williams, President of the Building Trades Department, stated that a question had come before the committee of which he was chairman in regard to the dock builders in New York City and a dispute between the Carpenters and the Structural Iron Workers. He stated that it was a question of the revocation of the federal union charter by the Executive Council; that the committee desired the representatives of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to appear before the Executive Council, and asked

if such a meeting could be had, the Council to report on the matter to the convention.

President Gompers stated that the Council would meet for the purpose asked immediately after the adjournment of the Thursday morning session.

Delegate Woll stated that the chairman and secretary of the Committee on Education had not been able to secure a meeting of all the members of that committee in order to consider the subject-matter referred to them during the morning session, and asked for an extension of time. The committee had been instructed to report to the convention during the afternoon session. The request of the committee was granted.

Chairman McCullough: I have in my hand a rather long report on an important proposition. It will take a half hour to read it. I suggest that it be read now and published in the proceedings in order that the delegates may have it before them tomorrow morning in concrete form.

President Gompers suggested that the matter be printed without being read, and be taken up for consideration during the session Thursday morning. The suggestion of President Gompers was approved, and Chairman McCullough submitted the following proposition without reading:

Seamen's Legislation.

Under the above caption on pages 79 and 80 of the Report of the Executive Council will be found a report and comment upon the passage of the so-called Seamen's Act and the Licensed Officers' Act which calls attention to the far-reaching effect of this legislation upon the life of the seaman, upon the safety of the traveling public and to the world-wide opposition to this act, the strenuous efforts that have been and are being made to have the law either repealed or emasculated, and also to the vote upon the question of ship subsidies taken by the National Chamber of Commerce, which latter body by a very large vote records itself in favor of "subsidies from the Government sufficient to offset difference in the cost between operation of vessels under the American flag, and operation in the same deep sea trades under foreign flags."

We endorse the statements made by the Executive Council and owing to the very general campaign of misrepresentation through which it is sought to place this legislation in an unfair and prejudicial position before the people of this and other countries, and owing to the manifest lack of real information possessed by the public in general and by the National Chamber of Commerce in particular, we believe it to be of importance to state clearly the purposes of the legislation and to show the distinction between the old law and this act.

The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the Sixty-second Congress in reporting the bill to the House of Representatives states the purposes as follows:

"The enactment of this bill will accomplish three very important things.

"First. It will give freedom to the sailor.

"Second. It will promote safety at sea.

"Third. It will equalize the operating expenses of foreign and domestic vessels engaged in over-sea trade and tend to build up our merchant marine."

It ought to be plain to all that with the difference in wage cost of operating vessels ranging from 20 to 200 per cent. against the American vessels, even a large subsidy could not prevent the decay of our over-sea shipping. Over-sea shipping is competitive and unless this differential can be abolished, there is no hope of having any merchant marine worthy of being called American.

This differential arose and has been continued by the treaties under which we are bound to arrest, detain and surrender back to their vessels any seaman who deserts from foreign vessels in our harbors. The act under consideration abrogates these treaties and the laws based on them, and releases the economic law governing wages, and the inevitable result must be to equalize the wage cost. Two free men working side by side, doing the same work, will receive the same wage. This has been proven too often to need any further discussion. Seamen's wages depend upon the port and have nothing to do with the flag. Give freedom to the seamen, provide the same standards of skill and the same laws regulating the shipment

of men, and the wages will automatically become the same.

It must be equally manifest that there can be no safety at sea unless the men employed understand all orders given by the officers of the vessel. There must be perfect understanding of all verbal orders on part of the whole or at least substantially whole crew, and there must be sufficient skill in at least a part of the deck crew to be able to understand and obey all orders. It is not so important that this should be the case under ordinary conditions, but in emergencies this is indispensable for the reasonable safety of the passengers. It is equally important in freight vessels, because they otherwise become a menace to other vessels. What would be thought of a fire department in which the officers could speak but one language while the men could speak only another, and all orders had to be given through an interpreter? When a building is on fire you may get down into the street and be saved, but when a vessel is burning your route to heaven is by fire or drowning, unless there be the boats and the skilled men to save you from either, and so this act provides a percentage of skill and a knowledge of the language of officers sufficient at least to give some promise of safety.

It is deeply regretted that this act does not provide boats for all, and at least two able seamen for each boat, and we feel sure that disasters will ultimately compel this to become the law. The act, however, is in this matter so great an improvement upon conditions that existed up to the time of its becoming law that it marks an epoch in maritime legislation. Equally manifest is the fact that men of sufficient physical strength, intelligence and courage needed for sea service could not be obtained so long as the seaman was compelled to surrender all rights of citizenship on joining the service. The ancient status of involuntary service could not and cannot continue together with

modern education. Efficient men quit the sea and boys shunned it to such an extent that sea power was passing into the keeping of the races of Asia, whose home status and condition was and is such as to make the status and condition of seamen under Occidental law appear as an improvement. From either a racial or a national point of view this would be disastrous. We could not have safety at sea, safety to our nation, or our race, or an equal chance for a merchant marine without having men of Aryan blood and of American nationality come back to the sea. Hence the freedom of the seaman and the improvement in his condition was imperative as well as humanitarian.

We protest most earnestly against any weakening of this legislation. We urge that it be strengthened in its safety provisions. We regret very deeply that the Department of Commerce has deemed it to be its duty to give to some of the provisions of this law a construction which we believe to be contrary not only to the spirit of the law but to the letter. We cannot agree with the Department of Commerce or with the Attorney-General when, in spite of the definite enactment "that foreign vessels leaving ports of the United States shall comply with the rules herein prescribed as to life-saving appliances and equipment and manning of the same," it is held by the Department and the Attorney General that this does not apply to vessels of certain nations, nor can we agree with the Department of Commerce when, by construction put upon the clause dealing with the requirement that seamen should understand all orders, the Department holds that only orders given under ordinary conditions are contemplated. Such construction tends to destroy two of the purposes of the act, namely, the promotion of safety and equalization of wage cost. We are opposed to subsidies of any sort. The following is a correct comparison between this act and the law and regulations as existing prior to the enactment of this statute:

COMPARISON OF SEAMEN'S ACT WITH EXISTING LAW AND REGULATIONS OF THE INSPECTION SERVICE.

Provisions Under Existing Law or Regulations of the Inspection Service.

Provides that the master of any vessel becoming shorthanded away from a home port must fill up the crew by men of the same rating, if obtainable.

Nothing in the law or the regulations.

Deals with, when and how the Seamen shall be paid, and provides as a penalty one day's pay for each day beyond the time when it is due.

Provides that in any port away from the home port, where the vessel loads or discharges cargo, the seaman shall be entitled to receive half of his wages he has earned, provided there is no stipulation to the contrary in the shipping agreement.

Note.—The stipulation was always placed in the shipping articles, and this provision did not apply to foreign vessels in ports of the United States.

Gives the majority of the crew, when joined by one of the officers of the vessel, the right to demand an inspection of the vessel to determine its seaworthiness.

Deals with the quarters of the seamen and provides 72 cubic feet of air space, with 12 square feet on the floor.

Provisions of the Conference Bill.

SECTION ONE.

The proposed conference bill changes existing law so as to make it the same, or a higher rating.

SECTION TWO.

Regulates the hours of labor at sea and in port and prohibits unnecessary work on Sundays and legal holidays.

By dividing the sailors into two, the firemen, oilers and water-tenders into three watches, which are to be on duty successively, while at sea.

Nine hours, inclusive of anchor watch, shall constitute a day's labor at port.

SECTION THREE.

Increases the penalty to two days' pay for each day's delay.

SECTION FOUR.

Provides for the half pay, and that any stipulation to the contrary shall be held as void.

Gives the sailor the right to release from his contract, and to receive his full pay, in case the half pay due is refused.

In disputes about wages due, seamen may first receive money that is offered, and then appeal to a court for adjudication as to what was really due.

This provision is applicable to foreign vessels in ports and waters of the United States.

SECTION FIVE.

Confers upon seamen in the foreign trade the right to demand upon application by a majority of the crew, exclusive of any officer, an inspection of the vessel as to its seaworthiness.

It confers upon the first and second officer, the same right when they jointly make the demand.

SECTION SIX.

The conference bill requires:

(a) 120 cubic feet, with 16 square feet on the floor.

(b) Prohibits the placing of more than one berth above another.

(c) Requires a light, clean and properly ventilated wash place for sailors, if more than ten are on deck, and a separate washing place for fireman and engineroom men if more than ten in number. Such washing place must be equipped with hot and cold water, wash basins, sinks and shower baths.

(d) Requires the furnishing of a separate room as a hospital for the sick in all vessels with crews of more than twelve, running on voyages of more than three days' duration between ports.

(e) Provides for fumigation of forecastles, under regulations of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service.

(f) Requires at least two exits from the forecastles.

Provides prison penalty for seamen quitting work upon, the vessel in a foreign port, and further provides that he may be arrested, detained and delivered back to the vessel by the Peace Officers of foreign nations, so that he can be compelled to continue to labor against his will.

Existing law makes it the Consul's duty to reclaim deserters (cause their arrest, to be sent to prison, or back on board of the vessel).

Prohibits corporal punishment and makes it the master's duty to surrender any officer guilty of applying corporal punishment to the courts upon arrival in port. Failing to do so, the master becomes liable in damages to the party who has been illegally punished.

Note.—The right to sue the master for damages was barred, as there was nothing to levy on.

Gives to each man one ounce of butter and four quarts of water per day.

Prohibits the allotment of seamen's wages (advance) or allotment to any near and dependent relatives. But permits allotment to original creditor (advance) or allotment to near and dependent relatives in American vessels in the foreign trade and on foreign vessels signing men in ports of the United States.

Prohibits the attachment or garnishment of the wages of a seaman.

Nothing in the law or the regulations.

SECTION SEVEN.

Changes existing law by abrogating the imprisonment of American seamen, as a penalty for quitting work on any vessel of the United States in a foreign port.

SECTION EIGHT.

Relieves the Consular agents of the United States from serving as "slave catchers" of American seamen in foreign ports.

SECTION NINE.

Extends to the vessel, or the owner of the vessel, the same liability for damages as the existing law imposes upon the master.

SECTION TEN.

Provides for two ounces of butter and five quarts of water.

SECTION ELEVEN.

Prohibits all allotment to original creditor (advance) on American vessels in any trade and on foreign vessels in ports of the United States.

Permits allotment to near and dependent relatives in any trade or any vessel signing its crew in ports of the United States.

Provides that the master of a foreign vessel shall bring his articles for inspection of a collector, and denies clearance if this section has been violated.

SECTION TWELVE.

Prohibits the attachment or garnishment of wages of seamen or of fishermen, except by a court, and for the benefit of wife or minor children.

SECTION THIRTEEN.

Establishes a standard of efficiency for crews of vessels of over 100 gross tons, except vessels navigating rivers exclusively and the smaller inland lakes.

(a) By requiring a number of able seamen beginning with 40 per cent. and gradually increasing to 65 per cent. of the deck crew, exclusive of licensed officers.

(b) By requiring that at least 75 per cent. of the crew of the vessel in each department thereof must be able to understand any orders given by the officers of the vessel.

(c) By making the departure of the vessel conditional upon compliance with this section.

SECTION FOURTEEN.

Present law gives to the Board of Supervising Inspectors, with approval of the Secretary of Commerce, the power to make regulations for safety by determining the number of men to be employed, but sets no standard of skill or experience in the men so employed, except as to licensed officers, and to determine the kind and number of life saving appliances, such as davits, lifeboats and rafts, leaving the standard of such appliances to be set by the regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Nothing in the law or regulations.

Boats and rafts to be manned according to discretion of master of the vessel, and no standard of efficiency or time of experience for able seamen.

Standards left to regulations of Supervising Inspectors.

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The Inspection Department has determined the number of boats and rafts as follows:

(1) On the ocean 50 per cent. of boats and 50 per cent. of rafts to accommodate the maximum number of persons on board.

Sets a standard for able seamen and lifeboat men by providing:

(a) On the ocean every person shall be an able seaman after three years' service on the deck at sea or on the Great Lakes.

(b) On lakes, bays and sounds a person shall be an able seaman after eighteen months' service on deck of vessels to which this section applies.

(c) Service in the Navy, or a coast guard vessel or a decked fishing vessel will be considered.

(d) Persons holding a diploma from a schoolship operated under rules prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce, may upon examination become able seamen, after one year's service on a merchant vessel.

(e) Any person after examination as to physical fitness and skill may become an able seaman after one year's service on deck at sea, but such able seaman may not be carried in greater number than one in every four.

(f) A person may become a certificated lifeboat man by compliance with rules to be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce, amongst which must be that of understanding the lowering of a boat and the use of oars.

(g) Each boat and each raft carrying 15 persons or more shall be in charge of a licensed officer (licensed officer includes the licensed engineers) or an able seaman; and the lifeboats and all the rafts with certificated lifeboat men, according to the size and carrying capacity of the raft or boat.

It provides:

(a) A standard for lifeboats and pontoon rafts.

(b) Fixes the equipment of lifeboats and rafts.

(c) Provides for equipment of vessel with lifeboats and pontoon rafts.

(1) On the ocean, going more than twenty miles from shore, 75 per cent. of lifeboats and 25 per cent. of rafts for the maximum number of persons on board.

(2) On the ocean, within 20 miles of shore, from May 15 to September 15, 20 per cent. of life boats, 40 per cent. of rafts, and 40 per cent. without either for maximum number of persons on board.

(3) On the lakes, bays and sounds, from October 15 to May 15, 25 per cent. of boats and 75 per cent. of rafts for the maximum number of persons on board. From May 15 to October 15, 7½ per cent. of boats, 22½ per cent. of rafts, and 70 per cent. without either for maximum number of persons on board.

(4) From May 15 to October 15, within three miles of land or over waters whose depth is not sufficient to entirely submerge the vessel, 31-3 per cent. of boats, 62-3 per cent. of rafts, and 90 per cent. without either for the maximum number of persons on board.

(5) From May 15 to October 15, if equipped with wireless, navigating in daylight only and not more than 10 miles from shore, 3½ per cent. of boats, 11½ per cent. of rafts, and 85 per cent. without either for maximum number of persons on board.

Nothing in the law or the regulations.

By treaties and statutes for the arrest, detention and surrender back to his vessel of any foreign seaman on foreign vessel who in ports of the United States refuses to continue his labor and escapes from the vessel.

The master must in all cases appear before Consuls and provide for the care of sick seamen.

Under the rulings of the court the doctrine of "fellow servant" is enforced in damage suits as between men and officers whom the men must obey.

(2) On ocean vessels going less than twenty miles from shore from September 15 to May 15, 75 per cent. of lifeboats and 25 per cent. of rafts, for all persons on board. From May 15 to September 15, 35 per cent. of boats, 35 per cent. of rafts and 30 per cent. without either for maximum number of persons on board.

(3) Vessels on the Great Lakes from September 15 to May 15, 75 per cent. of lifeboats and 25 per cent. of rafts for all persons on board. From May 15 to September 15, 20 per cent. of lifeboats, 30 per cent. of rafts and 50 per cent. of either for the maximum number of persons on board.

(4) On the lakes, bays and sounds in waters within three miles of shore, or over waters not deep enough to submerge the entire vessel, the number of boats and rafts is left to the discretion of the Inspection Service.

SECTION FIFTEEN.

Provides means for ascertaining the number of people drowned on barges, and requires yearly report on this subject to be made to Congress.

SECTIONS SIXTEEN AND SEVENTEEN.

Gives the seamen the right to leave any foreign vessel in ports of the United States and abrogates so much of the treaties and repeals so much of the law as is found inconsistent with the bill.

SECTION EIGHTEEN.

Specifies when the law should go into effect.

SECTION NINETEEN.

Provides that the master need not in all cases appear before the Consular Officers, to provide for the care of sick seamen.

SECTION TWENTY.

Provides that the doctrine of "fellow servant" shall not apply in damage suits as between seamen and officers, whose orders they are to obey.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Washington, D. C., Nov. 17, 1915.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

Highly appreciate your courtesy in communicating to me your telegram to the governor of the state of Utah in behalf of a re-trial of Joseph Hillstrom, sentenced to be executed on the

19th instant for murder in the first degree. I herewith beg you, and through you, the American Federation of Labor, to accept my sincerest thanks for your praiseworthy efforts in this matter.

W. A. F. EKENGREN,
Swedish Minister.

At 5:30 the convention was adjourned under the rules, to reconvene at 9:30 a. m. Thursday, November 18.

NINTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 18, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 18th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kramer, Christman, Boyden, Morton, Morrison (H. L.), Letrodec, Call, Curran, Kearney, Anderson (C.), Guscetti, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Hansen, Coffey, Harris, Jennings, McGovern, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Spooner, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson (E), Leber, Severance, Camomille, Batcheler, Castro, Dempsey, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, McAndrews, Bomar, Holm, Hammerschlag, Corbley, Carter, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Telegrams containing invitations to hold the next convention in Baltimore, Md., were received from the following: Alexander Shaw, Secretary Cooper's Union No. 32; J. W. Spare, Secretary Local No. 90, American Flint Glass Workers; Chris. Kinker, Secretary Local No. 44, and Mamie McKewen, Secretary Local No. 125, Bookbinders and Bindery Women; Henry Hardy, Locals No. 16, 31 and 61, International Printing Pressmen; John Riegger, Local No. 8, Brewery Workmen; H. Witmyer, President Local No. 20, Pavers; Frank R. Pollock, Secretary Baltimore Federation of Labor; W. W. Vantine, Carpenters.

A telegram from John Clark, Central Labor Council, Buffalo, was read, in which an invitation was extended to the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in that city.

Delegate Moser, for the Committee on Credentials, read the following:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 13, 1915.
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Convention Hall,
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This will certify that Anthony J. Chlopek and Richard J. Butler have been elected by the International Longshoremen's Association to act as delegates to the Thirty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally yours,

T. V. O'CONNOR,
President I. L. A.

JOHN J. JOYCE,
Secretary-Treasurer I. L. A.

The committee recommended the seat-

ing of the two delegates named. The report of the committee was adopted.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate Furuseth, secretary of the committee, read the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Seamen's Legislation," printed in the minutes of Wednesday afternoon.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee. The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Secretary Furuseth continued the report of the committee as follows:

Amalgamation of Glass Workers with the Brotherhood of Painters.

Under this caption, the Executive Council reports the articles of agreement between the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association of America and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, which articles have been ratified and signed by the officers of the unions at interest, and by Samuel Gompers for the American Federation of Labor, and have been endorsed by the membership of the unions at interest.

Your committee desires to congratulate these organizations on the happy issue of their efforts to advance their mutual interests and desires to commend President Gompers and the Executive Council for the assistance rendered in this case.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Longshoremen—Marine Warehousemen.

In the Executive Council's report there will be found a reference to the efforts made under the reference from the Philadelphia convention on the request of the International Association of Longshoremen for extension of jurisdiction over men employed in marine warehouses. The Council reports that a further conference between the parties at interest is to be held during the time of this convention in San Francisco.

We endorse the activity of the Executive Council in this respect and commend its action in calling for a further conference.

The report of the committee was adopted.

United Hebrew Trades.

In the Executive Council's report, under the above caption will be found a report of its investigations and action in connection with the activities of the so-called United Hebrew Trades of New York.

Your committee commends and endorses the action of the Executive Council in withdrawing the support of the American Federation of Labor from the United Hebrew Trades.

We would further recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to lend whatever assistance it may to the end that the cause for disturbance in the garment-making industry be removed as speedily as possible.

Delegate Schlessinger, International Ladies' Garment Workers: During this week and last week several conferences were held between the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, the Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, and Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, to consider the question of the United Hebrew Trades of New York City. We have succeeded in having the matter adjusted satisfactorily to the United Hebrew Trades as well as to the American Federation of Labor, and in view of the fact that the recommendation of the committee will tend to bring about harmony in the ranks of the garment workers, I move that the report of the committee be adopted. (Seconded.)

President Gompers: Since the opening day of our convention I have been advised by the Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades of New York that that body has decided to comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor. Since then I have had several conferences with the secretary of that body, the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the General Secretary of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' International Union, the officers of the Central Federated Union

of New York City and the officers of the United Garment Workers of America, in which the subject was discussed in a most general and generous manner. We hope out of the conference some good will come by which may be eliminated some of the controversies still existing; and the pledge was made by all participants in the conference that everything will be done that can be done to bring about unity and harmony in New York and wherever else there may be disunion now. What has been accomplished is that the United Hebrew Trades has officially declared that it will abide by the decision of the American Federation of Labor. I asked President Holland and Secretary Boehm, of the New York Central Federated Union, whether, in view of the United Hebrew Trades having officially declared that it would abide by the decision of the American Federation of Labor, in their opinion would the New York Central Federated Union object to a continuance of such fraternal cooperation as could be secured. I said if that was the view entertained by Mr. Holland and Mr. Boehm and Mr. Brindell of the Central Federated Union I had no doubt that the Executive Council would be pleased to withdraw its action requesting the international officers to direct their local unions in New York not to be represented in the United Hebrew Trades. I think it is due to all concerned that this statement be made, for it is helpful in clearing up a very ugly situation as it existed, and part of which exists in and around New York. I think it would be helpful if it is made a minute in the official proceeding of this convention that this new development has occurred.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): Has the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor chartered or approved the establishment of this so-called United Hebrew Trades?

Chairman Lennon: It has not.

Delegate Tobin: Then I want to know why is there a United Hebrew Trades? There are a great many delegates who do not seem to understand it and I think a word of explanation from the chairman might be of some benefit at this time.

President Gompers: About a year and a half ago the silver anniversary of the United Hebrew Trades was celebrated in New York City, and as President of

the American Federation of Labor I was invited to participate, as were other officers of the American Federation of Labor who could attend. That would indicate that that institution has been in existence for nearly twenty-seven years. About thirty years ago there was instituted a governmental official, or unofficial, action by several governments, and particularly that of Russia and of Poland, by which Jewish people were subjected to indignities, injustices and cruelties. They had to leave the country if they wanted to live. While many of them went to England, the great mass of them came to the United States. A number of philanthropic rich Jews of the United States contributed money to facilitate the opportunities of these people to come to the United States. A multi-millionaire, Baron Hirsch, of England, contributed several million pounds sterling to be utilized as a Baron Hirsch Fund to help these unfortunate people to come to the United States and to help sustain them from the time of their arrival until they could get something to do. I am called upon to tax my memory in regard to the incidents that followed.

Vice-President Duncan: Upon the landing of the people to which you refer, some jealousy was aroused in New York and they were forbidden membership in some unions. They then sought shelter in an organization of Hebrew Trades in order to protect them until they could prove they were loyal and faithful to the trade-union movement of America.

President Gompers: Owing to the necessities of these Jewish immigrants, the Gradgrind employers took advantage of them. Some of the immigrants had trades, but, regardless of the fact that they were coreligionists, some employers utilized the opportunity presented by the large number of Jewish workmen coming to the United States; and these people, having suffered all their lives from tyranny and injustice in their own country, found themselves helpless because of the exploitation of their greedy employers. And then the incidents occurred as related by Vice-President Duncan. Some of the unions refused to accept them to membership. They then formed unions of Jewish speaking, or more properly expressed,

of those who spoke what is termed Yiddish and who could read Yiddish and not English or German. And so that movement grew. It was tolerated and it has done splendid work. It required, of course, some time for the men and women to understand that there must be some sort of discipline in the whole American labor movement; but from time to time as the attention of the United Hebrew Trades was called to a violation of the laws of the labor movement, they corrected their action. In regard to the secession movement of some of the garment workers from the United Garment Workers of America. They had lived together in the old country, they had shared the misery here, they had enjoyed and celebrated their successes and triumphs together, and there was a feeling of group patriotism, they could not or did not seem to feel that they could go back upon even those seceders. I say this to you, my fellow delegates: that I expended a great deal of time and the best energies of which I am capable in trying to persuade the United Hebrew Trades to do the right thing. In conferences with their representatives, and at the direction of the Executive Council, I appeared before them at a splendidly attended meeting and delivered an address, appealing to their best conscience and judgment to stand by the decisions of the American Federation of Labor. I called attention to the fact that after all the United Hebrew Trades is and must be, of necessity, a transitory body and not a permanent body; that when the time shall come that it has outlived its usefulness, when the lessons they have taught the untutored Hebrew workers shall have passed, when the work has been accomplished, then there must cease to be a Jewish union, or a Protestant union, or a Catholic union, or an Atheist union, but a union of wage earners of America making common fight for the common right. I may say that that conception of the purposes of the United Hebrew Trades has also been declared authoritatively by the spokesman of that organization.

Delegate Cannon: What will result from the report by the committee?

Chairman Lennon: The report of the committee, it seems to me, does not interfere with the carrying on of the

conciliatory work as expressed by President Gompers.

Delegate Cannon: It will leave the situation in the needle trades as it is at the present time.

Secretary Lennon: With the understanding that they will clear the organization of the unions that are seceders; that is as I understand it.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): There were some circulars distributed by the United Hebrew Trades here in which it is alleged that they had pleaded, and pleaded in vain, for a hearing before the Executive Council. Their request was that they might be given a hearing. I want to ask of the Executive Council why they were not given a hearing heretofore?

President Gompers: I have not seen a copy of the circular, but Delegate Barnes at once assumes by his question that it is a fact; and he wants to know why the Executive Council did not give them a hearing. He does not say "as alleged in the circular," but assumes that question upon his own responsibility. I have said, in trying to summarize the activities of the Executive Council, as its representative by their direction, and as President of the American Federation of Labor, that I attended conferences; and to say that the United Hebrew Trades did not have a fair hearing upon this question or upon any question is a false assumption. I appeared at their silver anniversary by their invitation, and I think I am not exaggerating when I say I was the guest of honor. I mention this to show that at any rate personally and officially the very best relations of kindness and helpfulness were maintained between that body and the American Federation of Labor. When, at the Philadelphia convention, the report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted by unanimous vote denying the right of seceding garment workers to representation or to be heard further in the convention, I had a conference with the delegates representing the seceders. I refer to President Schlesinger of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Mr. Hillman, Mr. Schlossberger, and others who undertook to represent the seceding garment workers. I left the chair to tell them that, the convention having officially declared against secession of any kind, they could rely upon me to be helpful in any way I

could to restore unity in their trade. There was introduced into the convention a resolution for the purpose of amalgamating the seceding organization with the affiliated United Garment Workers of America, and I gave some time to drafting a resolution, but I could not convince either Mr. Schlesinger or Mr. Hillman that the language of their suggested resolution would not be accepted by the Philadelphia convention. I think I know what the representatives of the American trade union movement will stand for and what they will not; but against my advice they insisted upon introducing the resolution they did. I said to these gentlemen: "If you pursue this matter in the proper way I will assure you of whatever assistance I can give in the convention, even perhaps to taking the floor and advocating its adoption; but if you intend to put in the resolution as you have drafted it I cannot support it, but I will say not one word, directly or indirectly, or take any action of any sort that will prejudice the minds of the convention against the adoption of the resolution." They evidently thought my advice was not worthy of that consideration which I believed it was in that instance at least. They introduced the resolution and it was rejected by the convention. I then appeared before the Committee on Executive Council's Report and asked that committee to make some recommendation regarding the efforts for unity of the garment workers, and the committee did report and the convention did adopt their recommendation. While our convention at Philadelphia was still in session the Journeymen Tailors entered into an agreement with the seceding garment workers, in entire conflict with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor convention that no recognition of any kind should be given to the seceding organization. Before this became known to me and my associates on the Executive Council I went to Delegate Schlesinger, Delegate Polokoff, Mr. Hillman and Mr. Schlossberger and told them they could count upon me in every way to try to help restore unity. When the convention at Philadelphia made that clean-cut declaration upon that subject there was not a man or woman in the labor movement but knew of it. At the meeting of the Executive Council the action of the Journeymen Tailors' of-

ficers became known. Of course, the Council took action. The United Hebrew Trades and every other organization was advised of the action and of the duty devolving upon every man or woman in the trade union movement. Instead of the United Hebrew Trades acting upon it in accordance with the decision, they flagrantly violated it. In spite of all they had done, at every one of my visits to New York I had conferences with representatives and officers of the United Hebrew Trades and of the Central Federated Union. I had conferences with representatives of the United Garment Workers and I went so far as to have a conference with the seceders. And, let me say, the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades and the representatives of the seceders were practically the same. At one of the conferences lasting hours and hours one of the representatives of the seceding organizations arose and began a rehash of all the ills and evils and wrongs which he alleged were caused by the officers of the United Garment Workers of America. I begged him to not bring up these old grievances, or alleged grievances, because it could not do any good to do so. He said: "I have got to say this, I have got to tell you. If I cannot tell that story I will not say anything." Utterly resigned to my fate I said: "Go on and talk and say what you want; I am going to sit here and I won't interrupt you if you take all evening and all night." I sat down and, as is my habit, smoked and listened. The man spoke for an hour and forty-five minutes. Finally one of the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades, in sheer desperation, said: "You have talked enough. Sit down." So long as physical endurance permitted I would have listened to that man talk. Any man having any understanding of the Hebrew character and of the men in the Hebrew unions, knows that such a meeting is a talkfest. Why, when they have meetings at a theater they start at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon and never quit till two or three o'clock in the morning. It is a talkfest among themselves; it is in their own language. I think I am within the limit of truth when I say that as a representative of the American Federation of Labor I had not less than fifteen conferences with

the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades, the representatives of the seceding organizations, the officers and representatives of the United Garment Workers and the officers of the New York Central Federated Union. As a last effort I appeared before the United Hebrew Trades. They had a stenographer and the Central Federated Union had a stenographer to take down what I said. After it was transcribed some of the men said to me: "That speech ought to be published in the American Federationist," and as editor of the American Federationist I published that speech. Before delivering the speech that night I had a conference with the officers and representatives of the United Hebrew Trades. After their rejection and repudiation of the offices of the American Federation of Labor, I still had further conferences with them. There was not a word which the officers of the United Hebrew Trades had to utter or a suggestion they had to offer that was not laid faithfully before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and I venture to say that, no matter how any one member of that body may differ from me, no matter how much any one of them may dislike me, not one of them has ever charged that I misrepresented their attitude. It is true that formally and officially the United Hebrew Trades did not appear before the Executive Council, that is, as a United Hebrew Trades; but I have appeared by direction of the Executive Council to confer with them, to address them, to correspond with them and do anything I could within the laws and principles of the American Federation of Labor to help in the solution of this situation. The Executive Council is fully aware of everything that I have stated here, and many things which memory and time do not allow me to express. If ever men were given a square show for their position the officers of the United Hebrew Trades were given it. It is all very good, you know, to say that they have not had a chance to be heard before the Executive Council, while per se and in so far as the exact phraseology is concerned it is true; but essentially, in fact, in truth, for the purposes of having their case understood, the Executive Council knew and understood every phase of their

contention and the attitude of the United Hebrew Trades. There are some of the organizations that are intimately associated with the men of the United Hebrew Trades whose representatives are here, and I ask them if they will dispute the statement in any detail that I have made; I will ask them if I have untruthfully stated it, if I have exaggerated it, if I have shaded it. Let me say this: In view of the fact that we are trying to work out this situation in the best interests of these men and these women, and in the interest, in the long run, of the general labor movement of our country, I think we can approach that without misgivings or without placing a construction upon conduct that would have a seeming appearance that an injustice has been done either to these people or to any people in the American labor movement, regardless of opinions and differences which may exist.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): I would like to ask another question, and I would submit beforehand that the President could qualify for one of those talk-fests he has described. He admits that the United Hebrew Trades did not appear before the Executive Council, either as United Hebrew Trades or by representation. Did not the New York Central Federated Union bring charges against the United Hebrew Trades? Did they not repeatedly request a hearing before the Executive Council? And if they did, why was it not granted them? I want to ask that question in order to give President Gompers an opportunity to make another speech.

President Gompers: I am sure this does not reflect upon Delegate Barnes, but somewhere in the course of my reading I have seen it declared that one fool could ask more questions than a thousand wise men could answer. It is not unnatural or unracial that I can participate in a talk-fest. I am asked a question, and when a comprehensive answer is made, fault is found. I have asked if there be any representatives of the men who know intimately what occurred who will say I have made any misstatements. Yet that is not sufficient. The officers of the New York Central Federated Union came before the Executive Council and stated that the United Hebrew Trades of New York was acting in violation of the declarations and decisions of the

Philadelphia convention. What more could be done than was done? The Executive Council is made up of men who are all of them busy. They can give about three, four, or five times in the year a week's time to the meetings and the affairs of the American Federation of Labor. Other things have got to be done by correspondence. The Executive Council could not go to New York; it could not have the officers of the United Hebrew Trades come to Washington, because we were crowded with work. As this convention does not go into a committee of the whole to hear every side of every controversy, but refers subjects to committees so they can bring in the substance and the essentials involved in concrete form, so the Executive Council instructed me as its President, who must give all his time to the American Federation of Labor, to act as the representative of the Federation to confer with and hear what the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades had to present as to whether they were about to be unjustly treated. I have told you that, as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, I had not less than fifteen conferences with all of them, that I heard them, and heard them to such an extent that Mr. Shiplacoff, who is in the hall, said to this man who talked, and talked, and talked: "For heaven's sake sit down! You have talked yourself out and you haven't said anything!" I know, as a representative of the Federation, having heard these people so often and at such length, that I brought the word faithfully to the Executive Council and presented as faithfully as I could what the United Hebrew Trades had to say in defense of their own action. Why were they not given a hearing? They have been heard to all intents and purposes; they had an opportunity to present their case; there was not a thing hidden. For fear I may be charged with talking too long and, by implication, unnecessarily, I will now take my seat.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Koveleski: I move that the whole discussion on this question be printed in full in this morning's minutes. (Seconded and carried.)

Capmakers—Hatters and Straw Hat Workers.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found a report of the action taken by the Executive Council in conformity with Resolution No. 3 adopted by the Philadelphia convention, and under which a protocol was arranged between the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America and the Local Union No. 14400 of Straw Hat and Millinery Workers.

We endorse and commend the action of the Executive Council in this case so far as it affects the development of a working agreement between the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and the Straw Hat and Millinery Workers, but regret that efforts to settle the jurisdictional dispute between the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers has not been fully adjusted.

We would, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council be requested to continue its activity in connection with this case to the end that the jurisdictional dispute referred to be settled as speedily as possible and the members of Local Union No. 14400 and all other workers similarly situated be brought into the international organization of the craft in which they properly belong.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Zuckerman: Does that mean the agreement submitted by the Executive Council or the supplementary agreement submitted to your committee?

Chairman McCullough: The committee considered both of the so-called agreements which formed the basis of the protocol under which the operation of the industry is to be carried on. The supplementary agreement was placed in the hands of the committee, but there was a question as to whether it was properly before the committee or should be made a part of the records of this convention. It does not, as I take it, disturb the original agreement but is rather an extension of the same, and may perhaps be a little more satisfactory to the representatives of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. I am assured by the Secretary of the United Hatters, and the committee was assured by the Secretary of the United Hatters,

that the agreement was entirely satisfactory to that body, with the understanding that the hatters did not relinquish their claim over these people who are organized into Local Union No. 14400 and some other similarly situated people. The committee therefore reports to this convention its recommendation that the efforts of the Executive Council to secure an adjustment of this disputed question be endorsed, and that the Executive Council be requested to proceed further in the matter, to the end that the jurisdictional dispute will finally be adjusted and these unattached workers of a craft, the control of which is claimed by two organizations, be instructed into which they shall go in order to be affiliated with the regular movement.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Marble Workers and Slate Workers.

In the Executive Council's report is the report on action of the Council taken under Resolution No. 90 of the Philadelphia convention, providing for the extension of jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Slate Workers, together with a report of the conference held and an agreement reached and signed between the Marble Workers and Slate Workers, and the protest entered against the proceedings by the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.

We endorse the action of the Executive Council taken in connection with this case and recommend that it continue its efforts to secure a conference and agreement between the parties at interest.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Coopers and Barrel-Stave Industry—Resolution 80.

In the Executive Council's report will be found a reference to the efforts made to secure a conference and adjustment of the differences between the National Association of Slack Barrel, Stave and Heading Makers and the Coopers' Union.

We endorse the activity of the Executive Council in this case and recommend that it be instructed to continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment of

the difference between the Coopers' Union and the Employers' Association.

The report of the committee was adopted.

L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Company.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found an account of its action taken under resolutions Nos. 47 and 157 of the Philadelphia convention. We note with pleasure that the Council reports that the situation has a favorable outlook.

We desire to endorse the action of the Executive Council in connection with this matter and recommend that it be instructed to continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Report of United States Commission on Industrial Relations.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found reference to the appointment of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations and some comment on the activity of that Commission.

We commend the Executive Council for the part it has taken in this epoch-marking inquiry into the industrial and social conditions of life in the United States, and we endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council contained in the last paragraph under the above caption.

In this connection your committee considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates John B. Lennon and James O'Connell:

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

A Committee on Industrial Relations has been organized to act as the agency through which all who agree to the fundamental principles embodied in the main report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and who desire to see its recommendations carried into effect, can act to the best advantage.

The final report of the Commission, which expired August 23rd, by statutory limitation, will be laid before Congress when it meets in December. Congress and the nation then, for the first time, will be officially advised of what many citizens have known for a long time: that vast numbers of the nation's workers receive wages too low to maintain a decent existence for themselves and their families; that the economic power of the employer in industries where the wage

earners are unorganized either has made him the political and social dictator, as well as the industrial dictator, or has left the workers with a political freedom of little immediate value, and in glaring contrast with their economic subervency; and, finally, that only through organization among themselves, and with their own leaders, can the wage earners rescue not only themselves, but the community from a situation that is repugnant to and subversive of American ideals.

Because of the wide public interest in the hearings and proceedings of the Commission, which in every instance has shared with the public the evidence and disclosures on which its report is based, there now exist probably a larger body of citizens than ever before who are alive to the need of improving our industrial situation as regards the well being of the men and women wage earners. Both before and during the life of the Commission on Industrial Relations, it became evident that a very large proportion of the country's citizenship was awake to the injustice, dangers and cruelties of the prevailing industrial order, and prepared to support, with zeal and enthusiasm, any movement that, to them, gave assurance of substantial results.

The Commission's conclusion is unanswerable, that genuine and lasting improvement must be achieved through the collective action of the workers themselves—the toilers and producers in field and factory, and elsewhere. This committee bases its existence on that fact. But we believe, also, that there exist many opportunities for the general citizenship to aid in the working out of a solution for this most important and pressing of all our social and political problems. On the public as a whole must be laid the important duty of removing governmental obstacles to the efforts of the wage earners to organize, and of insisting that wage earners and their representatives have a fair and free field. We believe that the best public opinion of the nation has failed of effective expression in regard to the industrial problem chiefly because it has never yet done justice to the importance of the labor union as the only effectual means yet devised by which the principles of democracy can be realized in the political field, and extended to the industrial field. Trade unions, economists, sociologists, public officials, and the disinterested public in general, long ago accepted the principle of collective bargaining. But in the application of this principle, we too often have strained at gnats in finding reasons for either opposing a particular union, or for withholding influence and support during a specific struggle for industrial democracy.

The Committee on Industrial Relations asserts that no alleged or actual altruism of more fortunately circumstanced classes will avail to remove existing injustices and to lift the workers to the place to which they are entitled within the circle of those who enjoy the fullest

possible measure of freedom and well being. It condemns the doctrine that an economically superior class should justify and perpetuate its existence by assuming and discharging the responsibility of benevolent control. It shares labor's distrust of so-called welfare work where such work is not in the hands of men representing the interests of the workers and directed primarily to fitting the workers to exercise an ever-increasing measure of control over the industry in which they are engaged. It repudiates, as a contradiction of the fundamental principle of democracy, the conception that any group of wage earners is unfit to exercise a voice in the management of the industry, and holds that only through exercise of the power of political and industrial self-government can the capabilities of the workers as citizens of a democracy be developed.

The committee declares that government intervention to control, or at all to affect, industrial relations, is warranted only to prevent special privilege, and to prevent the undue use of usurped governmental powers on behalf of special privilege and the wrongfully organized accumulations of wealth. It asserts that in industrial facts, as well as in political forms, government must wield only, in Jefferson's phrase, "the arm of the people." With government exercising only its own proper function, the committee believes that the problems of industry, or of capital and labor, are not largely problems of legislation, but are to be adjusted by the voluntary action of the people themselves. The few laws that the committee will press on Congress, and at various times on the State legislatures, are for a fair field to labor and to the producing farmers. They are as nothing in number to the great welter of rules and laws annually enacted and constantly urged alike by politicians, special interests and bureaucratic "experts."

The Committee on Industrial Relations recognizes the need for constant, striving after improvement inside the unions. It sees the organized labor movement as the rise of a democracy in the field of industry, a democracy with some of the faults of other democracies, but nevertheless, as the medium through which the vital idealism of the age is finding expression, as the movement that in this century is to be the most potent factor in the upward progress of the race, translating democratic ideals into realities. This Committee is prepared to give its whole-hearted support to a labor union in any contest where the existence of the union is at stake.

A chief duty, as it comes home to us, after studying the evidence and findings of the Commission, is to insist that any struggle between employers and employees be accurately and fairly reported by the press; that the public authorities, including police, courts, administrative officials and militia, act with absolute impartiality as between capital and labor, and that the importation of armed guards, gunmen and strikebreakers be prohibited.

We believe that non-participants who

discharge this duty will be called upon more often than not to combat an unconscious, but strong and persuasive caste feeling, or class consciousness on the part of the great body of comfortable and well-to-do citizens, a prejudice rooted in misunderstanding and lending itself to the success of attempts to foster this very prejudice by the use of such catch words as "outside agitators" and "ignorant foreigners," and under it to pervert the use of governmental power.

In pursuance of the principles we have adopted, the Committee on Industrial Relations will give its support to every effort made by trade unions and individuals to extend the benefits of organization to the unskilled and the unorganized, and more especially to the vast number of wage earners in this category in the employ of the great corporations that conduct our basic industries. The greatest obstacle to the organization of the employees of large corporations is the feudalistic control which such corporations exercise over the communities in which their plants are situated. Through their suppression of free speech, of orderly assemblage of citizens, through their all-pervading spy system, through their power and practice of ejecting from the community any persons whom they deem undesirable, or of procuring their commitment to jail on false or trumped up charges, through their power of arbitrary discharge, they have made it difficult, or even impossible for organizers to work effectively in such communities. The aim of this Committee will be to break down the feudalistic power of the corporations, to expose every case of abuse, and to work unceasingly to protect the rights of those who carry the message of organization to such communities. The Committee hopes to aid also by calling attention to the economic as well as the political evils that exist in those communities, in which the poorly paid individual wage earner pits his feeble and entirely negligible bargaining power against that of the huge corporation.

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION.

Those recommendations of the Commission on Industrial Relations contained in the report of Basil M. Manly, director of research and investigation, that have been adopted by the Committee as the most immediately practicable and urgent, are all designed to aid the efforts of organized labor, rather than to substitute governmental action for such efforts. They are in line with the conviction of leading economists that, in the words of Prof. Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University, "Any effective attack on the evil of poverty means, first of all, a decided revulsion of opinion toward trade unionism."

1. More important than any program of legislation is the accomplishment of this "revulsion of feeling" on which Prof. Hollander insists. Therefore, the first effort of the Committee will be to urge the printing and distribution, free of charge, of final reports of the Com-

mission on Industrial Relations, and also of the testimony taken at public hearings. It believes a reading of these reports by the vast number of men and women who already are vitally interested in the industrial problem would go far toward the creation of the understanding that is necessary if public opinion is to do its share in the great task of translating our democratic ideals into reality.

2. The Committee believes there is unusual need this winter at Washington for cooperation with the trade unions, and all organizations and persons favorable thereto through which democratic thought on industrial problems can make itself felt. The subject of national preparedness is to the forefront, and many powerful influences are at work to create an enormous military organization and to increase the prestige of the kind of force represented by a large military establishment. The Committee, while taking no part in the discussion regarding the size of the army and navy, will endeavor to keep to the forefront certain fundamental principles that should govern in any program for preparedness. These are:

a. That all munitions, warships and military supplies should be manufactured, as far as possible and as soon as possible, in government plants, except in cases of emergency. Apart from the evidence that such manufacture can be more cheaply performed and under better industrial conditions in government shops, the removal of private profits in this field strikes down the strongest single militaristic interest.

b. That the militia system or any new system of citizen soldiery be organized on a democratic basis, with equal opportunity for wage earners and those without means to obtain commissions on a merit basis, and that the use of these forces shall be confined to purposes of national defense, and shall never be used against workmen on strike. The importance of these provisions to labor and the rights of citizens generally is obvious.

c. That a healthy, well-organized, well-paid industrial force be insisted upon as a paramount factor in any plan for national preparedness, that the dangers inherent in an unorganized, and underpaid labor force during times of national danger be kept in mind at all times, and that the service of the labor union as the most potent force for training immigrants in collective action and enlisting them as responsible, capable and loyal citizens be emphasized at all appropriate times. The European war has demonstrated sensationally not only the military importance of the condition of the industrial workers, but also the absolute necessity for strong labor organizations as the basis for effective cooperative action in the workshops of the nation, and as a means of enlisting the intelligent support of the workers.

3. To urge that, if additional revenue is required for the needs of the gov-

ernment, it shall be secured by the passage of an inheritance tax, as outlined in the report of the Commission, or by making the income tax more effective, and not by heavier taxes upon the necessities and small luxuries of the workers, such as sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, and the like.

A scheme of taxation which burdens labor and discourages enterprise is wrong. It is part and parcel with the control of money and credits by banking monopolies and "captains of finance." It is bound up inextricably with the bad distribution of wealth and the control of economic power by the favorites of special privilege. But until a radical readjustment of taxation and of wealth control is reached the true test of taxation is the ability to bear the burden. Upon the workers, already groaning under the weight of an ever-increasing cost of living, and the burden of indirect taxation, which is multiplied fourfold in being transferred to their backs by merchants and manufacturers, heavier taxes should not be imposed.

4. To secure the passage by Congress of a statute, or, if necessary, the initiation of a constitutional amendment, providing specifically that the courts shall exercise only the powers granted by the Constitution, and shall not be permitted to declare laws unconstitutional.

To every believer in true democracy, the veto by the courts of legislation through the unwarranted assumption of the power to declare laws unconstitutional by a bare majority vote, must stand as the great barrier to progress and as the greatest bulwark of privilege.

Through this judicial veto the Fourteenth Amendment, enacted as the supreme protection of personal liberty in the United States, has been used almost uniformly to protect property rights to the detriment of the rights of men. In thirty-nine out of fifty-five cases before the Supreme Court, private corporations sought and received protection under its cloak. With the sole exception of cases involving the rights of negroes in jury cases, the Fourteenth Amendment has not acted to secure or protect personal rights, but only as a shield for property and privilege. In all the other numerous cases in which the Fourteenth Amendment was invoked to protect personal rights, the attempt failed. It stands today as the Magna Charta of accumulated, organized, predatory wealth.

Through this judicial veto, assumed by the Supreme Court and later transmitted even to the lower courts, judges appointed for life, and removable only by the slow process of congressional impeachment, have become the real rulers of the nation. The blow which will restore the rule to the people and their representatives, must be struck directly at the source of their power,—the unauthorized and unwarranted veto of legislative acts.

5. To secure the passage of laws providing for the selection of juries by an

impartial method from a list containing the names of all qualified voters.

The demand for a democratically chosen jury is fundamental, and rests upon two great considerations. First, in a civilized community, the decision of the jury is the final arbiter of every man's freedom. An universal suffrage is essential to the democratic making of laws and the preservation of the rights of the people as a whole, so a democratically chosen jury is essential to the just enforcement of laws and the protection of the rights of the individual. In a democracy the privilege and duty of jury service must be co-extensive with the suffrage, or justice is a mockery. The present jury system based upon property qualifications, upon selection from among the acquaintances of the judge, or upon selection by the sheriff of whom he pleases, must be done away with. Second, in important labor cases the life and freedom of the accused has depended solely upon whether the jury was democratically chosen and representative of the sympathies and opinions of the people as a whole or was selected either deliberately or by the provisions of the existing law to represent an antagonistic class.

Democratic requirements for empanelling juries exist in only a few communities. In Chicago there are about 200,000 mechanics belonging to the different labor organizations, yet out of 3,440 jurors only 350 mechanics and laborers were drawn, or about ten per cent., when the percentage ought to be about 70 per cent.

The most foul case of injustice now in the public mind, the sentencing of John R. Lawson to life imprisonment in Colorado for his activity in leading the coal miners' strike, was possible only because of the use of a jury picked by a sheriff subservient to and acting as the agent of the coal companies. All the unjust rulings of a prejudiced and unfit judge, all the machinations of the special attorneys furnished for the prosecution by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., all the specious testimony of the Baldwin-Felts detective-spies, would have been unavailing if Mr. Lawson had had the protection of a jury truly representative of the county in which the trial took place.

A list of the other cases in which the life and liberty of men have been sacrificed in the fight for better industrial conditions as a result of an unfair jury will suffice to show the tremendous importance to labor of the method of jury selection. You who are enlisted in the fight for a better day—your own name may conceivably be added to this list, if action is not taken to provide for the cornerstone of justice—a jury chosen impartially and representative of all the voters.

6. To secure the enactment by Congress of laws prohibiting the interstate shipment of armed guards, and of cannon, machine guns, and other similar weapons, except when consigned to the military authorities of the State or nation.

One need but recall Homestead, Pullman, West Virginia, Colorado and Roosevelt to appreciate the pressing need for such legislation.

7. To secure the passage of an act requiring the Federal Trade Commission to consider as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages, unsafe or insanitary conditions, or through the refusal to meet and deal with the authorized representatives of employees. The Secretary of Labor to be expressly authorized and directed to prosecute such cases before the trade commission, either on his own initiative or upon the request of any organization or individual.

The Federal Trade Commission was created to prohibit or regulate "unfair methods of competition" between corporations. The Commission was created and regulations have been drawn up for administering the Act, with the idea, apparently, that the injury through unfair methods of competition falls either upon competitors or upon consumers.

The most cruel, unfair, and socially dangerous form of unfair competition,—the exploitation of labor,—was entirely overlooked. Neither Congress nor the Commission, apparently, sufficiently understood the workings of the industrial world to provide for either the regulation or elimination of such exploitation.

Congress must do two things to remedy this grievous omission:

First, direct the Commission to interpret as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages, unsafe or insanitary conditions, or through the refusal to meet and deal with the authorized representatives of employees. The recognition by Congress of the fact that labor exploitation is unfair competition, would, alone, be a great step forward.

Second, authorize the Secretary of Labor to present and prosecute such cases before the Trade Commission, either on his own initiative, or upon the request of any labor organization or individual employee.

The Federal Trade Commission, created to deal specifically with commercial problems, is not the ideal tribunal for the consideration of the exploitation of labor. Nevertheless, the value of recognizing labor exploitation as the crudest form of unfair competition and the value of having a forum where the Department of Labor can present such specific cases of exploitation, seem to far outweigh any disadvantage due to its organization and character. The big necessity is to keep the evils of modern industry vividly before the public. The Commission on Industrial Relations offered such an opportunity; it has dissolved, but the Trade Commission seems to offer a real opening for keeping this big issue alive in the public mind.

Mention may be made of two striking cases of such unfair competition which might with great propriety be presented to the Trade Commission; first, the com-

petition of non-union garment manufacturers and sub-contractors, which is a constant menace, not only to the lives of their own employees, but also to the existence of the Protocols, which have helped to raise the sweat shop workers of ten years ago to a plane of some comfort, some leisure, and a measure of independence. Second, the competition of the operators in the non-union coal fields, not only undermining the safety, health, and welfare of all workers in the bituminous field, but has been directly productive of the dreadful labor wars of West Virginia and Colorado.

8. To resist the repeal of salutary labor legislation, such, for example, as the Seamen's bill.

9. To keep the grievances of unorganized workers, such as the Pullman and Western Union employees, which were brought to light by the Commission, constantly before the officials and directors of those companies and before the public, until they are redressed.

10. To keep the nation informed through the daily press and the magazines of all important developments affecting industrial relations.

There is hardly a month that passes in which a forceful, accurate exposure of specific cases of unjust and oppressive treatment of labor would not result in both a measure of immediate relief, and also a better understanding on the part of the public of the wrongs under which the working men, women and children of the nation patiently bear, or against which they revolt in sheer desperation.

There is every indication that the next few years will be critical years in the history of American labor. Whether labor shall be ground down by the pressure of rapidly concentrating capital, or whether, from the bitter travail of the nations, labor shall achieve, in some degree, the freedom, comfort and leisure to which it is entitled, before any other class, will be determined. The Committee on Industrial Relations will bend every effort and use every means to enable labor to reap the harvest of its ages of fruitless planting, with absolute assurance that the result will be a happier, stronger and more truly civilized nation than the work has ever conceived.

COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS,

Frank P. Walsh,
James O'Connell,
Frederick Howe,
Amos Pinchot,
Helen Marot,
John Fitzpatrick,
John B. Lennon,

Austin B. Garretson,
John P. White,
Bishop Charles D.
Williams,
Agnes Nestor,
Dante Barton.

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at San Francisco, that we most heartily indorse the work of the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, and pledge our support and cooperation in every way possible in harmony with the fundamental principles of trade unionism to further the securing of legislation by

Congress as set forth in the foregoing declaration of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Your committee would report that we heard Mr. Lennon in explanation on the foregoing resolution.

We find that the resolution enumerates as its purpose several important points upon which the American Federation of Labor has acted from time to time. These points may be stated as follows:

1. To change public sentiment to greater favor towards the trades unions.
2. To prepare for peace rather than for war.
3. That the martial forces of the country be kept exempt from police duty.
4. That education, industrial skill and the general well-being of the workers are all-important factors in preparedness of defense for our country.
5. A more equitable distribution of taxation.
6. Taking away the veto power of the Supreme Court of the United States.
7. Such laws or court regulations as will provide for the selection of petit or trial juries upon a basis of citizenship regardless of property qualifications.
8. To prevent here in the United States the organization and employment of such privately-armed and employed military forces or organizations as were used in Italy in the middle ages and then called condottieri.
9. To place wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment to some extent under and within the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission.
10. To resist the repeal of beneficial laws.
11. To keep the condition of unorganized workers before the public.

We believe that points 2, 4 and 11 may be taken together, they being so closely related that one can hardly be seriously considered without embracing the others. Your committee is in doubt as to the wisdom of getting mixed up in any way with the Federal Trade Commission, but we realize that for agitation purposes it may have considerable value.

We find it is the purpose of the organization proposed under the resolution to assist in keeping alive the agitation

set on foot by the investigation of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations and that the purpose and intention is to accomplish this end through the means of agitation by lectures and such publicity as can be obtained; further that the proposed organization is to be of help without in any way coming in conflict with the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor, and to act at all times in harmonious concert with this organization.

The idea presented by this resolution grew out of conferences and discussions between Mr. Lennon and Mr. Walsh, who felt that much good could be done by keeping alive the agitation commenced, and by a vigorous campaign for printing of such numbers of the hearings and the report of the Industrial Commission as will make it possible to furnish all who so desire a copy.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended to read as follows:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at San Francisco, California, that we most heartily endorse the work of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations and welcome the support and co-operation of the proposed Committee on Industrial Relations with the end in view of furthering legislation both national and state in harmony with the fundamental principles of trade unionism as expressed in and by the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternal Delegate Bevin in the chair.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon, in discussing the question, said in part: I desire to call attention to the fact that while the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations dealt with many different phases of economic conditions, yet in every instance the remedy prescribed, in the main, was the organization of the working people. That report, whether that part of it signed by Mr. Walsh and the three labor men or the parts that were signed by the other members of the Commission, indicates that there was a substantial agreement in the belief that if there is to be relief from industrial conditions it must come through the organization of labor in the trade-union movement and not anywhere else. About the time the Commission finally adjourned, and subse-

quent to that adjournment, our attention was called to the fact that there was in the labor movement—and among some people outside of the movement who are friendly—a demand that something be done in order to carry on the agitation and to keep alive the interest that had been secured during the life of the Commission. For this reason it was undertaken to form a committee in order to carry on that work. Rest assured that this commission or committee, headed by Mr. Walsh, is not going to interfere in any way in the business of trade unions of this country. We are going to help carry out the policies you have adopted, and, in so far as we may be able to do so, create public sentiment to bring about the legislation that has been and may be endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) asked if the committee recommended that a demand or petition be made to Congress to print the report of the Industrial Relations Commission.

Treasurer Lennon stated that the first work of the committee referred to, in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor, would be to secure the printing of enough reports to go to everybody in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, who desired them. He stated there were reports of investigations by a number of men and women that are of great importance to the workers, and the committee proposed to create an agitation for the publication of these reports, the evidence taken at hearings by the Commission, and the report itself.

Delegate Van Lear, Vice-President O'Connell and Treasurer Lennon discussed briefly the question of securing a sufficient number of the reports mentioned. The secretary of the committee stated that that matter would be taken up under a resolution to be reported on later.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Board of Mediation and Conciliation.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found a report of the action taken by the Council in conformity with the recommendation of the Committee on Adjustments

reported to the Philadelphia convention, and by that convention adopted, providing for the establishment of an American Federation of Labor Board of Conciliation and Mediation. We endorse and commend the action of the Executive Council in connection with this matter.

In connection with this section of the Executive Council's report your committee also considered the following resolution:

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, A great many jurisdictional disputes arise from time to time between international organizations connected or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, These jurisdictional disputes work a great hardship on the rank and file in the labor movement, and also to a great extent work a hardship upon the fair employers of organized labor through the stoppage of work; and

WHEREAS, These jurisdictional disputes have a tendency to throw great disrespect upon the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been suggested by a great many men connected with the labor movement, as well as by employers of organized labor, that a commission be created for the purpose of settling such jurisdictional disputes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention empower the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a commission of this character, said commission to be composed of three representative labor men, or women. The President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint three men (or women) to act as this commission at such times as the occasion may require, said three to be chosen from the particular section of the country in which the jurisdictional dispute may exist; this commission to have full power to summon witnesses from the various organizations concerned in the jurisdictional dispute and also to have full power to summon such employers to appear before them as may also be concerned in the dispute. Any member of any labor organization, or employer failing to respond to a summons from this commission and give true testimony, to be considered unfair to the labor movement. This commission to have the authority to engage temporary quarters in which to hold hearings; to hire the necessary clerical help, including stenographers, etc., in order that all necessary testimony may be obtained, and after a decision has been reached by this commission, the same to be turned over to the President of the American Federation of Labor to be

published in the *Federationist* and an official copy of such decision furnished to each of the organizations concerned in, or affected by, the jurisdictional dispute. All international organizations connected or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to give their entire support to the enforcement of a decision after same has been rendered by the commission. Any organization which may be a party to the jurisdictional dispute to have the authority, through its officers, to request the President of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the jurisdictional dispute and if in his opinion the appointment of a commission is justified, he to have full power to do so. Members of this commission to receive \$15.00 per diem and traveling expenses.

Fraternal Delegate Ammon in the chair.

Chairman McCullough: Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President O'Connell spoke at some length in favor of establishing some board that will have for its purpose the adjustment of disputes between organizations. He referred to his long experience on the Adjustment Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and stated that many of the disputes that have come before the committee could have been adjusted early in their existence if the people interested had been brought together before personal differences and prejudices had entered into the matter.

Chairman McCullough spoke at length in favor of the report of the committee.

In discussing the question President Gompers spoke of attempts that had been made in the past to settle grievances through committees, and of the failure of the plan in some instances.

Delegate Woll opposed the establishment of a board such as suggested by Vice-President O'Connell.

Delegate Furuseth spoke in favor of the adoption of the recommendation of the committee and opposed the plan suggested in the resolution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention adjourned to 2:00 p. m. of the same day.

NINTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:00 p. m., Thursday, November 18th, Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

Absentees—Goldstone, Kramer, O'Brien, McClory, Tobin (S.), Christman, Ford, Polokoff, Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, McSorley, Letroadec, Irwin, White (J. P.), Moore, Cannon, Curran, Baker, O'Connor, Steidle, Pettit, Dolan, Gillespie, Decker, Golden, Spiegl, Coffey, Alleyn, Harris, Jennings, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Holland, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Milton, Bomar, Holm, Johnson (S. P.), Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Lamoureux, Riley, Thompson.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Chairman McCullough, of the Committee on Report of Executive Council, continued the report of the committee, as follows:

Reports from Departments—Metal Trades Department—Railway Employees Department—Mining Department.

Under the above captions will be found the reports to the Executive Council from the Departments referred to. Your committee would recommend to the delegates that they familiarize themselves with these reports as giving them better information in regard to the progress that is being made by the Departments.

The Metal Trades Department especially reports progress in its efforts to secure better wages and better working conditions for the men employed in the several crafts represented in that Department.

The Railway Employees Department makes a similar report on its activities during the past year, presenting much information of interest and importance to the men who are represented in the crafts that make up that Department.

The report of the Mining Department calls attention to the fact that business has been unusually dull in the mining industry during the year, but that conditions are growing better and that the several crafts associated together in the Department are beginning to enjoy the benefits of renewed industrial activity.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Porto Rico.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found the report of Mr. Santiago Iglesias, President of the Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico, on the year's work in Porto Rico and other Spanish-American countries.

We commend to the earnest, careful attention of the delegates the pages of the Executive Council's report given over to President Iglesias as containing much valuable information on social and industrial conditions in the Island of Porto Rico and the other sections coming under the jurisdiction and administration of President Iglesias, which will afford support for the arguments advanced in favor of the granting of citizenship to the Porto Ricans and for the extension as rapidly as possible of the American labor movement so as to include the sections on which President Iglesias reports.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Canada.

In the Executive Council's report under the above caption will be found the report of Mr. P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress for the last year. Mr. Draper's report deals with the industrial life of the Dominion under abnormal conditions, and it is encouraging to find that the American labor movement has lost nothing in prestige or progress as a result of the disturbance of industry and commerce incident to the war.

The action of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in meeting the problems set before it in this great emergency marks its membership as being keenly and intelligently alive to their responsibilities as well as their opportunities.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North

America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose charter of affiliation was granted in the year 1897, has jurisdiction over all persons employed in the meat industry; and

WHEREAS, There are at the present time small dual organizations posing as Butcher Workmen, to the detriment of the labor movement as a whole, in violation of the recognized and admitted jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and which is injurious to the welfare and progress of the men engaged in the meat industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the International Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America is the only organization having jurisdiction over the Butcher Workmen, and recommend to all men engaged in the trade to affiliate themselves with their fellow workmen by becoming members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify the general and special organizers of the federation to organize the men in the meat trade into the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 19—By the San Francisco Labor Council:

RESOLVED, By the San Francisco Labor Council, that it hereby places itself on record as opposed to any interference with our present Coastwise Navigation Laws. These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards and to protect the vessels in their operation on our sea coast. The whole of the present merchant marine of the United States is the product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition. Having faith in the protection of those laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would be not only unjust to permit the injury to their investments by allowing cheaper, because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but also highly impolitic, because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; and further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Fed-

eration of Labor, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, California Metal Trades Association, California Foundrymen's Association and the Press

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There is under consideration the question of opening our coastwise trade to foreign-built vessels; and

WHEREAS, The world's history, now in the making, emphatically warns us not to rely on outside sources for our means of protection; and our ability to defend ourselves in times of war and to use the ocean highways in times of peace, will largely depend upon the upbuilding of our shipyards to the end that quantity in construction and efficiency in labor will eventually lessen the cost to a point where we may reasonably expect to meet any competition; and

WHEREAS, These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards, and to protect the vessels in their operations on our sea coast. All the present merchant marine of the United States is the by-product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition; and

WHEREAS, Having faith in the protection of these laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards, and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would not only be unjust to permit the injury to their investments of allowing cheaper because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but highly impolitic because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor rescind its action in concurring in Resolution No. 2, page 329, of the Philadelphia proceedings, and oppose any interference with our present coastwise navigation laws.

Resolution No. 19 and Resolution No. 56 were considered by your committee in connection with Resolution No. 22 in joint session with the Resolutions Committee, and the report of the joint committee will be made to this convention by the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 25—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Shipowners and their as-

sociates insist that they cannot operate vessels under the American flag in competition with vessels under the flag of some other nation unless they be permitted to run their vessels in their own way without being hampered by laws and rules that exist for the purpose of protecting the freedom of the seamen and the lives of passengers; and

WHEREAS, After more than one century of practically such condition, the United States, at the opening of the present war in Europe, found itself with very few vessels in the foreign trade and practically no native or naturalized seamen in any trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we favor the so-called McAdoo shipping bill and urge its enactment into law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; to the proper committee of Congress, and to the press.

Inasmuch as the subject matter of this resolution is dealt with in a more extended form by another resolution introduced in this convention and on which action has been taken, your committee recommends that no action be taken on Resolution No. 25.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 27—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Recent events have again conclusively demonstrated that in practical application there is one criminal law for the rich, and another criminal law for the poor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled at San Francisco, California, that we earnestly and solemnly warn the judiciary and the entire legal fraternity against the obvious grave consequences of a prostituted justice which sends an innocent workman like John R. Lawson to the penitentiary for life and permits a guilty, degenerate millionaire like Harry Thaw to purchase his way to freedom by liberal use of mammon; and be it, further

RESOLVED, That for the sake of free republican institutions, which cannot possibly be maintained except through a free and untrammelled judiciary and an impartial administration and enforcement of the law against rich and poor alike, we earnestly plead with all liberty-loving men and women to protest against the incarceration of John R. Lawson and to insist upon even and exact justice for every man, no matter how lowly the accused may be, and no matter where the trial may be held.

Your committee recommends that the preamble and first resolve be stricken

out and that the second resolve be adopted, the resolution then to read as follows:

RESOLVED, That for the sake of free republican institutions, which cannot possibly be maintained except through a free and untrammelled judiciary and an impartial administration and enforcement of the law against rich and poor alike, we earnestly plead with all liberty-loving men and women to protest against the incarceration of John R. Lawson and to insist upon even and exact justice for every man, no matter how lowly the accused may be, and no matter where the trial may be held.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union, and Delegate M. E. Decker of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers:

WHEREAS, Asiatic immigration and the resultant competition has for many years past been a menace to the industrial welfare of our people, especially in California and the Pacific Coast States, and also affects in no small degree certain other localities in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Because of this menace, it is the duty of the people to refrain from patronizing or employing Asiatics in any manner, as well as to demand extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law so as to apply to all Asiatics; and

WHEREAS, A sufficient appropriation by the Congress of the United States is needed for the purpose of registration and identification of Asiatics in order that exclusion laws may be properly enforced, thereby preventing illegal entry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in thirty-fifth annual convention assembled, reaffirm its former position, to the end that every effort be put forth to secure extension of the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion law so as to apply to all other Asiatics; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States be also requested to set aside such an appropriation as will permit of the establishment of a system of registration and identification for the enforcement of Asiatic exclusion, thereby preventing illegal entry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention opposes the patronizing or employing of Asiatics in any manner.

This resolution, referred to your committee by the convention after it had been sent to the Committee on Resolutions, was considered in connection with

that section of the Executive Council's report dealing with immigration. Your committee would recommend that the entire subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for action in connection with and conformity to instructions given to the Executive Council on the matter of Asiatic immigration.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, A struggle of more than twenty years on the part of the trade-union movement of our country to secure freedom for the seamen, promote safety of employment and travel at sea, and build up an American merchant marine without resorting to subsidy has culminated in the passage of the Seamen's law by the Sixty-third Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, An effort is being made to secure the repeal of the Seamen's law before it has had a trial under the plea that it was not well considered legislation, and would drive the American merchant marine from the sea; and

WHEREAS, The tonnage of the American merchant marine has increased more rapidly since the enactment of the Seamen law than in any other like period of our history notwithstanding the fact that American ship-owners knew that the act would go into effect on November 4th of this year; and

WHEREAS, This measure has been pending before Congress in one form or another for more than twenty years; has been thoroughly investigated on numerous occasions by the committees of both Houses where the representatives of all interests were given a full hearing; has been exhaustively debated in Senate and House by many of their ablest members; has been passed twice through both branches of Congress and several times through one branch; and was so generally approved, irrespective of party, that it was endorsed in the platforms of the two great political parties in 1912, all of which proves that it has had a most thorough consideration; and

WHEREAS, The freedom of the seamen and the safety of the traveling public must at all times take precedence over private profit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor stands unalterably opposed to the repeal of the Seamen's law or any attempt to impair the safety of travel at sea or renew the bonds under which seamen have been compelled to labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to present this resolution to the President and Congress of the United States and that all affiliated bodies be advised to adopt and submit

the substance of this resolution to their respective Senators and Congressmen.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, in discussing the resolution, said in part: The law was supposed to have gone into operation on the fourth of November. They had eight months to prepare, and nothing was done till three or four days before the law went into operation. The law provides for issuing certificates to able seamen. No certificate was issued until within four or five days of the fourth of November. This caused a tremendous congestion, in the different seaports, of men who wanted to obtain certificates. As a result of that, or for some other reasons, the examinations as to physical fitness did not work altogether well or even reasonably satisfactorily in some places. In other places it seems to be going along pretty smoothly. There was a hope, no doubt, on the part of certain people that by putting in the physical examination they would prevent the seamen from looking for the certificates. They found that did not occur. The seamen presented themselves in such numbers that in some places they had to put on four or five doctors. The difficulties that have arisen, to some extent, have been from the examination of the eyes of the men. A man, to serve as a seaman, is pretty sure to have fairly average eyes; otherwise he would not be employed except in strike times. As it stands today here in this city there are men rejected because of color blindness, when they can walk up Market street and look at one of those moving electric signs with red, green and yellow in it and tell the different colors. It does not make any difference for the purposes of this law what they are doing in that matter. The higher they set the standard, the better it is for the seamen as a whole, and the better it is for the traveling public as a whole, and we shall not complain of the highness of the standard in that direction. It seems, however, there is a disposition along the coast and in this city to do everything to hamper the men in getting the proper certificates. I am satisfied that when the law shall have been smoothed out, and the sections of the

law shall have been in operation long enough so that the smaller officials shall be prepared to carry it out in an honest and faithful way, it will probably prove the most successful legislation that has been adopted in half a century.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

WHEREAS, The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations has confirmed the experience of Labor in regard to the absolute domination by Organized Wealth over the courts and the machinery for administration of law and justice in many States; for instance, by the Rockefeller and Standard Oil interests in Colorado, the copper magnates in Michigan, the coal operators in West Virginia, and the Steel Trust and Erectors' syndicates in Indianapolis and Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The evidence gathered by said commission and Labor's experience in many celebrated cases, such as those of John Lawson in Colorado, Ford and Suhr in California, the Structural Iron Workers in Indianapolis, and Schmidt and Caplan in Los Angeles, prove the existence of a well-planned and relentless conspiracy on the part of Organized Wealth to crush the Labor Movement in all its branches and manifestations, with the aid of the courts and the use of certain ancient and worn-out legal doctrines, among which are those relating to conspiracy, constructive murder, accessory before the fact, intimidation, interference secondary boycott, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The time-honored institutions of legal procedure, such as the grand jury system, right of trial by jury, change of venue, bail and rules of evidence, all of which have been provided to safeguard and protect accused persons from cruel despotism and injustice, are now being constantly abused and perverted at the beck and will of Capital, to intimidate and enslave Labor; and

WHEREAS, Through such perversion of law and procedure Organized Wealth is permitted to single out and punish the active spirits in the Labor Movement, by holding them responsible for the acts of other persons involved in an industrial disturbance, without the necessity on the part of the prosecution to prove actual knowledge of or participation in the crime by the defendant, which legal condition is an anachronism and modern revival of the old procedure in cases of treason against the king; and

WHEREAS, This persecution of Labor by Organized Wealth in the courts constitutes the greatest existing grievance and menace affecting Organized Labor,

and it behooves the Labor Movement as a whole to take cognizance thereof and provide necessary defensive means to counteract these evil conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to take this matter up for thorough consideration and action with a view to restore to Labor in the courts impartial administration of law and justice and purge the judicial system of existing abuses; and further

RESOLVED, That in furtherance of the purport hereof said Executive Council is hereby authorized and directed, as soon as practicable after the adjournment of this Convention, to establish, in such manner and under such regulations as it may adopt, a general Defense Fund, the object of which shall be to provide legal defense in labor cases of general importance and interest, said fund to be maintained on a per capita basis by every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The great mass of evidence gathered by the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations shows the absolute domination of all avenues of justice by the powers of organized wealth, the Rockefeller Standard Oil in Colorado, the copper barons in Michigan, the coal barons of West Virginia, the Steel Trust and erectors' syndicate in Indianapolis and Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The evidence so taken, together with actual experience of labor as in the cases of John Lawson in Colorado, Ford and Suhr in California, Structural Iron Workers in Indianapolis, Joe Hillstrom, construction worker to be shot in Utah; and again in Los Angeles, Caplan and Schmidt, two more victims of Burns and the Steel Trust; and

WHEREAS, Labor's experience in all of these cases goes to show a well-planned conspiracy of organized wealth working through the courts and using as their weapon the latest method of intimidation, namely, the principle of constructive murder charge put into effect through the medium of "accessory before the fact" and "conspiracy"; and

WHEREAS, By these modern legal tactics the industrial and land barons are able to single out any active spirit, either during or after an industrial war, and charge him with murder and hold him responsible for any act growing out of such dispute, and without proving any actual knowledge or connection with the act whatever, or in shorter terms "making him a prisoner of war"; and

WHEREAS, Such methods are in reality a new form of the ancient use of the charge of "treason," thereby all progressive thought was for years stifled; and

WHEREAS, Power of wealth through

their vast property rights usurp control and direct the action of the grand jury system so that it becomes a new form of the ancient "Inquisition"; and

WHEREAS, The grand jury is a relic of medieval times and under such a system no defendant has any right to question the partiality or bias or interests of its members; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the International Longshoremen's Association, in session assembled, realizing the necessity of a united front in defense of our own people, does hereby further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to initiate a movement in that convention calling a national convention of all elements of labor to the end that a national defense fund may be raised, the grand jury system abolished, and that new uses of labor's economic strength be organized to resist aggression of the courts and to secure the release of labor's "prisoners of war."

As a substitute for the subject matter of the Resolutions No. 42 and No. 92, your committee recommends that the convention adopt the following:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, its Executive Council and its affiliated bodies have always been and still are keenly alert to the position of labor in its relation to the law, that in the future, as in the past, no act necessary to the full and complete protection of the rights of our members when attacked through the courts will be omitted, but that we stand ready at all times to defend any who may be brought into court because of their activity with the affairs or interests of the American Federation of Labor or any of its affiliated bodies.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (Introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

WHEREAS, The Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed by Congress to probe into the causes of existing industrial unrest, has concluded its work after conducting one of the most searching, comprehensive and instructive investigations made on that subject in this country; and

WHEREAS, The mass of information secured at the hearings of said commission contains most valuable testimony, suggestions and potential remedies for the future regulation of the industrial affairs of the nation, which information should be made accessible to the public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation be and are hereby instructed to take such measure as they may find expedient to secure from Congress an appropriation sufficient to defray the

necessary expenses for the publication of the records and testimony heard before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates F. W. Cotterill, C. R. Case, J. G. Brown, P. W. Dowler, J. A. Taylor, G. B. Harrison (delegates from State of Washington):

WHEREAS, The Industrial Relations Commission, authorized by Congress to investigate the causes of "Industrial Unrest" and make such recommendations as it deemed best, with a view to removing these causes, has made a report which is of tremendous value and importance to Labor, and more especially Organized Labor, since it dwells so strongly upon the indispensability of organization if the best interests of the workers are to be safeguarded; and

WHEREAS, The funds of the Commission would only permit of the printing of a very limited number of copies of the report, the supply of which has already been exhausted; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of our movement demand that this report be given the widest possible circulation, since it is probably the greatest document ever issued upon the subject with which it deals; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we instruct our Executive Officials in Washington, D. C. to request and if necessary demand that Congress make a sufficiently large appropriation for the printing of this report, to insure its widest possible circulation, to the end that every person in the United States of America, who desires it, may possess one.

Chairman McCullough: These resolutions, covering the same subject matter and with identically the same purpose, were considered together and your committee would recommend that the entire subject matter of the combined resolutions be referred to the Executive Council with full authority to take whatever action it may deem expedient and for the best interest of organized labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Gallagher (A. J.): I want to ask Delegate O'Connell or Delegate Lennon what they think will be the disposition of Congress in this matter. Is there liable to be an appropriation anyway near sufficient to allow a wide distribution of the Commission's report? Has the Commission made any recommendation for its distribution? Is there any indication that Congress will, unless urged to do so, provide for a wide distribution of the report?

Vice-President O'Connell, in discussing

the question, said in part: The Commission had filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives, who is the proper custodian during the recess of Congress, a complete record of the testimony taken and a complete report, including the portion of the report that has been printed by the Commission itself, and in addition special investigations made by some twenty different experts. The amount of money it would require will depend upon the number of books to be printed and the size of the books. It is estimated that anywhere from fifteen to twenty volumes of from five to six hundred pages will be needed. A large number of special reports which we did not have the funds to print, made by the investigators employed by the Commission, are of incalculable value to the labor movement. They cover every phase of our industrial life. The United States Medical Service, for instance, turned over to us one of its experts who spent two years upon sickness insurance, causes of death rates, the effect of different wages upon death, and it is a most wonderfully well-prepared report and will bring to the labor movement and the people of this country information on subjects that have never been in print before. As to whether there will be any effort to prevent Congress from printing, I will say that already the organizations of the employers of this country have set on foot a movement to prevent the printing of any of this report. If labor is interested in getting this information printed and in the hands of the American people, it will be up to labor to make an active, energetic campaign. It will be necessary for organized labor in every part of the United States to get in touch with their representatives—Congressmen and Senators—and urge upon them in every way possible the necessity of casting their votes for the publication of this report and the appropriation of funds to print a sufficient number to be of service to the people of the country.

Delegate Gallagher: I understand the committee refers the subject matter to the Executive Council with authority to act. That is rather a broad authority. I should like to see it include instructions.

Chairman McCullough: The reference was made in the broad and general way

to the Executive Council, so it would not be hampered by instructions from this convention in meeting any emergency or situation that might arise in its efforts to carry out such instructions.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.) in discussing the question said in part: I think Delegate O'Connell sounded the keynote when he said that no time can be lost and that our workers throughout the country should hasten to take action to secure the printing of this important document that has been prepared by the Industrial Relations Commission. I had a talk in a confidential way with one of the Ohio Representatives several weeks ago and he informed me that it would be surprising to the public generally, and particularly to the working men, to know the tremendous pressure that is being brought to bear upon the different Congressmen, and undoubtedly the Senators as well, with the object in view of suppressing, or perhaps of piling in the basement in a lot of boxes and barrels this very important document and then forgetting all about it. I was very much surprised, and, in fact, gratified to read the summary of the report as issued and circulated, and I might say I feel as though a vote of thanks is due the labor representatives upon that Commission for their activity in bringing out a report of that nature. It covers a field that has been practically a closed book to the masses of the people of this country, even those who, like ourselves, are active every day of our lives in the labor movement, and have been able to gather a vast amount of knowledge with respect to the economic and social conditions that exist in this country. It is the finest kind of propaganda that can be used by a labor organizer or agitator who will take up even the summary of this report and memorize some of the facts it contains for use when he goes into the field to urge workers to organize, while they still have the opportunity and the right, for the purpose of correcting some of these infamous conditions that have grown up in this country in the short space of half a century.

There is no doubt in my mind that at the coming session of Congress, when the proposition is made to publish this epoch-making document, there will go up a hue and cry against the reckless

expenditure. If I had my way about it, this publication would certainly take precedence over the bills that will be thrown into the hopper down there for the purpose of establishing another German militarism, perhaps, in these United States of America. I believe it ought to be made plain to the Congressmen and Senators who are supposed to serve the people of this country that this proposition is the dominant question as far as labor is concerned, and must be given attention and action first of all, even if it is necessary to spend a million dollars to put this into print. It would be better to spend four or five or ten million dollars in this way than to put it in a dreadnought or a man-of-war that would be blown up by a submarine the first time it goes out of the harbor.

Delegate Frey suggested that the Executive Council be instructed to prepare from the material, as soon as it can be secured, pamphlets dealing in a condensed way with the many questions that are covered in the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, the articles to be printed in the Weekly News Letter, so that in addition to the larger volumes there will be at the disposal of the members these convenient pamphlets that will give them some idea of the valuable material the Commission has collected.

Delegate Gallagher suggested that the printing of condensed reports would give those who opposed printing the complete reports an opportunity to say that it would not be necessary for Congress to print, as the reports had already been gotten out by the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Frey stated that the suggestion was that the pamphlets be prepared after the publication of the full reports by Congress.

Treasurer Lennon in discussing the question, said in part: I feel the entire work of the Commission should be published by Congress. In the little city where I live—a city of less than 40,000—I do not hesitate to say I will be able to get five thousand signatures to a demand upon Congress that the document be published. If all the delegates will do as much work as they can they will be able to convince Congress that its first duty lies in ordering an

issue of these documents, the plates to be preserved in order that additional editions may come forth as the people demand them. There are some Congressmen from Illinois that have said the document cannot be published because we have to take into consideration the preparing of this country against any enemy that may appear at any time in the future on the battlefield. I believe the battlefield is an industrial one; that it is there we have to gain our victories. There are many documents that have not been published at all, or even excerpts published from them, that are exceedingly valuable to every trade unionist that desires to talk even for five minutes in a meeting of his own local union, and if he desires to talk to a meeting of a general audience he will find material in those documents of very great value.

Secretary Morrison: A synopsis of the reports in question was prepared at the headquarters of the Federation and published in the News Letter, and it is the purpose of the officers at headquarters, when the report is printed, to take up each phase in its turn and prepare a synopsis along similar lines for publication in the News Letter. Immediately upon receipt of a printed copy of the report, the synopsis was prepared and published in the News Letter. One hundred thousand copies were printed and sent to the secretaries of all the local unions affiliated, to nationals and internationals and to central bodies for distribution. Our purpose was to reach our members with a full synopsis prior to the time it would be discussed in the newspapers and our membership probably misled.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists: Does the committee's report carry with it instructions to the Executive Council that the full proceedings be printed?

Chairman McCullough: Yes, it certainly does.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates F. W. Cotterill, C. R. Case, J. A. Taylor, P. W. Dowler, J. G. Brown, G. B. Harrison (delegates from State of Washington):

WHEREAS, The ever-growing intensity of unemployment as the chief cause of industrial unrest has been emphasized by the almost universal attention

drawn to it by the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations; by the appointment by Governor Dunne of Illinois of a commission on which are some of our own prominent officials to investigate the problem of that State, and by the Washington State Federation of Labor maintaining for the past two years, a standing committee upon the subject; all of which shows the widespread menace of unemployment and has brought it to the forefront of those matters pressing for immediate attention and solution; and

WHEREAS (a) In the last half century, in addition to repairing the ravages of a destructive civil war, industrial development (in the building of railroads, digging canals, harnessing water powers, clearing lands, drilling oil wells, opening mines, and in all other lines of industry) has gone on to a point where (in spite of the fact that we have changed from an importing to an exporting nation, and are now sending out more goods than ever before in our history; with the greatest crops we have ever harvested; and with financial reports showing a tremendous amount of business transacted) railroads stagnate for lack of business, and factories, mines, mills, and lands lie idle, or are only partly worked, all testifying to the fact that we have reached the point where our industrial equipment is capable of producing more than is necessary to supply our present population, thus closing up avenues for re-investment and throwing those workers, formerly employed in development work, into the ranks of the jobless;

(b) In Europe the introduction of women into industry since the beginning of the war and the continuation of the ordinary processes of production for the needs of the various countries involved in addition to meeting the enormous demands for commodities to be consumed by the armies in the field, indicate that at the close of hostilities there will be little, if any, employment for the returning soldiers; while in America, the attitude of the Labor Movement in opposition to militarism and the creation of immense stores of war material, if effective, can only mean the further increase of the problem by the displacement of those workers engaged in the manufacture of munitions, etc.;

(c) The shorter work-day so far secured has apparently failed to keep pace with the displacement of labor by our improving methods of production and as a result of this failure the pressure of unemployment is threatening not only the power of organized labor, but the cohesion of society itself; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, appreciating the importance of prompt action in this most vital matter, directs the Executive Council to make as comprehensive a survey of conditions as funds will permit, employing such special help as may be necessary, ascertain the probable length of work-day which will insure employment to all, and if possible suggest to the next

convention, methods by which this can be secured.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment is serious, if not the most serious in our lives. It not only destroys the producing and consuming power of the individual and his family, but it is the means whereby the employers keep the employed in active competition against each other. It is also the constant menace which is held over the employed to make them servile and submissive and work long hours for small wages, which results in the increased output of the employed, while it lessens the consuming power of himself and his family; and,

WHEREAS, One practical way to meet this situation would be to secure data, information and knowledge of the cause and far-reaching effect of unemployment, which if given proper publicity would drive those who profit by manipulating the labor market, so that we have an endless army of unemployed, from their well entrenched position. Another and more practical way is to shorten the hours of labor so that more will be employed, and increase the wages of the employed, thereby increasing his consuming power, which means more employment. In other words, give every man, woman and child their full consuming power, and the army of the unemployed will soon be in the ranks of the employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we instruct our Executive Council to initiate and authorize a plan whereby all available information on the effect and the possible solution of the question of unemployment can be compiled and given publicity, and that such plan provide that the individual members of the affiliated local unions report either through their international union, or city central body the number of hours they work per week or per month, and the number they don't work, and the cause of not working, whether caused by sickness, accident, slack season or depression in business; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention calls attention to the fact that the giant industries and corporations of America not only work their employees under inhuman conditions, but they absolutely destroy the home life of the workers by the long number of hours they compel them to work, and the only hope of the worker is to rely upon his efforts to organize and his personal activities if he is to secure relief from the brutal conditions forced upon him by a manufactured army of unemployed workers.

The foregoing resolutions, containing practically the same subject matter and dealing with the same state of affairs and with a similar purpose in view, were considered together and your com-

nittee recommends that they be referred to the Executive Council for such action as may be deemed necessary in connection with the reference in the report of the Executive Council under the caption of Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws, to be found in the Executive Council's report to this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Government employees have used their skill, knowledge and experience obtained in the public service, and aided in the establishment and installation of plate printing plants on alien soil, which are now being operated, managed and controlled by those who are unfriendly to organized labor, to the damage and injury of American organized workmen; and

WHEREAS, This is antagonistic and in violation of the aim, objects and principles for which the labor movement has been contending for years, and which brought about the enactment of the alien contract labor law; and

WHEREAS, The International Steel and Copper Plate Printers' Union of North American in convention assembled July 15, adopted, and Plate Printers' Local No. 2, Washington, D. C.; Plate Printers' Local No. 1, Philadelphia, Pa.; Plate Printers' Local No. 3, Boston, Mass.; Plate Printers' Locals Nos. 5 and 8, New York City; the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor; the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity; the Central Labor Union, Philadelphia, Pa., the Baltimore Federation of Labor; the Boston Central Labor Union, and the Washington Central Labor Union ratified, confirmed and endorsed the following resolution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of San Francisco on the — day of November, 1915, hereby endorse the above resolution and authorize the Executive Council to do any and all things to have the following resolution enacted into law:

RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he hereby is, requested to cause such rules and regulations to be adopted and placed in force for the regulation of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing as will effectually forbid and prevent the officials and employees of said Bureau from giving their time, skill, knowledge, experience or service upon any basis to any foreign government or to any individual, firm or corporation whatsoever, domestic or foreign, for

the purpose of assisting any such government, individual, firm or corporation in the establishment or carrying on of any printing or engraving business or of any business whatsoever which is or may be directly or indirectly competitive with American industry, or which may directly or indirectly deprive American labor of its employment and means of livelihood.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ferguson: May I ask the chairman the intention of non-concurring this resolution?

Chairman McCullough: The reasons are so many and so far-reaching that I do not believe it would be fair at this time to undertake to rehearse them all. The chief objection to the resolution is that it undertakes to stop an avenue to improve conditions on the part of certain workers who are unfortunate enough to be employed by the Government. It prohibits plate-printers who are employed by the Government from doing something that plate-printers employed by private corporations are left free to do, the plate-printers being members of the same organization and generally working under the same conditions. The adoption of the regulation asked for by this resolution would place upon the plate-printers employed in the Government Bureau of Engraving and Printing in Washington a restriction that would not be placed upon the plate-printers employed by the American Bank Note Company, the Western Bank Note Company, or any other private institution doing this work. It would not achieve the purpose plainly aimed at by the resolution, the prevention of the establishment by foreign governments of plate-printing plants for the printing of their own money or bonds or for doing private work. It would merely prevent a plate printer from the government service going to a foreign country and setting up such a plant. A plate printer from a private concern could go. If we were to enact a law that would prevent an American plate printer from doing such work it would leave the field open to plate printers of foreign countries. I doubt very much whether we could enact a law in the United States that would seriously affect the plate

printer of Canada; I know it would not affect the plate printer of Great Britain, or France, or Germany or any other of the foreign countries where they have these plate printers and do this work.

Delegate Ferguson, in discussing the question, said in part: When we appeared before the committee the question was asked by one of the committee, "Does the plate printer desire to monopolize the plate-printing industry?" I am here to state that the plate printers do desire to monopolize the plate-printing industry for organized plate printers; and I do not think there is a delegate here who truly represents the organization that sent him here that does not want to monopolize his industry for the organized workers. We can have no objection to private parties sending out men to teach people in foreign countries a trade; but we do object to men in the service of the United States, paid by you and me to do a certain service, being sent to teach alien people a trade that will allow them to compete with ourselves and our brothers in this country. We do not oppose the United States sending its employees into foreign countries to teach the people the science of government, but we do oppose sending these employees to teach people a trade that will enable them to compete with labor in the United States.

Delegate Ferguson, during his remarks, called attention to Resolution No. 1, reported favorably by the Committee on Resolutions, which calls upon the United States Government to prohibit the musicians of the Marine Band entering into competition with civilian musicians; and to Resolution No. 35, referring to the employment of men who are not citizens of the country on public work, also reported favorably by the Committee on Resolutions, and asked that the resolution of the Plate Printers also receive favorable consideration in order that they would not have to compete with alien labor.

Delegate Ryan, in discussing the question said in part: The proper construction has not been placed upon this resolution. I said before the committee that it was one of the most important resolutions that could be presented before the convention, not because of the fact

that it affects my trade, but because it affects the principles of Americanism and the principles of organized labor. What do we seek to do? We seek to restrain Government employees. Why? Because the law says we can do it. We cannot restrain the outsider, but those we can hold, I claim, we have a right to restrain. The resolution applies only to Government employees while working in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing from spending their vacation time in Cuba, sent there by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, accompanied by machinists and others, to teach the people there. They have taken our boys from New York and employed them down there for a little while, with the pledge that they were to stay on the job, and after they had taught the men who were picking up the rags around the floor and wiping off the machinery, they were dismissed and those men ratted the trade. We have a very proper contract alien-labor law, which prevents an alien contract laborer from coming into this country. I want to know the difference between sending out our Government employees to set up a plant on alien soil, teach them the business and take the work from the American Bank Note Company in New York and Canada, and bringing people into this country to do the work. I hope something will be done that will protect the plate printers who have been a loyal and faithful part of this movement.

Delegate Berry: The Committee on Executive Council's Report, as has been indicated by Delegate Ryan, was not able to give this proposition the attention, possibly, it deserved. It must be evident to the delegates here assembled that the proposition has considerable merit, and I arise at this time to offer an amendment to the committee's report that the subject matter as a whole be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to render every service practicable in the interest of the plate printers' organization. (Seconded by Delegate Ferguson.)

Chairman McCullough discussed the question further, and gave additional reasons why the committee presented the report it did.

Vice-President Duncan: The chair will state to Delegate Berry that the motion made is negative to the motion before

the house and will only be in order if the report of the committee is voted down.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Deviny, Delegate Furuseth, Chairman McCullough, Delegate Miller (O.).

Delegate Berry then moved that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for investigation. (Seconded and carried.)

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Adolph Germer, of the United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The large capitalist interests, especially those who deal in munitions of war, have inaugurated and are carrying on an extensive pro-military campaign under the deception of "Preparedness"; and

WHEREAS, This military mania has been introduced in some of the public schools in order to instill the susceptible infant mind with pro-military ideas; and

WHEREAS, The military, both militia and regular army, are in the most part made up by the workers, while at the same time the military is the bulwark of the capitalists when the workers are forced to go on strike to maintain their conditions or get a little greater share of the wealth they create; and

WHEREAS, Military forces are organized instruments for murder and destruction of property, the product of labor; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular annual convention assembled, most emphatically protests against the introduction in our public schools of military propaganda; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the workers to desist from affiliating with any branch of the military forces.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland: I move as an amendment to the report that the resolution be adopted, with the exception of the last resolve.

Vice-President Duncan: The committee recommends non-concurrence. The amendment will not be in order unless the recommendation of the committee is voted down.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was voted upon and carried.

Delegate Germer, as the introducer of the resolution, stated that he had a right to the floor to discuss it before a

motion to adopt the report of the committee could be acted upon.

Vice-President Duncan stated that under the circumstances, and in accordance with the rules of the convention, the introducer of a resolution had a right to the floor before the vote was taken. He stated because of that rule the question was not settled and that Delegate Germer could speak on the resolution.

Delegate Germer, Mine Workers: It has always been my understanding—and I think I am correct in it—that the organized trade union movement is the vanguard of all progressive thought. And I believe I am right when I say that perhaps the American trade union movement is the only one that is not, and has not been for years, strongly anti-militaristic. Militarism is nothing but a relic of barbarism. It is the military reign of Europe that has for more than a year drenched the nations of Europe with human blood, where our comrades, the men of labor, have been torn into fragments because of the vested interests turning those nations into a slaughter-house. And since the European war the vested interests in this nation have taken advantage of the tragedies on the other side in order to create a pro-military sentiment here in the United States. Not a single avenue is overlooked. Our public schools are invaded and the infant mind is being imbued with pro-military ideas; theatres, movies, civic organizations, institutions of every possible character are being used in order to create a favorable sentiment in the United States in order that hundreds of millions of dollars may be used to build instruments to destroy property, the product of labor, and to destroy human life more effectively and in greater numbers, so that this nation, too, will be turned into a slaughter-house such as exists in Europe. There are many delegates here, and many pro-militarists, who would be exempt from military duty should this nation ever be plunged into war; but I refuse to go to some other nation to shoot some other workers and I refuse to be shot by them. Some may ask why it is, if the European trade union movement was so strongly anti-militaristic the workers are now in the trenches fighting? And I reply it is not

because of the trade union movement in Europe, but in spite of it, and it is the overwhelming power of the capitalist class that has forced the workers of the different nations to shoot each other. I am interested in heading off a movement of that kind in this country. If you look over the list of those who are promoting that delusion of preparedness you will find they are those who grow rich, fabulously rich, in dealing in war munitions. It is from them the sentiment receives its life. And the sentiment is being spread through the agencies that have coined millions out of the human misery of Europe. J. Pierpont Morgan and his partner, Gary of the Steel Trust, and other kindred interests, are now making millions out of the European war; and to have the war continue indefinitely they must get this country to increase its armaments, in order to coin still more profits out of the industry. If this country has a half billion dollars to spend, as is proposed in the coming session of Congress, then I say let this nation spend it in the preservation of human life rather than in its destruction. Anything that is not constructive must necessarily be destructive. The objection may be raised that we may be involved in war with a foreign foe and we may be helpless victims. I don't think any foreign foe, for the next fifty years at least, will desire to invade any other nation; I don't think the crippled and maimed of Europe will entertain for the next half century at least the idea of crossing the seas and invading this nation. People say we must have a strong army and a strong navy in case it is required to develop our foreign trade. Very good, but I say if we have surplus production here in the United States, let it be distributed to the unemployed, the hungry and the ragged, rather than force it on a foreign nation by the bullet and the bayonet. I say our schools must not be turned into institutions to create a desire and sentiment to snuff out human life at the command of our master class. And when the time comes to fight let us remember this: That the fighting will not be done, the guns will not be shouldered, the trenches will not be occupied, by those who live in Fifth Avenue and grow rich out of the

profession of war; but the guns will be shouldered and the trenches occupied by the working class. And I say the working class, we men and we women of labor who have to bear the burdens of war, should take a firm stand against enlarging and increasing the extent and efficiency of our machinery of destruction of property and destruction of life. I am unalterably opposed to in any way increasing the army and navy, because they will not be made up of those who are of no further use to society, but of those in the best period of their lives, and we will be robbed of their services. I know of no reason why we should not vote against the committee's report; I know of every reason why we should adopt the resolution and place the trade union movement, the light-bearer of progress, firmly on record as opposing the militarism of big business and favoring the preservation of life and property.

Chairman McCullough, Typographical Union: I would like to ask Delegate Germer what, if any, suggestion he has to make for the protection of the United States in the event of an attack of some foreign power, or in the event the United States might, as has already been quite within the range of immediate possibilities, enter into a conflict with a foreign power for the purpose of protecting our citizens?

Delegate Germer: In the first place, the United States has not been invaded since 1775, and I am not possessed of that nightmare of seeing this nation invaded for some time to come. Of course, if we refuse, if the workers of America refuse and fall to carry on an anti-military propaganda, and the workers of other nations refuse to carry on an anti-military propaganda, it will mean that we will have a pro-military propaganda and each nation will be preparing to prevent the invasion of another nation.

Chairman McCullough: Will you answer my question?

Delegate Germer: I am trying to. I tried a while ago—perhaps I did not speak in as good English as I might—to say that I did not fear that maimed and crippled Europe will invade the United States for the next fifty years.

Delegate Furuseth: I was listening with very great earnestness and very great interest, indeed, to the speech of

Delegate Germer; but I failed to find anything in it about the resolution in question here or about the committee's report. When it comes to the question of preventing an increase in the army and navy I might be with him; when it comes to the question of dealing with the people who furnish materials for war, now and at any other, time, I might be with him; when it comes to the question of dealing with the military condition of the country, I might be with him; but that is not the question here. The question here is about physical training and drill in schools; the question here is about training boys to work together in gangs in schools; the question here is about training the boy that goes to the public school in the use of arms. When he says that must not be done I am not with him. I hope to see the day that the boy in school will be trained in the use of arms; and the father at home will train him how to use them. What is the boy going to gain by becoming a sissy? Do you want him to stand together with his fellows in future years in the trade union movement to face anything that may come? How is he going to learn it? What chance has he got? Do you want to teach him self-abnegation, so that he will do anything the Garys and the Morgans want him to do? What will you do with him when he leaves your home and is in somebody else's employ, and he must keep his tongue in his teeth for fear of losing his job? If you give him all the information about the use of arms, the use of his body and the advantage of standing together until he is sixteen years of age, and you teach him how to use that knowledge, I will leave him to the other fellow forever after, and he will take care of your proposition.

Treasurer Lennon: I desire to support the report of the committee for this reason: If that resolution is adopted it is open to the interpretation by the teachers and the educators of this country that we hold that they are militarists. Now, during the last two or three years my association with that class of men has been greater than at any time in my life, and I say that the large percentage of them are absolutely and unqualifiedly against militarism, and are with the trade union movement on

that question; and to adopt the resolution would be a reflection on that class of people which is not warranted by the facts.

Delegate Donlin moved the previous question.

Chairman McCullough: The chairman of the committee would like a word before that question is put.

Delegate Donlin: It will take half the night just to get their names in the record.

The motion to close debate was lost by a vote of 79 in the negative to 77 in the affirmative.

Chairman McCullough: With no desire or purpose, as I have said before on other matters, to prolong discussion, I desire at this time to make my position clear. In the first place, I am as thoroughly and completely pledged and devoted to the cause of anti-militarism as is Delegate Germer or any other delegate on the floor. I have spoken and written just the sentiments that have been spoken here by Delegate Germer in his opposition or his denunciation of the wastefulness and destruction of war; but I am confronted, just as we all are confronted, with a condition and not a theory. I asked Delegate Germer a question which he did not answer. I did not expect that he would answer it, because I cannot answer it myself and I doubt if any man living can answer it. When the Lusitania sank off Old Kinsale Head and carried down to death thirteen hundred people, a large number of them American men and women and babies, as a result of an act of war, the American nation flew into a white heat of indignation; and the wave of feeling that swept the United States from the northern boundaries to the southern, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific was so strong that the President went off and secluded himself for days and days rather than venture a public statement while the temper of the nation was at such a white heat. We were never closer to war and not engaged in it than we were at that time; at a word from the President of the United States the American people would have arisen and entered the war. The President of the United States laid down certain propositions and insisted upon

them, and through diplomatic channels was enabled to enforce his will; but I ask you where we would have been in case the German government had refused, as it might easily have done, to have recognized our position? How would we have proceeded to protect the rights of American citizens that were then attacked? Nor is it alone with the German government we are dealing in this question. We have a very serious question—and had at that time—with the government of Great Britain, that was held in abeyance until our controversy with the German government should be settled. The British government has not so far torpedoed any passenger boats carrying our men and women, but the British government has deliberately ignored the right of American citizens to traffic freely between port and port of this country and neutral countries. The brother says this country has not been invaded since 1775. The country was invaded in 1812 on just that question and the capitol of the United States was burned, and burned because this country was not in position to defend itself when Great Britain came in. Now, don't shut your eyes to facts, brother. There is not a man on the floor of this convention to-day who would vote to plunge this nation or any other nation into such an awful, such an inconceivable state of affairs as exists in Europe; but keep in mind always the fact that that man is respected only who is able to protect himself, that nation is respected only that is able to protect itself. The morals between individuals, unfortunately, deplorably unfortunately, are not the morals between nations. As far as treaty obligations are concerned, look at what has happened. When the British ambassador to Berlin went to the headquarters in Wilhelmstrasse to secure his passports and make his farewell to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, the German minister expressed regret that England was going to enter the war because of a scrap of paper. And what indignation, what horror, what an outburst of resentment followed the invasion of Belgium by Germany in violation of that same treaty—that scrap of paper! It was such that up to the present time it has practically blinded the eyes of the American people to the

fact that Great Britain and Russia violated Persian neutrality, that Great Britain and France violated Grecian neutrality.

Delegate Flaherty, Post Office Clerks: A point of order. I want to ask whether or not we are going to coincide with the declaration of the neutrality of the United States government or not?

Vice-President Duncan: We will stand for the declaration of neutrality.

Chairman McCullough: I have undertaken to briefly, without argumentation, place before the convention a condition that actually confronts us. The brother said he did not apprehend that bleeding Europe would be able to attack the United States within fifty years. There is no need of going into a discussion of that question; but the people of Europe are not the only people in the world, nor the only ones from whom we are liable to attack. There are others, and they are none too friendly to us, and nobody knows that better or feels it more keenly than the people who live on the Pacific Coast. I am not arguing or contending for war. I have seen enough of war. I spent my babyhood days in the midst of war. My earliest recollections are of bleeding men carried from a battlefield into my father's home and there treated for their wounds. Yes, I know something of war. I saw our place overrun and swept by war. Now, don't get it into your heads that I am standing here contending for war. What I want to impress upon this convention is that we must be ready to meet any emergency at any time, and we can not do it unless we begin sometime to get ready to meet that emergency; and the best possible time is to begin training our boys and our girls in discipline, in orderly, effective movement at a time when they are most susceptible to that training. And that is not introducing military propaganda into the public schools; it is common sense.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners: The question was asked by Delegate McCullough, what would happen in case we had decided upon the sinking of the Lusitania that the United States would go to war. Now, I am not going to defend the sinking of the Lusitania, because if I did I would be contending in favor of war. If I were to uphold the right of the Germans to sink the Lusit-

tania or invade Belgium, that logic would give the United States the right to do the same thing. I am opposed to Germany doing those things, and I am opposed to the United States preparing to do those things. Now, conceding the honesty of purpose of Delegate McCullough and others who have taken the other position on this matter here, that is exactly the state of mind that the Morgans, the Schwabs and others in favor of war want the people to accept. If we go out and say it is necessary to prepare for war, but we are not going to war, the minute we are prepared for war we will be plunged into war if they can make a dollar profit out of it. Now as to what would have happened if the country had been prepared to go to war upon the sinking of the Lusitania. I will tell you what happened. We did not go to war, and if we had been prepared we would have been plunged into war and have our legions in Europe now. We have a boundary of three thousand miles on the north of us on which there is not a gun or a soldier, and nobody dreams of war; but if we had bristling bayonets on each side of that boundary we would have war. When you prepare for war you will have it. I have lived in every section of this country. I have gone over the Rocky Mountain States and into wild mining and lumber camps where he who did not carry a gun was the exception and he who did not have notches on his gun was a tenderfoot. I never carried a gun and never got into a fight; but those who carried guns killed with their guns and were killed with somebody else's guns. It was nothing unusual to wake up in the morning and find there had been a fight the night before, not with fists but with guns, and John Smith and two or three others were killed. That came about because they were prepared to fight, they were prepared to kill, and at the first opportunity they seized their guns and killed or were killed. And the same is true of nations. That is the situation we have to consider— if we prepare for war we have to go into war. A moment ago the fearful crime of the sinking of the "Lusitania" was spoken of. We have had just as fearful crimes right here at home for which no restitution has been made. I helped to pick up the bleeding forms of

members of our unions, I helped to bury them, murdered by the military forces of the State or nation as the case might be. I helped to pick up the quivering forms of fifteen- or sixteen-year-old girls who were raped by men in the uniform of the State militia with the Stars and Stripes over their heads, and neither State nor nation has attempted to right any of these wrongs. A few years ago in Ludlow, Colorado, nineteen of our women and children were killed by the militia of the State under the Stars and Stripes and that wrong has not been righted. Militarism ran rampant there for the time being and the wives and children of the mine workers have received no compensation for the wrongs imposed upon them. Up in Calumet, Michigan, two years ago seventy-five of our women and children were murdered for the benefit of Quincy Adams Shaw of Boston and his colleagues. We protested from one end of this country to the other. We held great mass meetings and passed resolutions and after months forced Congress to send a committee there to find out who was responsible. The committee came back and for nine months submitted no report. When the people had forgotten, they announced they would not submit any report; they let it die in committee. Before we talk of going to war to redress the wrong of sinking the "Lusitania" we have got to redress the wrong of the murder of seventy-five women and children in Calumet. I am opposed to fighting, I am opposed to war, but I serve notice here and now that if I must fight, if I must go to war, by the gods I will fight for myself and war for myself and not for capitalists such as Schwab and Morgan and Rockefeller! What benefit are the workers going to get out of this war, no matter who wins?

Delegate Furuseth: Assuming you would do all those things, and you would want every one else to do them, don't you think it would be well for the boys in school to learn discipline, to learn to act together?

Delegate Cannon: The question is, would it be advisable to train the children in militarism?

Delegate Furuseth: In the use of arms.

Delegate Cannon: No, I don't think

it would be advisable. I don't want to take the unformed mind of the child, boy or girl, and inoculate it with ideas of force; I would rather impress upon it the ideals of peace, and the happiness of living in the community without strife, or war, or destruction. I don't want to teach the child at an early age that force is the method of settling disputes; I want it to use the talents of reason and mentality and intellect to settle them, and if reason and mentality and intellect had been used in Europe there would be no such fight there now. War is madness. War is the suppression and the killing of civilization. War is the destruction of what the race has built up through thousands of generations and I don't want to lose anything we have gained. In Europe they are discussing the advisability of establishing, instead of monogamy, a system of polygamy; they are discussing the advisability of legitimatizing the children born out of wedlock, because everything is going to feed this mad war. I have nothing against the child born out of wedlock, but I do say if civilization is going to move forward, if we are going to uphold the institutions that are good, we must try to put an end to war, we must not allow our moral standard to be reduced, we must not allow men to make a profit out of conditions of war or anything else; we must stand for peace and settle our disputes, not by resort to war but by resort to peaceful methods. If we do that there will be no need of training children in the implements of war. Do you know we have States in the Union where you are subject to a term of twenty years in the penitentiary if you are found with a gun in your house? But the gunman can carry a gun, the man who goes out and murders for hire has his gun, but the citizen hasn't. In that very State they tried in the recent election to make the military law superior to the civil law. And you call that preparedness? It is preparedness for war not for peace; preparedness for murder, preparedness to wipe out civilization and erect on the throne the god of capital, the god of profit and cheap labor kept in subjection ever after. One of the delegates from England said they wanted conscription in England, not for the war, but after

the war; and they want preparedness here more to keep labor in subjection than for any other purpose. And I for one am not going to give my consent to it.

President Gompers: Joining with every delegate who has characterized war in the terms so justly employed, I want to make it clearly understood that I am and have been all my life, at least from my young manhood until to-day, a pacifist; I have believed that with the civilization of our time we are growing out of the idea of war. I have made some contribution to the literature and the other means of discussion against war. At a meeting in Boston some fifteen or sixteen years ago I made the declaration, upon my own authority, that I looked forward to the time when the working people of the civilized world would make war impossible; that in the last analysis if we could not prevent war in any other way, the workers would refuse to manufacture the armaments of war, and that the workers would refuse to go to war. I lived under that impression for about forty years of my life. When the American Federation of Labor sent me over to attend the meeting of the International Secretariat at Paris, one of the greatest meetings I ever attended was held in that city and the delegates from various countries, each for his own country, declared his unalterable fealty to the ideals for peace. Among them I had the honor and the privilege, in so far as I had the power, to pledge the men of the American labor movement that we would stand for international peace.

I call to your attention this fact, that in the spring of 1914 the representative of the French trade-union movement had a conference with the representative of the German trade-union movement for the purpose of determining their course of action in the event of war breaking out; and the representative of the trade-union movement of France declared that if the working people of Germany were about to take a position against war the French trade unionists and workers would not go to war. The declaration of the representative of the toilers of France remained unanswered.

On the 29th of July, or the 1st of August, 1914, there came upon the world this proc-

lamation that war was about to begin. I would not hurt any human being physically, scarcely in self-defense, and I do not under-estimate the life of the meanest of the people of the world; but because in an indignant moment some representatives of a secret society in Serbia assassinated a man and a woman, the world's conflagration began. And all that has occurred since is the manifest expression in regard to the murder of a man and a woman. And we find—what? When the Emperor of Austria declared war upon Serbia, the Austrian workmen responded to the colors. When Russia's Czar declared war, the workers of Russia flew to the colors. When Germany declared war upon Russia, the proletariat of Germany responded to the colors. When England declared war and France declared war, the workers of those two countries responded to the colors, and so on, and so on. I am free to say to you, my friends, that when these things occurred much of my hopes was destroyed, and I am free to confess that I have had to revise my judgment upon the question of international peace and war. I believed, in so far as international affairs were concerned, we could assume in the United States the position of non-resistance—of peace, of reason, of intellect; but the old biblical story of "Love thy neighbor as thyself" has been shot to pieces. You may love your neighbor and want to help him, but if he treads upon the tail of your coat sufficiently hard you are going to hit back. I am in hopes that out of this war there shall not come international force to compel a recalcitrant country to obey the biddings of an international court, by the armed forces of the military and the navy to enforce the will of the world upon any one nation, because of the possibilities that the tyranny of the world may be employed against the development of the people of a nation for the very financial and material profit and greed to which reference has been so eloquently made. But this I believe—and I find myself in excellent company—that there ought to be some international basis to determine the moral conscience of the people as to the justice or the injustice of the action of any particular nation. I would not have force of a military or naval

character employed, I would use what Ireland coined and what the labor movement of America has put into action, the boycott,—the world's boycott against a nation that flies into the conscience and the face of the world. I had hoped that this subject when discussed at all would be upon a broader declaration than the one of a military training of the youth in the schools. Let me say this to you, men and women of toil, that we are living in a republic, and because we term our system of government in the United States a republic, that does not insure to the people either protection or peace. A republic, a people, unwilling to defend the institution of self-government are not worthy to have a republic. I am opposed to militarism now, as I have ever been, but I do not want to shut my eyes to the fact that the children in our public schools are not receiving that physical training which is necessary to make a virile manhood and womanhood. In Switzerland men are trained to be physically strong as well as mentally sound, and it is generally regarded by students that the system prevailing there is the best concept; and with that development, with that system, has grown up manhood and character that challenge the admiration of the world. In Switzerland every man is a soldier, not necessarily to go to war, but he has the physical and manual training necessary to defend himself, his family and his country. The system is democratically organized, democratically administered and democratically controlled. What we want is to eliminate the evils to which Delegate Cannon and Delegate Germer have given expression, the evils resulting from the maladministration of our military affairs. What we want is to see to it that the people of the United States, the great mass of the farmers and the workers in industry, shall be thoroughly trained and organized; and in the interest of the people of our country control the military, the militia, the naval forces in the interest of peace, in the interest of justice, in the interest of democracy, in the interest of humanity. To say that we will leave the administration of the affairs of the military forces of our country in the hands and in the power of the men so well described by some of the delegates is to sur-

render power in advance. I would not have the military composed of and controlled by a select few; I want it in the hands of the democracy of America. The people in America and the wage earners in industry and agriculture form a very large mass of the people, and if we do but our duty we shall see to it that they are not going to use the army or the militia against the people. Already even among our "capitalist class" we have found this expression that the military must not be used as strikebreaking agencies in the interest of employers. The newspapers have discussed it. There is much to say, but

since the chairman has suggested that we must vacate this hall in a few minutes, I therefore close with submitting these few thoughts.

The report of the committee to non-concur in the resolution was carried.

Delegate Woll: The Committee on Education is ready to report upon the subject submitted to it yesterday.

The Chairman stated that the time for adjournment had arrived.

Delegate Woll: The committee will report to-morrow.

At 5:45 the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m. Friday, November 19th.

TENTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 19, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 19, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kramer, Conway, Christman, Boyden, Scooby, Feeney, Mahoney, Letroadec, Call, Hayes (F. J.), Moore, Slissman, Norris, Deviny, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Coffey, Ogletree, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, McGinley (C.), Keller, Porter, Spooner, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Dowler, Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Brown, Quesse, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Thompson.

Delegate Flaherty, National Federation Post Office Clerks, was excused from further attendance, as he was obliged to leave the city on account of important business.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1915.
Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of
Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

In behalf of the distressed members of our organization, victims of the American Anti-Boycott Society, the defendant debtors in the Loewe suit and judgment, who are doomed to lose their homes and all their earthly possessions, and in behalf of our general membership, I thank the officers and delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for their action in recommending substantial assistance be given those innocent victims of an unjust law, or the mistaken interpretation of same, by our courts, confident that the great part of labor will respond generously to an appeal so deserving and as such unanimously endorsed by your honorable body.

JOHN W. SCULLEY,

International President United Hatters of North America.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Delegate McCullough, chairman of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

Resolution No. 81—By the Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association has

consolidated with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, charters having been issued to the local unions of the Association as local unions of the Brotherhood; and

WHEREAS, the consolidation of the two organizations has taken place with the knowledge and approval of the Executive Council of the Federation, the President of the Federation being a party to the agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters be recognized as having jurisdiction over all work hitherto considered as being under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate John Kean, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, It is very necessary that the railroad workers and the workers of the maritime transportation industry co-operate with each other in times of industrial strife; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to devise all necessary ways and means to bring those workers together in such a way as to be able to render each other all necessary moral support in case of either being involved in industrial strife.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make inquiry and report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor the feasibility of carrying out the work proposed by the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The spirit of militarism is rampant abroad and is being fostered in the schools of this republic by the introduction of military drills, wearing of uniforms and many other methods calculated to instill into the minds of our children dreams of fame through

war and the thought that killing and maiming of human beings is legitimate when ordered by a "superior officer"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual session assembled, that we deplore the tendency to promote military drills and the war spirit in the public schools of our country and urge upon trade-unionists and friends of peace everywhere to begin with discouraging militarism in all places where children meet and play.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

Delegate Van Lear, Machinists, arose to discuss the report of the committee.

President Gompers: The two resolutions on this subject should have been reported upon at the same time. I shall hold, unless otherwise ordered by the convention, that the subject matter was disposed of at the close of our session yesterday.

Delegate Van Lear objected to the ruling of the chair, but did not appeal from it, and no further action was taken upon the resolution or the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 91.—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, In this day of centralization of capital employed in the shipping industry, it is deemed necessary that the International Longshoremen's Association be made a representative, if possible, of all the classes of labor employed in the handling of the water-borne freight of this and other countries within the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

WHEREAS, We believe other crafts intimately related to this trade find that there must be co-operation through a working agreement or by some other method of all the working forces represented by international organizations of marine workers, if the increased strength of the shipping companies is to be successfully combated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association delegates call upon the American Federation of Labor to take immediate action towards having conferences of representatives of the various international unions of the marine trades for the purpose of discussing the inauguration of a Marine Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegate Harry

L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the amalgamation of allied industries, with the object in view of decreasing the number of jurisdictional disputes in the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The cleaning, pressing and dyeing industry is practically a branch of the laundry industry, as is proven by the fact that steam laundries throughout the country are installing, or have in many instances already installed, a department for the cleaning, pressing and dyeing of clothes; and

WHEREAS, The employees in the cleaning, pressing and dyeing department will amount to but a very small percentage of the total number of employees in each laundry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to extend the jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers' International Union to include the workers employed in the cleaning, pressing and dyeing industry.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of determining the effect of the proposed extension of jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers prior to the granting of same, and to take such action as in the premises may be deemed wise and for the best interests of all parties at interest.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Treasurer Lennon: There are several other trades that are interested in this matter.

Delegate Golden, Textile Workers: I would like to ask the committee whether the Laundry Workers' delegates specified what class of dyeing they are asking jurisdiction over. We have some 3,000 organized dyers in this country and many more thousands that need to be organized in our textile industry. Unless they specified the dyers, I would like to be heard when the matter comes before the Executive Council.

Chairman McCullough: They ask that they be given jurisdiction over cleaning, pressing and dyeing without going into details. The committee suggested that some of this work already was under the jurisdiction of affiliated international bodies. The Laundry Workers said they simply wanted the portion of it that might be done in laundries. The intention of the committee was to have

the question go to the Executive Council in order that the parties interested might be given an opportunity to present their claims.

Delegate Golden: I have no objection to that.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The practice of having small children live on the boats in and around the harbor of New York can result only to their detriment, both morally and physically; and

WHEREAS, Many of the captains are compelled to carry their children with them because of the fact that they are paid such miserable wages that no other course is open to them; and

WHEREAS, As a result children are bound to grow up in ignorance and be handicapped for the duties of life; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, through its delegate at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, ask that an investigation be made of these conditions and that efforts be made with the co-operation of the Federal and State authorities to bring into effect a child labor law that will prevent the carrying of children on such boats under the age of fifteen years.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution, with the understanding that the legislation be extended, if possible, to apply to all vessel or boat captains who are similarly situated with those of New York, concerning whose condition complaint is made.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate T. F. Neary, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has consistently enforced all of the laws, rules and regulations of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, In October, 1914, the question was raised in a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor by a delegate that the laws of the American Federation of Labor were not being complied with. The chair ruled that the American Federation of Labor laws were complied with, whereupon an appeal was taken from the decision of the chair, with the result that the chair was sustained by a unanimous vote. The complaining delegate then served notice of an appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, When this appeal was be-

ing considered by the Executive Council the Chicago Federation of Labor asked to be given an opportunity to defend its action and decision, and after much correspondence and many such requests, the Executive Council held that the Chicago Federation of Labor was in error and sustained the appeal against the Chicago Federation of Labor without hearing upon the facts and principles involved; and

WHEREAS, When this decision was rendered the Chicago Federation of Labor was notified to comply therewith at the "earliest possible opportunity." The mandate of the Executive Council was complied with at the next regular meeting; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the two hundred and fifty thousand organized men and women who constitute the Chicago Federation of Labor, although humbly submitting to the mandate of the Executive Council, are just as firmly convinced now as at any time in the past that the laws of the American Federation of Labor were not violated, and that a hearing of the evidence and the facts would convince even the most biased that the Chicago Federation of Labor was entirely within the law and complied with all the requirements of the American Federation of Labor; and inasmuch as the Executive Council failed to accord to the Chicago Federation of Labor a hearing in this matter, it was decided to appeal to this convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the appeal of the Chicago Federation of Labor be agreed to and the decision of the Executive Council be held in abeyance until such time as the Executive Council may reopen this case for the consideration of all the evidence, facts and information the Chicago Federation of Labor desires to place before it.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution and would respectfully direct the attention of the delegates to this convention to the laws of the American Federation of Labor which prescribe the condition of an expelled or suspended member of a trade union with relation to the unions of other crafts while he is under such suspension. This law is very clear and its application is imperative. The attention of state, county and city central bodies has been frequently directed to decisions rendered by the American Federation of Labor covering this point, and we would urge upon all delegates and through them upon the local bodies that they strive to uphold the law of the American Federation of Labor and the decisions of its conventions under that law, to the end that established order may prevail throughout the relations of the several unions composing

the affiliated bodies that make up the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation of Labor, discussed the question at length. He gave detailed accounts of the case of L. P. Straube, who was expelled from the International Union of Stereotypers and Electrotypers following trouble in the newspaper offices in 1912, his connection with the Chicago Federation as a delegate from two other organizations in which he held membership since that time, and the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor dealing with the case. He cited the action taken by the Chicago Federation of Labor, the action of the International Convention of Stereotypers and Electrotypers, and claimed that the representatives of the Chicago Federation did not have a full hearing before the committee.

Chairman McCullough spoke in defense of the report of the committee. He stated that the committee did not deny a hearing to the representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor, but the representatives of that body refused to be heard unless they could be heard in their own way.

Delegate Ramsay, Commercial Telegraphers, opposed the report of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Sumner, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, spoke at length in favor of the report and recommendation of the committee. He dealt with the question of law and stated that the organization he represented had upheld the laws of their own body and the committee was upholding the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Freel, Stereotypers and Electrotypers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He reviewed briefly the action of the organization he represented in the case of L. P. Straube, and stated everything that was done was warranted by the laws of their organization and was done in the interests of the membership.

Delegate Walker (J. H.) spoke briefly of the connection of the Illinois State Federation of Labor with the case of

L. P. Straube, and paid a tribute to Mr. Straube for his work and record in the labor movement. He opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Stevenson, Typographical Union, spoke in favor of the report and recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 97 in the affirmative and 89 in the negative.

President Gompers: The chair would say that this is not a question of an individual case, but of the law and the practice and the safety of the movement. It is the proper course for the Federation to pursue. I have stood for the right of a man to earn a living at his trade. The man in question could not earn a living at his trade after expulsion from the union, except as a non-union man. He preferred not to do that. His right to earn a living in another occupation is not a question even under the decision of the Executive Council. His right to act as a delegate in a representative body is.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate E. S. Allen, of the Massachusetts State Branch:

WHEREAS, We believe that our present Asiatic exclusion laws should be strengthened and made more effective; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principles contained in House Bill No. 2037, third session of the Sixty-third Congress, and instruct the Executive Council to give full support to the same at the next session of Congress.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that it take such action in conformity therewith as may be deemed expedient and for the best interest of organized labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate James P. Holland of the New York Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, At the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the city of Rochester resolutions were introduced requesting an investigation of serious charges against the affiliated organization known as White Rats Actors' Union of America, which charges were by the order of the convention in-

vestigated by the Executive Council of the federation; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers, assisted by Secretary Morrison and General Organizer Hugh Frayne, did hold a twelve-hour session at the Victoria Hotel in New York City, at which hearing Mr. Harry Mountford represented the complaining former members of the White Rats Actors' Union, acting in the capacity as counsel, and who is now representing the White Rats Actors' Union of America at this, the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor, which hearing was held upon January 11, 1913, and no decision having been submitted up to this date; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers did request information as to the conditions surrounding the expulsion of several members of the said White Rats Actors' Union, notwithstanding all efforts by the said White Rats to exclude such testimony; and

WHEREAS, The official committee of the New York Central Federated Union who were present at that hearing did report to that body that in their judgment every charge made by these protesting representatives had been sustained; also that in its present form the White Rats Actors' Union is not in any way constituted a trades union and recommended the withdrawal of the charter for the reason of gross violation of all trades union ethics; and

WHEREAS, Through incompetency of its officers and board of directors of the White Rats Actors' Union, an incorporated general form of organization without locals anywhere, has admitted that its claimed asset of \$250,000 of three years since is completely wiped out and admitting that its membership has dwindled from 11,000 men and women to a claimed membership of only 1,000; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby instruct the Executive Council to make full and complete investigation of the alleged illegal investment of the defense funds of the White Rats Actors' Union of America and to compel a revising of the present constitution of that order to conform to the principles of the trades union movement as recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and to give proper local autonomy in all theatrical centers of this country.

Your committee recommends non-currence in the foregoing resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Holland, New York, who recommended that the matter be referred back to the Executive Council for further consideration.

Chairman McCullough spoke briefly in defense of the report of the committee. He stated that the committee non-concurred because the resolution asked that the Executive Council be instructed to investigate the internal affairs of an affiliated organization, which the committee believed it had no authority to do.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Fitzpatrick, Chicago. He spoke of the advisability of doing something to allow a more thorough organization of actors and actresses, and referred to the large number in Chicago who were apparently very willing to become members of an organization.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.) moved as a substitute for the committee's report that the whole matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)

Resolution No. 140—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Houghton & Dutton Company of Boston, Mass., predicated on the use by this firm of coupons or trading stamps of the United Profit Sharing Company, to be given customers making purchases from this company,

WHEREAS, The Houghton & Dutton Company undertook the use of the United Profit Sharing Company's coupons or trading stamps only after full assurances, guaranteed by contractual obligations that these trading stamps, catalogues and all other printed matter used in connection with and relating to the use of these coupons be produced in their entirety under union conditions and bearing the Allied Printing Trades Union label,

WHEREAS, The Boston Central Labor Union instituted this boycott in total disregard to the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, as provided in Article 9, Section 7; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declares this boycott as having been illegally instituted and instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to direct the Boston Central Labor Union to immediately annul this boy-

cott directed against the Houghton & Dutton Company and cease from any other form of concerted opposition having the characteristics of a boycott or intended to interfere with the sales and patronage of this firm, unless such concerted action fully conforms with all constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, and has first received the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and whatever action is deemed by the Council to be necessary in the matter, for the protection of the rights and interests of all parties concerned, with instructions from this convention that the prosecution of the boycott referred to be suspended pending a decision from the Executive Council on the matters at issue.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Perkins, Cigarmakers, stated that he would agree with every part of the recommendation and report if the committee would agree to strike out the provision to suspend the boycott pending an investigation by the Executive Council.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, opposed the suggestion of Delegate Perkins and favored the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Abrahams favored the suggestion of Delegate Perkins and discussed the question at some length.

The question was discussed by Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen, who favored the report of the committee.

Delegate Tracy stated that he was a member of the committee, but was ill and unable to attend when Resolution No. 140 was being considered. He discussed the question at some length and favored the suggestion made by Delegate Perkins.

Chairman McCullough spoke in defense of the report of the committee.

Delegate Tracy moved that the following portion of the report of the committee be stricken out: "With instructions from this convention that the prosecution of the boycott referred to be suspended pending a decision from the Executive Council on the matters at issue."

The motion was seconded and carried

by a vote of 86 in the affirmative to 46 in the negative.

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Secretary Morrison read the following report of the Executive Council:

Supplementary Report of Executive Council.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 19, 1915.
To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greetings—At the request of the Convention's Committee on Building Trades, as well as that of the officers and delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union, the Executive Council held a meeting yesterday for the purpose of hearing the officers of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers relative to the report which we submitted to this convention under the caption, "Dock Builders of New York City," in the Executive Council's report.

In our report attention is called to the fact that a local union directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor had not only violated trade union ethics but refused to comply with the decision of the Executive Council and that, therefore, the charter of that local union was revoked, and that within a few days thereafter the International Union of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers issued a charter to that local union.

This fact is presented for consideration. A local union holding charter directly from the American Federation of Labor is as much under the jurisdiction of the A. F. of L. as is a local union of any trade under the jurisdiction of its international organization. When an international union shall revoke the charter of one of its local unions under the laws of the International Union, it is unfraternal and un-trade-union-like conduct for any other international trade union to issue a charter to such a local union.

Local unions chartered by the A. F. of L. are in the same relative position, and what is true as to trade union ethics and conduct between international and international union, must of necessity apply in the case cited.

During our September, 1915, session

at Washington and while the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were holding their convention in San Francisco we telegraphed twice, urging the convention not to rivet the case hard and fast so as to make it difficult of adjustment, and we urged that the entire matter be left open so that the officers and delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in attendance at this convention might confer with us for the purpose of reaching a conclusion advantageous and just, not only to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers but to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and also to the American Federation of Labor as such.

Our request was answered by a decided and emphatic negative. In addition to the hearing to which we have referred, that is of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers before the Executive Council yesterday, President Gompers, at the invitation of the Committee on Building Trades of this convention, was invited to appear before that committee, before whom the matter was amply set forth.

We make this report to this convention and suggest that it be referred to the Committee on Building Trades for their consideration and action.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES DUNCAN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
D. A. HAYES,
JOS. F. VALENTINE,
JOHN R. ALPINE,
H. B. PERHAM,
FRANK DUFFY,
WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JOHN B. LENNON,

Executive Council.

President Gompers: If there be no objection this supplementary report of the Executive Council will be made part of the minutes and referred to the Committee on Building Trades.

No objection being offered the report was referred to the Committee on Building Trades.

President Gompers: In previous conventions, when we have had somewhat more ample time, we have gone through some ceremony in the presentation to the fraternal delegates of some token of our affection and regard. The state of affairs in this convention compels us to desist from any extensive addresses of presentation. During the sessions of the convention a committee of two whom I requested to act, went among the delegates and asked them to make some slight contribution as a token of our respect and our love to the fraternal delegates, and what will be presented is not a contribution from any unwilling union man or woman, not an appropriation from the funds without consultation with those who contributed to the labor movement, but the voluntary contribution of the delegates of this convention.

On behalf of the delegates, President Gompers presented to fraternal Delegate Bevin, of the British Trades Union Congress, and to fraternal Delegate Bancroft, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, handsome rings suitably engraved, and to fraternal Delegate Ammon, of the British Trades Union Congress, a handsome watch with fob attached, also suitably engraved. In making the presentation to each delegate, President Gompers expressed the respect and affection felt for the fraternal delegates by all the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor, and the appreciation of their presence in the convention.

Each fraternal delegate made a brief address in which he thanked the delegates and officers and the labor movement generally for the generous hospitality that has been shown them while in this country.

At 1 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2:45 of the same day.

TENTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m., Friday, November 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Christman, Boyden, Singer, Feeney, Hannahan, Glass, Letroadac, Call, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Griggs, Hatch, James, Coffey, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Sachs, Boswell, McGinley (C.), Cavanagh, Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Leagan, Severance, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Spear, James (N. A.), Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Quesse, Hammerschlag, Corbley, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Chairman McCullough of the committee continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, During the past year many statements have appeared in the newspapers to the effect that aliens residing in the United States have endeavored, either on their own initiative or carrying out the instructions of some foreign government, to obtain information relative to the arsenals, navy-yards and military reservations of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct the Executive Council to use its utmost endeavors to have a law passed by Congress reserving the privilege to visit the arsenals, navy-yards and military reservations to American citizens only.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 158—By James Lord, President, and James Roberts, Acting Secretary, Mining Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The miners of Morenci, Clifton and Metcalf, Arizona, for the first time in the history of these camps have organized; and

WHEREAS, The mining companies issued notices to the men, to the effect that they must sever connections with their union and sign a blank form prepared by the mine management to that effect; and

WHEREAS, Upon their refusal to so do, they were forced to strike for the right to belong to a labor union; and

WHEREAS, For more than two months they have maintained their struggle, as not a wheel is turning, or a man working in any of the three camps, except those authorized to so do by the union; and

WHEREAS, The powers of the Governor's office or those of the office of the Sheriff are not being used to demoralize or defeat the strikers, and be it said to the great credit of the Governor of Arizona and the Sheriff of Greenell County, that they have zealously guarded the honor and trust placed in their keeping by the people of that State and country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor give its endorsement to the strike of the miners and kindred workers of Morenci, Metcalf and Clifton, and that it urge upon the affiliated organizations that whatever assistance be within their power, be rendered to the Arizona strikers in this struggle, and sent to F. B. Hocker, Treasurer Relief Committee, Box 511, Clifton, Arizona.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners, discussed the resolution, and explained the necessity for its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Immigration.

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report will be found the record of the proceedings of the Executive Council in dealing with this topic during the year, reporting to us the salient facts in connection with the passage by Congress of the Immigration bill containing the literacy test and to the provisions favored by the American Federation of Labor; its subsequent veto by the President of the United States and the failure of the effort to pass the bill over the veto; also the efforts made by the Executive Council to ascertain the attitude of newly elected members to the Sixty-fourth Congress in order that the fight for the passage of this bill may be immediately renewed with the opening of the session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

In this connection your committee would call your attention to the fact

that a recent report from the Bureau of Education of the United States sets forth the fact that illiteracy is actually on the increase in the United States, nineteen States reporting to the Bureau a regrettable increase in the number of citizens who are unable to read or write in any language or tongue. The figures submitted by the Commissioner of Education prove conclusively that this increase in illiteracy is due entirely to the influx of the uneducated, untrained people from foreign countries who are brought here because they are available for those tasks connected with the industrial operations in which F. W. Taylor in his work on "Scientific Shop Management" says that a docile gorilla can be trained under his system to do this work better than a man.

The American labor movement is not devoted in any of its manifestations or activities to any proposition having for its purpose the closing of the gates of opportunity to any man or woman, no matter what race or color, but in justice to the men and women of America who have developed by their industry and through their thrift, who have created from their intelligence and fostered by their genius institutions that properly should conserve the highest and dearest rights of mankind while securing a standard of living that is higher and productive of better results than any other known to the world's history, cannot complacently view, or quietly submit to the operation of any influence or the existence of any means the continuance of which would inevitably break down and eventually destroy the conditions of social life in America. We demand that those aliens, no matter from whence they come, be such as are properly qualified to participate in the responsibilities as well as the privileges of our civilization.

So far as the literacy test is concerned the American Federation of Labor is irrevocably pledged to that proposed means for preventing the bringing into this country of unfit immigrants. It is the least of all the qualifications that might reasonably be required. Ability to read is a qualification that should reasonably operate to protect the alien against the misrepresentations and false promises held out to them by the unscrupulous agents of conscienceless exploiters who seek

among the submerged peoples of Europe victims for their greed.

This is but one, though perhaps the greatest advantage that comes from insistence on the literacy test and is also the chief explanation for the strenuous opposition to the literacy test.

Your committee believes that for the present the Executive Council should be instructed to use its best endeavors to the end that the immigration bill containing the so-called literacy test be enacted into law, suggesting that the Executive Council be further empowered to consider such other measures for the protection of American workers against an unlimited importation of foreign workers as may seem to it best calculated to effectively restrict and control the entrance into this country of aliens from Europe.

On the subject of Asiatic immigration the Executive Council reports endeavors to secure legislation in conformity with Resolution No. 28 of the Seattle convention and Resolution No. 137 of the Philadelphia convention, reporting inability to make progress along these lines.

We commend and endorse the activity of the Executive Council in this matter and recommend that it be authorized to continue its endeavors to secure the legislation asked for by the resolutions referred to.

The report was discussed briefly by Delegate Schlesinger.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Proposed Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

In the Executive Council's report, under the caption of "Proposed Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors," will be found reference to action taken in connection with the efforts of the affiliated organizations to amalgamate. We commend the Executive Council for its efforts to be of assistance to these organizations, and endorse its action in calling a further conference of the parties at interest.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Unfinished Business.

Under the above caption, in the Ex-

executive Council's report will be found reference to matters upon which no substantial progress is reported by the Executive Council. This failure to make report must not be taken as an indication of indifference or neglect on the part of the Executive Council, but is due solely to the immense amount of other labors devolving upon the Council as a result of references from the convention and because of the failure of constituent organizations to properly proceed to the adjustment of differences which should not be permitted to engage the attention or occupy the time of the Executive Council.

In this connection your committee desires to renew the recommendation made at the Philadelphia convention for the purpose of relieving as far as possible the Executive Council from that portion of its labors that might easily and properly be adjusted through other agencies.

The enormous amount of work accomplished by the Executive Council during the year reported on is indicated to this convention by the report before it.

The year was one of unusual happenings, of unexpected events, which required the attention of the President of the American Federation of Labor in ways that were unusual and emergencies that were critical.

We cannot close this section of our report without calling attention to the fact that at no time in all his connection with the American Federation of Labor, a period of service that covers the entire history of the organization, was President Gompers more steadily employed or vigorously active with the affairs of the Federation or its affiliated bodies than he was during the year since the Philadelphia convention.

The service he rendered to the cause of men and women who make up the affiliated organization or the unorganized workers and to society as a whole are not to be measured by mere words nor can they be encompassed by a sweeping glance.

We congratulate President Gompers on his restoration to physical health that permits him to give so unstintedly and so generously of his great ability to the cause he has so devotedly espoused.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Secretary Morrison put the motion to the house and it was adopted unanimously.

In conclusion your committee wishes to call the attention of this convention of the American Federation of Labor to the existence of a condition which has in it elements of evil that unless properly controlled may bring serious consequences to our movement.

Within our jurisdiction to-day are a very large number, estimated by some at three millions or more, of so-called migratory workers. These men have no permanent abiding place, but move from one locality to another seeking employment. This employment as a rule is casual in its nature and these men are defeated in whatever aspiration they may have for establishing themselves in anything like permanency of abode. Out of this inability to establish themselves as residents of any community their situation has developed to a stage that is deplorable. Under the influence of their life they gradually come first to question the whole social system or lack of system, then finally to regard themselves as outcasts, the most natural result of this frame of mind being manifested in an increasing hatred, first of the employer who trades upon their needs, then of their fellow-workers who seem to be better placed or at least to have more luck. This is shown from time to time in the part these men are forced to play in the desperate struggle of the unskilled workers for the means of existence. Promises of steady employment lead them to take places left vacant by other men who have gone on strike in hope of bettering their conditions. Accepting the employment, these unfortunates may feel perhaps that what they are doing is not right, and yet they are apt to excuse themselves on the grounds that the organized workers have done very little for them, and with this salve to their conscience they go on as strike-breakers. Being discharged when the strike is over, they learn that they can not depend upon any promises made them under such conditions, and they naturally become more disposed to look after themselves as they put it than they were before, and when offers come to act as strike-breakers under arms they are likely to accept the opportunity and to use it

against both the employer and the striking worker.

We believe that these men can be reached and can be held. We believe that there is a field in which the power of organization may be made of inestimable value, not only for the protection of the organized workers, but through the organization of these migratory workers much may be done towards the solution of the unemployment problem through bringing about a change in attitude among the employers.

We believe that this work is pressing because it certainly needs the doing and that the organized workers must do it. Your committee realizes that the unions of the skilled crafts affiliated in the American Federation of Labor have not happily solved all the problems presented to them and that in most cases these have been so urgent that the organized workers have had little if any time to give to consideration of the affairs of the unskilled workers. This apparent neglect has not been for lack of sympathy with these men in their condition, but because the organized workers have been engaged so continually in the effort to gain the ends for which they strive. However, your committee would recommend that the city central bodies chartered by the American Federation of Labor be requested to take up this matter under the guidance of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with a view to putting organizers into this field. The cost of this work need not be large and the return from it in the industrial centers would, we believe, be very great.

A really friendly hand guiding those who inquire to places and means of redress of grievances would help very much to change the sentiment of those who now sullenly suffer injustices and actual wrongs of which they know no adequate means for righting. To keep and disseminate correct information about the conditions in labor camps in the vicinity of industrial centers might lead at no distant date to such action as would compel the very worst of employers to change his methods of treatment to those who work for him, and there seems no good reason why not only the condition would be improved, but that wages might be materially increased. To put hope into the hearts

of the migratory workers, purpose into their lives and some system into their struggle would not only change their sentiment towards other workers, but it would lead to great improvements in their own conditions.

If organizers are to be assigned to this work they should be placed under the immediate control of the organizing committee of the local central body. We believe also that the expense would gradually be borne by the men themselves. When they realize what they can do they will not need very much help and we believe that they will shortly realize their importance in the industrial field, and will be enabled to secure such economic and social advantages as are now beyond their reach.

Delegate Smith, Portland Central Labor Council, briefly discussed the report of the committee. The report was also discussed by Delegates Johnson (S. P.), Furuseth and Vice-President O'Connell.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman McCullough: That completes the report of the committee. I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole, as amended by the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

Respectfully submitted,

T. W. McCULLOUGH,
Chairman.

JAMES WILSON,
OWEN MILLER,
T. W. ROWE,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
T. V. O'CONNOR,
THOS. F. TRACY,
THOS. KEARNEY,
FRANK X. NOSCHANG,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
HOMER D. CALL,
GEO. L. BERRY,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
W. D. MAHON,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
Secretary.

Delegate Furuseth: In 1892, twenty-three years ago, there was a committee appointed by the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. The instruction from the union to the committee was that they should take up certain parts of the Maritime Law of the United States and make such amendments or propose such amendments thereto as to build up a

body of American seamen, and to change the conditions to be helpful in the building up of a merchant marine of the United States. The American Federation of Labor from the very beginning has been sympathetic with the movement, and to-day, representing the International Seamen's Union of America, I desire to give to the convention and the Federation our special thanks. We have made a kind of pictorial history of it.

Delegate Furuseth presented to President Gompers a large picture containing portraits of the President of the American Federation of Labor, three members of the legislative committee of the International Seamen's Union, and four men who had gone to prison for a year to compel the Supreme Court of the United States to decide whether the Constitution of the United States and the Thirteenth Amendment thereof had any application to the seamen (the Supreme Court decided that it had not, and for that reason the men were pictured sitting in darkness). Delegate Furuseth stated that underneath was the motto that indicates what they taught in those days—"To-morrow is also a day." The picture also contained portraits of Senator White of California, who assisted in improving the seamen's conditions, Judge Maguire of California, four men who introduced the bill in Congress (among them Senator La Follette), three other Senators, and other people who had to do with the legislation. In the picture was also a portrait of President Woodrow Wilson signing the Seamen's Act.

President Gompers thanked Delegate Furuseth for the picture and stated it would be kept at headquarters with other valuable and historic documents connected with the labor movement. Continuing, President Gompers said in part, addressing himself to Delegate Furuseth: After all, the persistence and the self-sacrifice of Andrew Furuseth has been the main asset in securing this legislative enactment. It is not only this appreciation which I, together with the men and women in the organized labor movement, feel for the wonderful work which you have performed, but now that the law is upon the statute books of our country the right-thinking, liberty-loving men of America, without regard to their station in life, pay a tribute to you for

your work and for your achievement. It just occurs to me that only about two years ago I saw an article in one of the magazines of America under the title, "When Andrew Furuseth Came Ashore." The article described the fact that you left the vessel as a seaman in order that you might be ashore to secure freedom for the seamen. The seamen recognized in you, the man of the hour, the man imbued with the spirit of the freedom of the seamen, the man who could carry out the work to its logical conclusion and meet any man from any walk of life and drive him from his position if he antagonized the demands made in the interests of the seaman. It isn't often given to a man to see the triumph of his work. Time and opportunity, a good robust, virile spirit and mentality have vouchsafed to Andrew Furuseth the life and strength to persistently make the fight, and, if I may use the language of the streets, never for a moment was Andrew Furuseth negligent on the job.

President Gompers again thanked Delegate Furuseth on behalf of the American Federation of Labor for the gift, and in speaking of the Seamen's Act referred to a number of terrible disasters at sea during recent years that would have been avoided, or the number of lives lost very much lessened, if the law had been in effect.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that the Executive Council be authorized to have the picture suitably framed and placed with other great humanitarian documents in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded by Secretary Morrison and carried unanimously.

Delegate Furuseth thanked President Gompers for what he had said, and assured him he would accept it for the seamen and not for himself.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that when the convention recessed in the evening it be to reconvene at 8 o'clock p. m., on account of the great amount of work still to be acted upon by the convention. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers stated that in a portion of the Report of the Executive Council in regard to the Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws a special committee was provided for, the committee to be selected by the convention.

Delegate Short (Jas.) moved that the President select the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Tobin (E. J.) stated that a delegate from Brockton, Massachusetts, became ill upon reaching San Francisco and had been taken to the hospital; that an operation had been performed which at first promised to be successful, but the delegate was in a very serious condition. He moved that the American Federation of Labor pay the expenses of hospital treatment, the cost of the operation, and in case the delegate did not recover, that the American Federation of Labor pay all the necessary expenses in connection with moving him to his home.

Seconded by Delegate O'Hare, and carried unanimously.

Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Golden reported for the committee as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In submitting the report of the Committee on Adjustment we desire to say that the following subjects from the Report of the Executive Council are taken up in the order in which they were covered in the Report of the Executive Council, together with the resolutions that have been introduced and submitted to this committee, bearing upon these respective subjects, then those subjects which are dealt with exclusively by resolution are taken up in the order in which they are numbered.

The Journeymen Tailors' Union.

Your committee takes this opportunity of congratulating the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America on the adjustment of its internal affairs so as to resume the title formerly held by this organization and its full affiliation, and its compliance with the requirements of the conventions of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Council; therefore, its full affiliation with the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors—Compressed Air Workers.

Your committee recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts to bring about an amalgamation between

the Tunnel and Subway Constructors and the Compressed Air Workers, and that a committee of three be appointed, one selected by each organization at interest and the third to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to make a personal investigation as to whether the work now being carried on by each organization is of such a character as to warrant an amalgamation of the two organizations, and to report their findings to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; this investigation to take place within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Blacksmiths—Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Your committee finds that the decision rendered by the Philadelphia convention and by the Executive Council during the year in connection with this controversy has not been complied with by the Tunnel and Subway Constructors, and your committee, therefore, recommend that unless the Tunnel and Subway Constructors comply with the decisions heretofore rendered within ninety days of the adjournment of this convention that the charter of the organization be withdrawn.

It was moved to adopt the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was opposed by Treasurer Lennon and Delegate Cannon.

Chairman O'Connell explained the report of the committee.

Delegates Kline and Tobin, Blacksmiths, explained the position of their organization and favored the report of the committee.

Delegate Carraher, Tunnel and Subway Constructors, opposed the report of the committee, and spoke at some length regarding the position of his organization.

The matter was further discussed by Delegates Frayne and Cannon.

Delegate Sullivan, Brewery Workmen, opposed the report of the committee.

Under the law, a roll-call vote was had on the motion to adopt the report of the committee, with the following result:

Ayes—Noschang, Fischer, Feider, Shanessy, Kline, Tobin (J. M.), Kramer, Franklin, Hinzman, McGuire, MacGowan,

Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Butterworth, Hutchesson, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy, Post, Swartz, Perkins, Gompers, Tracy, Barnes, Mueller, McNulty, Grimbolt, Singer, Ford, Sweek, Schwarz, Hayes (D. A.), Baxter, Campbell, Granite Cutters' delegation (45 votes), Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Raleigh, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Johnston, Taylor, O'Connell (Jas.), Wharton, Van Lear, Irwin, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, Molders' delegation (100 votes), Miller (Owen), Slissman, Carey (D. A.), Skemp (J. C.), Triggs, Kemp, Baker, Norris, Clark (J. F.), Wilson (Jas.), Forrest, Bergstrom, Woll, Wessel, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, Berry (G. L.), Altman (Henry), Lipman, Murphy, Perham, Ramsey, Bode, Alexander, Riley (J. F.), Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Freely, Sumner, Clohesy, Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Casey (Michael), Decker, Golden, Scott, Morrison (Frank), McCullough, Marks, Broden, Blakeley, Allen, Casey (P. F.), Ogletree, Case, Alieyn, Ferguson, Abrahams, Rist, O'Dell, Smith (J. T.), Sesma, Spooner, Townshend, Reagan, Sleeman, Kennedy, Dale, McFarland, Dowler, Giles, representing 9763 votes.

Nays—Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Schneider (R. C.), Foley (C. F.), Abernathy, Balne, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, MacPherson, Scoby, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, Moser, Rickert, Larger, Altman (Victor), Daley (Margaret), Schlesinger, Polakoff, Mahoney (T. J.), Granite Cutters' delegation (90 votes), Marshall, Ryan (P. F.), Farrell, Koveleski, McSorley, Taggart, Brock, Morrison (H. L.), Bock, Kean, White (J. P.), Mitchell, Hayes (F. J.), Green (Wm.), Walker, McDonald, Germer, Moore, Reardon, Roberts, McManus, Cannon, Molders' delegation (400 votes), Schneider (G. J.), Menge, Duffy (J. P.), Sultor, Weeks, Ware, Adames, Guscetti, Furuseth, Carney, Steidle, Hylen, Gavlak, Fleming, Shay, Barry, Suarez, Dolliver, Dolan (T. J.), Funder Burk, Brown (J. G.), Carragher, Hayes (Max S.), Hansen, Ryan (P. J.), Alden, James (C. E.), Cozzolino, Bourne, Kempton, Lorntsen, Lennon, Warden, Neary, Hart, Mayo, Hoehn, Smith (E. E.), Hauser, Cotterill, Spear, White (J. J.), McAndrews, Johnson (S. P.), Bohm, Matheson, Harrison, Carter, Lamoreux, representing 7,774 votes.

Not Voting—McClory, Barnes, Tobin (Sam), Kiernan, Conway, Christman, Zuckerman, Boyden, Gurney, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Letroade, O'Connor (T. V.), Chlopek, Butler, Call, Quinn, McGivern, Gunther, Donlin, O'Connor (James), Deviny, Flaherty, Hurley, Pettit, Hanley, Griggs, Short, Williams (T. J.), Evans, Stevenson, Hatch, Ernst, Spiegl, Fitzpatrick, Donoghue, Coffey, Hayward, Gossett, Corcoran, Weber, Schneider (H. R.), Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, McGovern, Partelow, Doyle, Sachs, Boswell, McGinley (Clara), Cavanagh, Kel-

ler, Skemp (Meta), Porter, Holland, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson, Hall, Leber, Severance, Lawson, Camomile, Gallagher, Batchelor, Castro, Ives, Dempsey, Krane-field, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Woodmansee, Dean, Triska, Merchant, James (N. A.), Higgins, Voll, Sullivan (John), Milton, Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Joss, Riley (T. G.), Thompson, Ammon, Bevin, Bancroft, representing 1,423 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll call.

President Gompers: Under the laws of the American Federation of Labor it requires a two-thirds vote to pass the recommendation of the committee which carries with it the revocation of a charter. The motion is therefore not adopted.

Delegate Kline, Blacksmiths: I move you that the Executive Council be instructed to carry out the decision of the Philadelphia convention in regard to the Blacksmiths and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors and Tool Sharpeners.

Treasurer Lennon: I do not recall the exact wording of the Philadelphia decision. My remembrance of it is that it required the tunnel and subway men to transfer their blacksmiths to the blacksmiths' organization, but not carrying with it a revocation of the charter. Is that correct?

President Gompers: Yes.

Treasurer Lennon: I second the motion of Delegate Kline.

The motion offered by Delegate Kline was carried.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) moved that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 8 o'clock Saturday night. (Seconded.)

Delegate Miller (O.) opposed the motion and moved as an amendment that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Saturday morning. (Seconded.)

Delegate Tobin opposed the amendment, stating that in past conventions when the election of officers had been held before concluding the other business a large number of delegates left for their homes and the remaining business was carried on by forty or fifty delegates.

The amendment of Delegate Miller was lost. The motion of Delegate Tobin was carried, with the understanding

that if the other business was completed at an early hour the election would be held immediately after its completion.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that the convention remain in continuous session to-morrow night until all the business has been transacted.

Delegate Woll raised the point of order that the convention could not deter-

mine on Friday the time at which the convention of the following day would adjourn. The chair ruled the point of order not well taken.

The motion offered by Vice-President Duncan was carried.

At 6 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 8 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

TENTH DAY—Friday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 8:00 p. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Myrup, Kramer, Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, MacPherson, Christman, Boyden, Feeney, Mahoney, Letroadec, Call, Redding, Slissman, Schneider (G. L.), Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Williams (T. J.), Spiegl, Coffey, Weber, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Boyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, Keller, Porter, Spooner, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Camomile, Batchelor, Castro, Ives, Dempsey, Kraneheld, Fletcher, Triska, Spear, James, McAndrews, Bomar, Holm, Brown (F. H.), Hammerschlag, Corbley, Carter, Foley (D. F.), Joss, Thompson.

The Secretary read the following telegrams:

Chicago, Nov. 18, 1915.

President Samuel Gompers,
American Federation of Labor Convention, San Francisco.

Chicago Teachers' Federation sends greetings and best wishes to convention. I was elected delegate, but regret I cannot leave Chicago now. Resolution repealing anti-labor rule will be voted on by the Chicago Board of Education next Wednesday, and court decision in our case is expected this week. The teachers' fight for their rights as citizens is labor's fight and your fight is ours. We stand or fall together.

MARGARET A. HALEY.

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 18, 1915.

Samuel Gompers,
American Federation of Labor,
Eagles' Hall, San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Mr. Gompers and delegates in convention: I am sorry it is impossible for me to attend the convention. Times are hard for the hoboes here in Chicago, and I am going to stay on the ground for a while in an effort to help the boys out, as there may be a Hotel De Gink established here. The Hotel De Gink in New York was a great success, because over fifteen thousand 'boes there took the hobo oath never to scab on organized labor, and no one was allowed to sleep at the Hotel De Gink until they took that oath. Believe us to be ever ready to do good for the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor. I am, sincerely yours in the fight for justice.

JEFF DAVIS,

King of Hoboes.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Golden continued the report of the committee as follows:

Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Your committee finds that the proposed amalgamation between these two organizations if carried into effect would be in violation of the decisions rendered by the A. F. of L. conventions and the Executive Council in connection with jurisdiction claimed by the Tunnel and Subway Constructors over members whose jurisdiction have already been decided comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that this amalgamation be not approved until such time as the Western Federation of Miners and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' organizations agree to relinquish all claim over tool dressers and sharpeners or blacksmiths.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Machinists-Carpenters.

Your committee finds that the action of the Philadelphia convention as provided for in Resolution No. 152 of that convention has not been carried into effect by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and we find further that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has extended its jurisdiction without the consent of the A. F. of L. or by conferences and agreement with affiliated organizations, per instructions setting forth

the claims of jurisdiction by the President and Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, published in the October, 1915, "Carpenter," the official publication of the organization, which we herewith present to the convention to be made a part of the report of this committee.

Your committee recommends that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed to discontinue all jurisdiction claims to work over which other affiliated organizations have been conceded jurisdiction, or jurisdiction over work which has not been conceded to it by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor or its Executive Council.

We further recommend that failure on the part of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to discontinue its encroachment upon the jurisdictional rights of other affiliated organizations and failure to carry out this decision, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall stand suspended until such time as this decision is complied with.

Following is the article from "The Carpenter," containing the jurisdiction claims of the Carpenters and Joiners, referred to in the above report:

The term "millwright" shall mean the unloading, hoisting, dismantling, erecting, assembling, lining and adjusting of all machines used in the transmission of power in buildings, factories or elsewhere, be that power steam, electric, gas, gasoline, water or air.

Setting of all classes of engines, motors, dynamos, generators, air compressors, putting all pulleys, sheaves and flywheels on same, making and setting of all templates for all machinery requiring foundations and bolts.

All coal handling machinery and drives, crushers, conveyers, drags, whether the frames be steel or wood, with all necessary framing and drilling, making all wood boxes and guides, all patent stokers and automatic feeding devices, ash handling machinery, either elevating or conveying.

Stone crushing and gravel washing plants, crushers, screens, revolving or eccentric, rolls, pan conveyer and ship holsts, conveyers, belt or screw, whether boxes be steel, iron or wood; the assembling of all travelers or cranes for handling machinery or its products where no rivets are used in assembling same.

Framing and setting of all bridge-trees, either wood or steel, where they are no part of building or structure; all foundations, beams or timbers used for the reception of machinery, drilling all necessary holes for the same, whether foundations be wood or steel, stone, concrete or other material, and all holes for beam-

ings and machinery to be drilled by millwrights in wood, steel or other materials, whether ratchet or power drills be used.

All grain handling appliances, cleaners, clippers, needle machines, car pullers, grain shovels, the manufacture and erection of all wood legs, spouts and conveyor boxes, and the erection of all steel or cast iron legs, heads or boots and conveyor boxes, framing and erecting of all marine legs and ship shovels, framing of all scale timbers and wood hoppers and garners. Setting all scales, track, hopper or automatic, all boot tanks or receiving hoppers and devices used for elevator legs, when not of electrical appliance, all dust collectors and necessary spouting to same, lagging all pulleys and bleaching devices of all kinds. All bin valves, turnheads and indicators, all necessary shafting and bearings and supports, all drives, rope belt, chain or rawhides; all splicing and gluing of same; all pulleys, cable, sprockets and gearing, cutting all keyseats in new or old work done in the field.

All osculator stairs, amusement devices of all kinds, framing and erecting of all derricks and pile drivers, all bridge machinery, all fans and pumps, either steam or centrifugal, all dryers and necessary appliances for same; all barrel and package devices, either elevating or conveying; all presses, hydraulic or other powers; filling all gears done in the field, all concrete mixers, and other temporary appliances used in the construction of buildings.

All direct and connected machines or any powers, hog holsts and meat handling appliances of all kinds, installing machinery in all classes of plants or mills, flour, cereal, spice, cotton, wool, twine, paper, steel, saw, cement, planing, powder and paint mills. Machine and wood-working shops or factories, jewelry and power houses, sugar refineries, starch houses, bakeries, fertilizing plants, breweries and malt houses, shoe factories, all ice plants and equipments, glue and ice cream factories where shafting and machinery are used manufacturing and transmitting power.

Finally, all work pertaining to machinery used for manufacturing purposes or amusement devices, which with the evolution of time and this craft, will come under this jurisdiction claim.

Delegate Johnson, Machinists: I feel I would be remiss in my duty at this time did I not call to the attention of the delegates the claims that are being made by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Those of you who were present a year ago at the convention will remember that by unanimous vote the convention ordered the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to cease infringing on the jurisdiction of the Machinists in the erecting, assembling and dismantling of machinery, and that the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor were instructed by

the convention to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution. Yet we find a member of the Council going out in open defiance of the expressed will of this Federation, at the same time holding his position on the Executive Council, and giving instructions to his membership to go into the highways and byways and claim all the things he has been forbidden by the parent organization to claim. I want to make as a matter of record here, and for the information of the delegates, a few quotations from the official organ of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. This is from the October number of "The Carpenter": "The jurisdiction and classification of work claimed by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have been compiled by the General Executive Board and are for the guidance of organizers, business agents and officials of the local unions, all of whom are expected to see that the work specified is erected or manufactured by members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America." I am not going to read all the claims, but that portion of the claims that apply to machinery. Can you imagine where the Carpenter and Joiner fits in a machine shop or in the erecting of engines. If you can, you have a more fertile imagination than I have. One paragraph of the claim reads: "The term 'millwright' shall mean the unloading, hosting, dismantling, erecting, assembling, lining and adjusting of all machines used in the transmission of power in buildings, factories, or elsewhere, be that power steam, electric, gas, gasoline, water or air." I want every organization here to note whether we are drifting—this wood-working craft reaching out into the metal trades! Just imagine! "All machines used in the transmission of power," etc. A carpenter, a wood worker, setting all classes of engines! The next section is "Setting of all classes of engines, motors, dynamos, generators, air compressors, putting all pulleys, machines, sheaves and flywheels on same, making and setting of all templates for all machinery requiring foundations and bolts." A carpenter, a wood worker, setting all classes of engines and motors! You electrical workers, I call that to your attention. The next claim is: "All coal handling machinery and drives, crushers, conveyers, drags,

whether the frames be steel or wood, with all necessary framing and drilling, making all wood boxes and guides, all patent stokers and automatic feeding devices, ash handling machinery, either elevating or conveying." It is a rather long document and I will not read all of it, but the next section, among other things, claims: "The assembling of all travelers or cranes for handling machinery or its products." Further on it says: "Framing and setting up all bridgetrees, either wood or steel, where they are no part of building or structure; all foundations, beams or timbers used for the reception of machinery, drilling all necessary holes for the same, whether the foundation be wood or steel, stone, concrete or other materials, and all holes for beamings and machinery to be drilled by millwrights in wood, steel or other materials." They go on and make a large number of claims and say: "Finally, all work pertaining to machinery used for manufacturing purposes or amusement devices, which with the evolution of time and this craft will come under this jurisdiction claim." Anything that may here, now, or in the future, with the evolution of time, come within this claim shall be done by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners! Yet an officer of that organization who has taken a solemn obligation to live up to the laws, rules and regulations, sits on our Executive Council and openly goes out in violation of all written laws and decisions and urges his men to go out and claim these things. Now I want to know what is left for the rest of us? I want to know where any of us fit? It seems to me this convention ought to take definite and positive action. We should have some discipline in the labor movement of this country and when a definite policy is adopted it should be followed and the laws of the American Federation of Labor should be obeyed. They have just laid aside everything that was done and treat with contempt all that we may resolve to do. It seems to me if we are to endure, if we are to grow and develop and organize the great mass of people of the country, we should be consistent; we should have some honor and some respect for laws and established order. In spite of the fact that several times this year the carpenters' organization has violated the law, only two com-

plaints were made to the Council, two specific complaints, and they were attended to and the Council very quickly complied with the instructions to lend their good offices and insist on the resolution being complied with in those specific instances which were called to their attention. I have no complaint to make against the Council, the Council has responded in every instance to which their attention has been called. I trust this convention, however, will recognize the possibilities of such a claim as this and the danger of wrecking other established organizations.

Treasurer Lennon: I don't like to seem to be intruding where I have no direct trade interest, but perhaps my years will be taken as an excuse if I say a few words. I think it can not be said, I know it can not be said truthfully, that officers of the Federation have not done their full duty insofar as lay in their power in carrying out the resolutions that have been heretofore adopted. Nevertheless, trespass has perhaps been made. Of that I can not speak, because I am not associated with the trade and not in close enough touch with the work of the Carpenters and these other trades to be able to speak with the same certainty that other delegates can. I see the word used is "suspension"; nevertheless, I take it for granted that means the Executive Council is to revoke the charter of the organization if compliance is not had in every detail within the time specified. I wonder how many delegates there are here who believe the situation will be bettered by suspending the Brotherhood of Carpenters? How many of you are there that believe there would be less trespass than there has been if the Carpenters are suspended? How many of you believe their claims for jurisdiction will be reduced materially if they are suspended? My experience has been that you can persuade men to go where you can not drive them. Perhaps I judge that to some extent by my own experience. I have often been persuaded to go in directions that no living man or dozen men could drive me to go. And I believe that we can persuade the Carpenters in time to travel along a road that will be acceptable to other organizations in the Federation. I am sure we can not drive them. And holding that view, I say that the opportunities for

persuasion are much better with the Carpenters in the Federation than it would be if we drove the Carpenters out. Perhaps I might undertake to look into the matter a little, though I am neither a prophet nor yet the son of a prophet. There are organizations now outside of the American Federation and all of them are not weaklings by any manner of means. Some of them have a considerable degree of strength. If we throw the Carpenters out then we add strength to the number of organizations outside of the Federation. Is it the desire of the delegates to make stronger from year to year the elements in the labor movement that are outside the Federation? I don't know how a step can be taken that would more likely result in that than to adopt the report of the committee. Now, I am not questioning at all the statement that the committee makes as to what the Carpenters have done; I take it for granted the committee is telling the truth insofar as the truth has been presented to them; but even if every word of it is true, it will not cure the matter to throw the Carpenters out of the American Federation of Labor. I believe it is the duty of every delegate in this convention and every trade unionist in the United States to do all possible to induce every element of organized labor to become a part of the American Federation of Labor, and not to do anything, except under the most extraordinary circumstances, that will eliminate any of the elements of strength that are now attached to this body. I have been working on this idea with some of the brotherhoods and so has Vice-President O'Connell. We were associated with an officer of one of the brotherhoods, and while they still feel there are many reasons why they should stay out, they are nearer to coming in now than they ever have been in the history of their organizations. But, my friends, throwing out the Carpenters will be equivalent to saying to the brotherhoods, "If in every detail you do not obey the mandates of the Federation you will be thrown out." Will they come in? Well, they are men with some brains as well as ourselves, and they will not come in. While it is somewhat out of place, perhaps, in this talk, I do want to say to the delegates that no man on the Commission on Industrial Rela-

tions, not even the chairman, except as to ability, except as to his influence, was more loyal to the principles of trade unionism while a member of that commission than was A. B. Garretson, the chief officer of the Brotherhood of Conductors. And if you men believe that the future is safe for the American Federation of Labor if we proceed along the lines of disintegrating the federation, then your conclusions are different from mine. I don't believe anything of the kind, and I trust that this convention will cast its vote to permit the Carpenters to remain where they are. I can say, and so can the other members of the Council, that we are exercising such influence as lies within our power to straighten out these difficulties; but we have to do with men and not with automations, and consequently we can not take them by the back of the neck as they sit here and move them over there. All we can do is to show them, if they are sitting here, why they should sit there; and when they are ready to make the move of their own volition, they will do so and they will not do so before. If you believe you can drive them, I want to say that I want to record myself as believing that you can not, and that it is not in the interest of the American Federation of Labor, it is not in the interest of the unorganized workers of this country, it is not in the interests of our wives and our children that you will take any such action as the committee's report proposes. I hope you will excuse me for talking so long. While I may talk often, I do not usually talk more than three or four minutes. I think I have expressed, perhaps, as freely and as plainly as I am capable of, my views of this question, and I trust for the good of those now organized and for the good of those who come after us we will not make a mistake of this kind and start in to destroy and disintegrate our own movement.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee: I don't think anyone who knows me will charge that I am interested in breaking up the American Federation of Labor. I have had the distinction of being the chairman for a number of years of this very pleasant committee, and I have had the pleasure of having nearly all the delegates, in the last twenty years, appear before that committee on

some subject, including our distinguished President. I have heard statements of all kinds made by delegates as to what the committee should do and should not do. And I have heard delegates before the committee and upon the floor of the convention talk about throttling small organizations, and express the desire to take small organizations by the neck and shake them until they do things and abide by the decisions of the Executive Council and the convention. As chairman of the committee that I have had the honor to be chairman of for a number of years, with the exception of one year, I think I have expressed myself at all times fearlessly in substantiation of the report of our committee. I have no personal feeling against the Carpenters or any other organization or person that appears before the convention, and our reports do not carry any feeling or spleen against any organization; but I am tired of hearing the delegates get on the floor and rant about throttling small organizations; so as one member of the committee I decided to give you a chance to strangle, if you wanted to, probably the smallest organization in the Federation—which you did not do just before recess—and the second largest organization in our Federation, and see how far you wanted to strangle and how far you wanted to take charters. As a rule, a delegate comes before our organization with a grievance against another organization and wants us to take the charter away and make them be good—and if we don't do that we are no good, we don't accomplish anything, we can't accomplish anything. Well, if you start in by doing as each delegate would have you do regarding the organizations, it would require probably only one convention to clean up the whole matter. And so we decided upon two subjects, at least we would feel out just how far you want to go along in this kind of business, and whether the 300 or 400 delegates here have at least as much intelligence as the men on the committee as to what ought to be done in these matters. And so we come before you now with a plain, blunt, cold-blooded report. If you do not want to accept our report, I am certain you will not offend anyone on the committee. I know that deep in your hearts there is not half as much bitterness towards each other as you think

there is. I am one of those who believe that men can be induced to do things. And I believe that in our experience on the Adjustment Committee we have induced men to do things. There is scarcely a convention in the last twenty or more years that I have had the honor to attend that we have not induced men to do things through our committee. Men can be brought together and can be induced to do things. One delegate said just before we took a recess for dinner this evening, in language quite strong and quite loud, that the little organizations were being strangled and throttled and they could not get anywhere. Always strangling the little fellow! Now you have a chance at the second biggest fellow in the organization. I haven't any hesitancy in saying that I am in doubt as to whether you will not take the same action in this case you did in the other case; but it is good for this convention. It is good for the labor movement, it is good medicine for the fellow who is out on the soap box on the corner howling about the little fellow and the big fellow taking everybody else's job—it is a good thing to clarify the air a little. That is what the committee has in mind. We are not vicious at all in our report. I think the committee fairly felt our report was going to be safe in this convention, and this convention in its wisdom, while probably not agreeing with the committee, not severely criticizing the committee, will take the action it thinks is best for the movement, and that is all our committee is interested in. But we want to be in a position to say after this convention adjourns that it wasn't the little fellow alone who was put on the gridiron because he was small, but one of the biggest fellows was put on the gridiron and talked about a little, and perhaps the talking will do him good after he gets home. This committee is not desirous, and has not been, at this convention or any other when I have been chairman of it, of severing the American Federation of Labor in any sense. I have been a pretty staunch advocate of the American Federation for the past thirty-five years, and I am not going to begin at this late day to try to break it up. I was one of the fellows in the early days, when the American Federation of Labor was struggling, to start a fight

in a big organization in order that the principle decided upon by the American Federation when it was born should not be imposed upon by that big organization. I stood upon the floor of the Knights of Labor in 1886 in Richmond, Virginia, and fought for the rights of the trade unionists, fought for the rights of the cigarmakers, and fought for the rights of the Machinists who were trying to organize into national organizations. I believe in the nationalizing of our crafts, but I am sick and tired of hearing people talk about throttling little organizations; about little organizations not getting justice at the hands of the American Federation of Labor. It is time you change that and say they are both getting the same consideration at the hands of this convention. That is what the committee has in mind.

Delegate Scott, Typographical Union, in the chair.

President Gompers: I have listened here with deep interest to the report of the committee and the recommendation. I don't know that it is the purpose of the committee, or the mission of the committee, to try out any proposition before the convention. There are some experiments which are justified, but such experiments ought to be presented to the delegates of the convention in a concrete proposition or the declaration of a principle or a purpose. I think that I was among the first, perhaps the first, to enter a protest against the revocation of charters of international unions, and insofar as it has been given to me to express myself by voice and vote, I have pursued that course consistently. It may sound like a repetition, and perhaps is so, but it is nevertheless a fact that the American Federation of Labor is a federation, a voluntary federation, and that there are no powers which the American Federation of Labor can exercise except those powers conceded to the Federation by our international unions.

I have looked askance for a considerable period of time at the constant extension of claims of jurisdiction on the part of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Many of their claims to jurisdiction are unwarranted. But they are not the only offenders. Some of the delegates who addressed this convention upon other questions involving the same principle, and who have addressed us

upon this very question now under consideration, though perhaps not quite as guilty in extent, have been equally guilty in purpose and intent.

This is the second recommendation of the committee within the past few hours for the revocation of charters of international unions. Where are you going to stop? After a while we will be placed in the position of the Lord High Executioner in the comic opera of the "Mikado," when he finally said, "A man can not be expected to cut his own head off!" These recommendations for the revocation and for the suspension of charters simply mean a policy of mutual throat-cutting. I was astonished at the claims of jurisdiction set forth by the Carpenters in their official journal.

Suppose the recommendation of the committee is adopted, and we suspend the Brotherhood of Carpenters from the American Federation of Labor. I have not had the time to inquire—and I am sure the committee would be justified in refusing to give me advance information upon subjects the committee expected to report to this convention—but we are not advised whether there are other charters to be revoked. And where are you going to end? What are you going to do? The position of the Carpenters, in my judgment, as to their claims of jurisdiction, in many of the particulars read from their own journal, are unwarranted, untenable and I would go as far as any other delegate to this convention is ready to go in the effort to try to the very best of our ability and our power to bring the Carpenters to their senses, so that they may recede from that unwarrantable position.

Is it not significant to every delegate in this convention that the Committee on Adjustment has reported to this convention that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners should be suspended from the American Federation of Labor, and not a representative of the Carpenters has arisen to question it or to protest? Is that not something to make us pause to see whither we are drifting?

I dislike much to interpose my own personal activity and work and hopes in and for the labor movement. I grant you that the actions of some of our organizations have caused us pain and anguish, and they have done grave and great injustice to other organizations; but I ask

you to bear in mind the exceptionally influential position now occupied by them among the toilers of our country and before the conscience and the judgment of the people of America and of the whole civilized world. Shall we not rather bear the ills we have than to fly to others we know not of? Even if we undertake to revoke the charter of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, will that strengthen the American labor movement? Will that add one laurel to its credit? Will it add one jot to its power? Will it in any way affect the limitation of the Carpenters in the endeavor to enforce this clause?

Is it not possible that, with full affiliation with this American Federation of Labor, with our ties and bonds of unionism, with our personal ties and strong friendships, we might be able to have some influence upon the Carpenters, and upon other organizations, in order that they may limit themselves in their unwarrantable extension of jurisdiction? I doubt, in going through the roster of all the affiliated international unions, that there are a dozen that have not from time to time undertaken unwarrantably to extend their jurisdiction. You wish to point to one and concentrate attention upon one organization and discipline it, and not only discipline it, but dismember it from the American Federation of Labor.

For one who has tried to give the best that is in him to cement the bonds of fraternity among the organized and try to bring the unorganized within the beneficent folds of unionism, I say to you, my friends, let us heed, let us understand, let us hope, let us work together; let us rather use our influence and our judgment and express our opinion upon the conduct of an organization; or let us declare what our opinion is of such conduct, and let the organization which is the trespasser in violation of that judgment rest under the stigma of our displeasure and our disapproval.

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, after the report of the committee was read and during the discussion had upon it, though giving every moment of attention to what was presented in criticism of the Carpenters' course, I tried in a hurried way to draft something that might meet the situation. I confess that I have not succeeded. I had drafted a substitute

for part of the committee's report revoking the charter and I am not quite satisfied that it meets the situation; but, however, I will read it as suggestive rather than to move it as a substitute for part of the committee's report, for when I have concluded it I may have another suggestion to offer. In the last part of the committee's report the following appears:

"We further recommend that failure on the part of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to discontinue its encroachment upon the jurisdictional rights of other affiliated organizations and failure to carry out this decision, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall stand suspended until such time as this decision is complied with."

Before I read what I have simply scrawled, and which is hardly satisfactory to me, I want to call your attention to the indefiniteness of this declaration. First, it does not refer to particular claims of jurisdiction, but jurisdiction claimed by any other international unions—and there are probably a dozen different claims pending in the jurisdiction of other international unions—claims of jurisdiction also by the Carpenters. And the indefiniteness of the recommendation is further shown in that it specifies no time for the Carpenters to comply in order to avoid the penalty, so that the Carpenters might have a year, a decade, a century and forever and ever and amen, and still not violate the recommendations of the committee. The only definite provision is that the charter shall be suspended.

I had in mind striking out the words: "The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners shall stand suspended until such time as this decision is complied with," and substitute the words: "If they fail to carry out the instructions of this convention the displeasure and the censure of the American Federation of Labor will be expressed for the unwarrantable attitude assumed by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners." I have said already that I do not know whether that would meet the situation—it does not satisfy me—but I do believe that unless some such proposition is adopted as a substitute for the last recommendation, the last recommendation of the committee should be stricken out.

I have expressed to you what I believe should be the insistent demand of the trade unionists represented in this convention, and the trade unionists of the country and of the continent, who are looking to this convention to maintain the integrity of our movement and not to take any action that shall make for its dismemberment.

Men and women, we need have no fear of the enemies of organized labor from the outside. We can stand their antagonism, their vilification, their opposition, their attempts to destroy us—the danger is not from without. Like every mass movement in the history of the world, every people's movement, every workers' movement, the danger of its disintegration is from within. Let us not fail to appreciate the lessons of history. Bear in mind that though our American Federation of Labor is the best, most intelligent, most practical movement of the workers of this or any other country, of this or any other time, we are not safe from disintegration and failure if we do not appreciate the value of human weakness, of human strength, of human will, of human selfishness, of human greed, of human altruism, as well as the high ideals of human brotherhood. Don't let us make a mistake, don't let us put up a rock upon which this great ship of labor shall be wrecked.

There are hearts and souls yearning for the greater strength of our movement and its further development—the unorganized even that are not with us now, the toilers who have not the power, the courage or the intelligence to understand that for which we are standing. Still in the innermost recesses of their souls they yearn for the welfare of the movement; their hearts and their hopes are with the trade-union movement of America. Men of labor, don't destroy their hopes for the future.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: Mr. Chairman, I rise to offer a substitute for the committee's report. I believe it is evident to every delegate to this convention that the jurisdiction claims of the Carpenters and Joiners are hardly or fully justified. Likewise, I believe it is the opinion of this convention that little genuine good will result in throwing out of the American Federation of Labor the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and with these two

thoughts in mind I rise to offer this substitute:

RESOLVED. That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of five representing international unions, of which he (the President) shall be a member, with instructions that this committee of five attend the convention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and endeavor to get them to recede from the position they have taken in respect to this claim of jurisdiction; and

RESOLVED. That in the meantime the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issue to the various international unions, State federations of labor and central bodies the information, directing their attention to the fact that the jurisdiction claims of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have not been granted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

RESOLVED. That this convention call upon the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners not to place in force or operation, pending the convening of their convention, the claims that they have set forth in their journal which have been read to this convention.

The substitute was seconded.

Chairman Scott: The delegates have heard the substitute offered by Delegate Berry. The question comes upon the adoption of the substitute for the committee's report.

Delegate Van Lear, Machinists: I am in favor of the committee's report, although I have not the least bit of bitterness towards the Carpenters, as I know a good many of them are pretty good fellows, and so are a good many machinists. In the last convention of the American Federation of Labor we asked that our very reasonable jurisdiction be reaffirmed. There was not much struggle on the part of the Carpenters, if I remember correctly, to keep the convention from reaffirming the jurisdiction we claimed. Perhaps, as it has been said here tonight, that was significant, too. At least judging by the claims they have since made it appears to me it was significant that they did not give battle on the floor of the American Federation at that time against the very reasonable claims of the Machinists. What were the claims of the Machinists? We claimed, and claim now, the making, repairing, erecting, assembling and dismantling of machinery. That jurisdiction was granted to us. We claimed the carpenter's trade was a wood-working trade and that he had

no business to erect or dismantle or assemble or repair machinery. Now suspension is talked about here, and it is said we are going to get ourselves into serious trouble and dismember the American Federation of Labor—rend it apart—if we attempt to enforce the mandates of these conventions; if we attempt, in fact, to put in force the laws and rules and orders of this convention, that we not only believed but knew were right, that would break up this American Federation of Labor. To do what is right would be likely to break up the American Federation of Labor! To enforce the law is likely to break up the American Federation of Labor very evidently! To enforce the things the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, after due deliberation, had passed upon and issued to every organization in this convention as their orders to be obeyed—to enforce them would be to break up and dismember the American Federation of Labor! And it seemed as though there was an intimation or thought that it would be the Machinists' fault for daring to claim those things that were not only right but that were ordered given them. I want the blame placed—if there is going to be blame—if this labor movement is to be broken up, in the right place, and I am going to place it. If this American Federation of Labor is going to be broken up because its laws and rules and orders will not be obeyed, then those who break it up will be those who failed to obey those laws and rules and orders, and the stigma should be placed upon them now, here, and at all times hereafter. Suspension has been talked about as though it is a terrible thing. I admit it would be a terrible thing if we were going to vote concretely right now as to whether the Carpenters were to be suspended right now. Then I would say we are at the parting of the ways. But suspension is recommended by the committee for what? If the carpenter continues to break the laws and continues to refuse to live up to the orders of the American Federation of Labor. If he is to be suspended he has got to do something to be suspended for, he has got to earn it, and if he earns it isn't he entitled to it? In fact, the report of the committee puts it up to the carpenter to be good or be gone. Put the matter of the

suspension of the carpenter up to the carpenter himself. Isn't that fair? It has been argued that we ought to reason with him and talk with him and not suspend him. Well, we ought to do that with burglars. If we are going to do that, why not have a feast of reason here and reason out all these things? Suspension was going to be a terrible punishment for the carpenter when he was told that he could not have jurisdiction over certain work at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. What was his answer? If he had gone out of the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia and had made a reasonable effort to live up to the decision of that convention, and the machinist or any one else was inclined to be untactful and try to get anything away from the Carpenters which belonged to the Carpenters; or if there was a jurisdiction struggle over something in which the line of demarcation was not clearly drawn, and there was any evidence that the carpenter was trying to live up to the decision, we would think differently. We are asked not to penalize him now, but to warn him. If we defeat the report of the committee we are rewarding the carpenter and telling him to go as far as he likes. After the decision was made in the Philadelphia convention, in place of an attempt to obey the instructions of the convention what did they do? They went out and wrote up a jurisdiction that covered four times as much as they ever claimed before. It has been said that it is significant that the Carpenters have not said a word in all this controversy. It is significant in one way, but I believe I can reason out why they have not said a word in this controversy. If I were a carpenter I am sure I would not say a word in this controversy. I don't see how they can say a word in defense of their claims, because every time one of them would open his mouth to defend the claims he would put his foot in it, not only in regard to the Machinists but in regard to every other organization whose jurisdiction has been invaded. It has been said here that there are a dozen different claims against them. I don't wonder at that. If there is not now there will be when enough International presidents and delegates and members

read the October number of their Journal. It was also argued that this proposition was a very indefinite one. Well, I would be in favor of making it definite. The matter is in the hands of the Carpenters. No injury can be done the Carpenters unless by their action in the future, as in the past, they bring this injury upon themselves. All they have to do is just simply to do as the rest of us are at least trying to do—obey the laws and rules of the American Federation of Labor and stick to the Carpenters' trade.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: This is rather interesting. Some years ago when we began discussing craft unionism versus industrialism, it was said that it meant the wiping away of jurisdictional disputes. I had at that time the temerity to suggest that instead of wiping away any jurisdiction squabbles you would make them more serious, more dangerous and more unreasonable; that when the wood-working craft had eaten up every other wood-working craft the jurisdiction dispute would arise between the sections, between the wood-working craft and the metal crafts. What is a millwright, by the way? The old-fashioned wheelwright was a man who made machinery of wood and set it up. He made all kinds of wheels except for watches. It was his business to make them, to make them fit into each other and to set them up. He made and set up the different kinds of machinery that went into a saw mill and a flour mill, etc., etc. The Carpenters claimed the jurisdiction of the wheelwrights because they said they were a wood-working craft, and every one of the industrialists, as they called themselves, in the convention at that time said: "You bet! That's the right thing!" And so the resolution to give the Carpenters jurisdiction over the wheelwright was carried, forgetting altogether that modern industry has dismissed wood in the making of wheels for machinery and has substituted iron or steel or brass or some other kind of metal. When the Carpenters undertook to take jurisdiction over all the wood-working crafts, over the furniture workers, I stood on the floor of this convention and protested against it and said to the Carpenters themselves that some day not very far distant they were going to be faced with

insurrection on the inside. When the organization of the Woodworkers, as they were called, was absorbed, some of the members stayed with the Carpenters and their condition was somewhat improved because they were in close relation to buildings; but the men who worked in the factories making furniture that could be transmitted everywhere, were, if I have been properly informed, pretty thoroughly forgotten. Now you have arrived at a position where you have a metal trades section, and they say to the woodworking industry in a jurisdictional dispute, "Where is it to finish, if it is ever finished?" Somebody here has suggested that it is significant that the Carpenters do not take the floor in opposition to the committee's report. Let me see if I can suggest a reason why. I will try at least. There is one big organization outside now, a big, powerful organization, the Bricklayers. It is one of the fundamental building trades. How do you know that the Carpenters do not want to get on the outside? If I were in the Carpenters' place and wanted to get on the outside, what would be the reasonable thing to do? Compel the American Federation of Labor to expel me, adopt such tactics that the American Federation would suspend or expel me, then go to the country and to the people all over the country and say: "We were expelled by the Federation." Of course it would not be honest, but that is not the question. Men are guided by interest in what they calculate to do and to accomplish, and they will do the things that will bring that about, and if they have the necessary amount of brains they will place themselves in a position where they will make some kind of defense to show that the fault is with the other fellow. And so when the Carpenters are expelled, when they have brought about a condition under which they are expelled, they will issue a white book and say: "Lo and behold the injustice that has been done to us!" And then the Federation will issue a yellow book and say, "Lo and behold the injustice that has been done by the Carpenters!" And then the Machinists will issue a green book and say: "Lo and behold what these people are doing! They have destroyed the labor movement." And the carpenter says:

"Well, what of it? I have taken this little country called Belgium. My trenches are all here. Get me out if you can." And the carpenter and those in sympathy with the carpenter will say, "The carpenter is right." And the Machinists and those in sympathy with them will say, "The Machinists are right." And the other part of the labor movement may say they are both wrong and they themselves are right, but under any circumstances the road is clear and wide open for an affiliation between the bricklayer and the carpenter on the outside. That sounds rather unreasonable, perhaps; but sitting here and thinking of the question, watching what is being done, trying to find some human reason for it, I prefer to say right now that the jurisdiction claims that have been put up by the Carpenters have been put up specifically and deliberately for the purpose of having themselves expelled. And then some who believe in industrialism, who believe in government from above, and who have no sympathy with the system of organization that exists among the organizations of the American Federation of Labor, will also have accomplished their purpose in destroying that system of voluntary organization, and will have brought about a condition where they will have an opportunity for the first time in the history of the labor movement of this country to try their system of organization, which is a pyramid, beginning like that and growing broader down, the big baboon sitting up there giving orders to everybody below him, and so depriving the labor movement of the very fundamental principle upon which it is built, and the people at large of the confidence they have a right to have in the labor movement. If this is not the idea of the Carpenters, why do they keep quiet when they are threatened by suspension? If they do not want to be suspended, why is it that they adopt such a proposition as this jurisdiction claim? It indicates that they have about two hundred thousand heads and only one immense ravenous stomach to digest everything they can put into it. Respect for the rights of the individual man or the individual union! There isn't any in that kind of policy. To say to a union or to a lot of men, "You are just a bag of spuds to be bought and sold and transferred

from one to the other." You have done it for years, and now you are face to face with the most serious result of your policy. You haven't been willing to respect the fundamental principle that men are entitled, that they must have a right to determine something for themselves. You want to take a short cut from where you are into the condition that you want to bring about, and in the usual way you would have to do it through force, forgetting that you have no army, no navy with which to compel your way. All you can do in the labor movement of America, all you can do in the labor movement anywhere is to control the thoughts and feelings of men. On an old prison wall in Europe this legend was found: "Let me grasp the scepter that controls the soul of man and I care not what other thing may happen." If you can mold men's minds you can build up an organization so strong that it is absolutely unconquerable. When you change from the appeal to the souls of men to the physical force over men, then disintegration has set in. The most powerful organization in the world today, what is it? The Catholic Church. How did it grow in its first three hundred years? It grew through moral suasion, through moral conviction, through moral molding, and when Constantine took away the moral power and put the power of the state in place of it, lo and behold! in three hundred more years there wasn't anybody who wanted to die to perpetuate it. Go to Australia and look at the unionism by law as you find it there and you will find that the moral strength has departed, that they are depending upon legality instead of loyalty. And so may you depend upon legality. You come here and plead the law, and the law, and the law. You forget that you made the law yourselves, but you made it for somebody else to obey; you don't want it obeyed except by somebody else. Now the Carpenters are strong enough to bid the American Federation of Labor goodbye if they can get the American Federation of Labor to expel them. If they can write a white book by and by and say that San Francisco was the Richmond of the American Federation of Labor, that that convention went mad, and that they are pure as the snow in the early fall, then they may for some little time be

able to deceive the woodworking craft throughout the country. But let me say to you Carpenters here today, if you persist in that kind of thing it may be all right for a few of you—I don't know that—but just as sure as fundamental wrongs find a way of getting themselves revenged, just so sure will the rank and file of the Carpenters throughout this country suffer because of the crazy ambitions and the unbridled greed that exists in your claim for jurisdiction. I don't believe in adopting the report as it is. I believe in saying to the carpenter: "You are violating the fundamental principle of unionism; you are by your action trying to destroy the hopes and aspirations of labor, and we are not going to help you; we are not going to expel you, we are not going to suspend you. If you want to leave us you must leave us of your own accord, and then you cannot write the white book that you calculate to write. The fault will be yours. And when men throughout the country will understand why you have done it—the men throughout the country have some suspicion now, and have had it for some time, that you want to get out and get into some kind of relation with the Bricklayers and build up a system somewhat similar to that of the Bricklayers with their employers. The Carpenters as a whole do not feel that way. What the carpenter wants is more work and steadier work, and he doesn't care as long as the proper, decent rules of morality and unionism are not destroyed; he is not looking very closely about the system. But the men who are doing this today will be responsible before God and man for what they have done. I am against the report of the committee. I would rewrite the last part of it so as to put the entire responsibility upon the Carpenters, and if they want to quit I would let them do it, but I would not put them out. You Machinists, don't be sissies; when you are attacked, defend yourselves! And so I say to the other unions. If these men haven't got any sense or any consciousness of decency, teach it to them. If you cannot teach it in one way teach it in another way. When the Longshoremen, eleven years ago at the San Francisco convention were told to go out and take charge of the Seamen, if they could—because that was what the resolution meant—I said:

"All right, go ahead! try it!" And the Longshoremen came to Pittsburg the next year saying: "For God's sake, take these wildcats off!" I say to the organizations that are being attacked by the Carpenters, "Strike back, but do it from the inside, and if they want to go, and go of their own accord, God bless them! let them go!"

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Wharton, **Machinists:** I am not at all unmindful of the seriousness of the question before this convention, and when I appeared before the committee handling the matter I called their attention to that fact. Neither am I unmindful of the fact that the Machinists, while they may have transgressed in some respects, I believe can point to their record in the American Federation of Labor as having lived up to the mandates of this body. Charters have been granted to organizations that we believed were a direct transgression upon the charter rights of the Machinists' organization. They were issued over our protest years ago, and for many years we have attempted to get what we believed was justice, but we are still in the American Federation of Labor. There was another time when members of our organization were assigned to another organization, again over our protest, and we are still in the American Federation of Labor. And again in the case of another organization, one of the largest in the American Federation of Labor, members of our organization were compelled if they desired to work in that industry to take out the card of another organization, and still we stayed; and we are here to stay now, but we are going to ask for justice, we are going to ask for the square deal among union men. Now let us see just what this proposition means. It does not affect machinists alone; I believe it affects practically every metal trade organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. So far as I know, there is no desire on the part of the metal trades affiliated with this great movement to take one piece of wood or wooden material away from the Carpenters. Every metal trade—and I have been the secretary of the Adjustment Committee in the Building Trades Department in the last two years—every

metal trade that came before our committee was contesting to do the work within its charter rights, and almost invariably the decision of the Building Trades Department has been to protect the charter rights of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, among them the **Machinists**. The charter rights first granted us by the American Federation of Labor, and later under certain conditions in the Department in St. Louis in 1910, were at the Seattle convention reiterated and the Carpenters were told to respect that decision. They failed to do so and the resolution was introduced at the Philadelphia convention, which was adopted by unanimous vote, the Carpenters' delegation being present, because I took particular notice to see who was there. I have heard a great deal said about the position of the Carpenters. I want to call attention to just one other side of the question which has not yet been mentioned. What about the position of the metal trades affected by this new declaration of the Carpenters' organization? Where do we stand in the matter? We are asked by some of the speakers to go along with the Carpenters and allow the Carpenters to stay in this movement. What is the carpenter attempting to do in this movement? Is he observing the laws of this organization? If I understand the principle of this movement it is to respect the charter rights of the affiliated organizations. In the document published with the consent of the executive officers of the second largest organization in this American Federation of Labor, we find that they have transgressed every principle of the American Federation of Labor. Do they stand by their agreement? In the Seattle convention the endorsement of the Metal Trades Department of a strike upon what was known as the York Ice Machine Company was asked. A resolution was introduced in the Metal Trades convention and it went before a committee with all the metal trades represented. The Carpenters were present at that conference, and gave us their word that they would go along and help us to do the things we intended to do. What did they do? They went right out and proceeded to erect the machinery of the York Ice Machine Company, a plant which the Metal Trades were

striking against, and there is an officer of that organization sitting in the convention tonight who over his signature within the past year, and while the strike was still on, said that company was fair to the Carpenters' organization, had been for years and was employing their members. The letter is dated, Chicago, June 16th, and is on the letterhead of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. It says: "To whom it may concern: This is to certify that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America are now working for the York Manufacturing Company and have been for a number of years. Our business relations are very friendly and harmonious, and during the past few months the York Manufacturing Company have had several jobs going on at which have been employed several members of this organization and we know of no reason why our business relations should not continue on the same basis." This letter is signed by John A. Metz, President, and Daniel Gavin, Secretary-Treasurer. That is Machinists' work, the erecting and installing of machinery, and yet the Carpenters do this in the face of the Philadelphia convention and previous conventions and conferences. You talk about persuading! How can you persuade a man who does those things?

President Gompers: How can you compel him?

Delegate Wharton: Well we will do our part if the American Federation will do its part. We took our medicine in this organization, we have lived up to the decisions of the American Federation of Labor and are doing it now. As I said before, we made mistakes, we did things that were not right. Only recently our organization adopted a law we did not approve of—at least I do not as one member—because it is a transgression of the rights of this body, and we are now sending out to our organization a request that they withdraw that and abide by the laws of the American Federation of Labor. Will the Carpenters do the same here and now? The officers of that organization—will they get up before this body and declare their willingness to send out that request to their organization? We don't want a bit of work that belongs to the Carpen-

ters. All we want is justice. If the Machinists are entitled to what their original charter says they are entitled to, others should be required to comply with the rules and laws and mandates of this body. There is another thing I want to call your attention to. The Brick Masons have been mentioned in this body. I have now a copy of the agreement—I have it in my room—which the Carpenters and Joiners entered into with the Brick Masons for certain specific purposes. The Brick Masons' organization is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They were claiming jurisdiction over organizations that were, and at that time were attempting to put them out of commission. Then the Carpenters entered into an agreement to work jointly with them, and since the last convention one organization affiliated with the Department has been put out of business. I refer to the Marble Workers. A man named Price was elected as a member of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department in Philadelphia last year. He is not here today because his organization has been put out of business through the joint efforts of the Carpenters and the Brick Masons. I want to call your attention to another situation that has arisen. An agreement has been entered into in Chicago the purpose of which is self-evident. We talk about persuading people! Persuading them to do what? When they enter into an agreement which says they will discriminate against no material except prison-made material, what does that mean? It means that if any trade goes on strike, whether it be the Carpenters or not, the things they manufacture go into the buildings and go into Chicago and the union Carpenters must erect the material made by scabs—possibly scabbing on their own organization—if they live up to the agreement made in Chicago. In God's name how are you going to persuade anybody under those conditions to do what is right? We will stand on our record as trade unionists.

Delegate Donlin: I am jointly interested in that. Every trade organization in Chicago has an agreement regarding the particular phase he brings out. We have an agreement with our employers that we will erect nothing but union

material and the Carpenters have the same agreement.

Delegate Wharton: The purpose, if you will permit me, of the report of the committee and the amendment is affecting the standing of that organization and its willingness to go along with the decision of this Federation.

President Gompers: With regard to the claims of the Machinists and the decision of the Philadelphia convention.

Delegate Wharton: The statement made before this convention was made because of a question asked the representatives of the trades in Chicago, in which that very question was put to them in regard to the handling of work; and they told me under their agreement they would be compelled to put up the material or break their agreements, and when I asked if they believed in living up to their agreement they said they did. It means living up to an agreement with an employer, but they pay no attention to agreements made with trade unionists with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The resolution offered by Delegate Berry was carried and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Secretary Golden continued the report of the Committee on Adjustment, as follows:

Flint Glass Workers and Machinists.

Your committee endorses the selection of John B. Lennon as the third man to act in this controversy and trusts that he may be successful in bringing about a satisfactory adjustment of the same.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Machinists-Elevator Constructors.

Your committee finds that the decision rendered by the Philadelphia convention in connection with the controversy between these two organizations has been ineffective and that nothing has been accomplished in the direction of peace and

harmony between the two organizations. Subterfuge seems to have been used, or at least technical objections to the conduct of one organization towards the other, which resulted in the Elevator Constructors refusing to put into effect the decision of the Philadelphia convention unless the Machinists' organization by action of its Executive Board assured the Elevator Constructors that its members would not be permitted to install or repair elevators, which requirement was not a part of the action of the Philadelphia convention.

Your committee finds that the impression prevails that only Machinists are directly interested in this controversy. All the metal trades are interested because the jurisdiction of these organizations reaches into the elevator manufacturing plants and the mere fact that some technical difference may have arisen between the Machinists and the Elevator Constructors is not a sufficient reason why the decision of the Philadelphia convention was not carried out.

Therefore, your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be and is hereby instructed to see that the Elevator Constructors' organization carries out the decision of the Philadelphia convention in the spirit in which it was written and adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Feeney stated that he did not oppose the report of the committee; that the Elevator Constructors' International Union not only agreed with the committee, was not only willing to put into effect the substitute adopted in the Philadelphia convention, but was very anxious to do so, and in the past year had tried to do so. He spoke of several attempts that had been made by the Elevator Constructors to meet with committees or representatives of the Machinists and Metal Trades Department, and of misunderstandings that had prevented such meetings. He stated that his organization expected to carry out fully the conditions of the substitute adopted in the Philadelphia convention, but entered an objection to members of his organization being harassed by the machinists while doing

work over which they had jurisdiction.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He stated that in the resolution adopted at Philadelphia there was nothing that required the machinists to agree to refrain from erecting or repairing the machinery they make.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 11 o'clock p. m. Delegate Mahon (W. D.) moved that the convention adjourn to 9:30 a. m. Saturday. The motion was not carried.

The Committee on Adjustment continued its report as follows:

Plumbers and Steamfitters—Machinists.

Your committee finds that the organizations in interest have not been able to agree upon the third man to act with a representative from each of the organizations in interest. Therefore, your committee recommends that if these two organizations do not agree upon the third man within a period of ninety days after the adjournment of this convention that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to name the third man to act in accordance with the action taken by the Philadelphia convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Brewery Workers—Coopers.

These two organizations have entered into an agreement by which the controversy has been adjusted. The agreement is herewith filed for record.

AGREEMENT

Entered into between the Brewery Workers' International Union and the Coopers' International Union covering present and future questions relating to jurisdiction of membership and work performed by members of each organization.

First. All driving, shortening and riveting of hoops on cooperage shall be considered brewers' work outside of cooper shop. This clause shall not be construed as debarring members of the C. I. U. from such work when necessary.

Second. All new and repair work shall be done by members of the C. I. U. only.

Third. In cases of emergency the coopers may assist in the brewery department, and vice versa, the brewery workmen may assist in the cooperage department. This matter to be left to

the judgment of the respective local unions.

Fourth. This agreement shall not be binding in places where written agreements have been entered into by the Brewery Workers' and Coopers' Unions.

Fifth. This Agreement shall remain in force and effect until such time as the General Executive Board of either party hereto serves sixty days' notice upon the other party, notifying same that it is their desire to terminate same.

Dated San Francisco, Cal., September 25th, 1915.

Signed for the International Union of United Brewery Workmen.

..... Int'l. Sec'y-Treas.

..... Member of the International Executive Board.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Engineers—Longshoremen.

Your committee approves the decision rendered by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Steam Shovelmen—Steam Engineers.

Executive Council's report on the above matter, and Resolution No. 67, by Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and Resolution No. 116, by the delegates of the Steam Engineers.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate T. J. Dolan, of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, Since the amalgamation of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel & Dredgemen, with the Associated Union of Steamshovelmen, and the chartering of the amalgamated union, by the American Federation of Labor, jurisdictional disputes have arisen, between the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, This jurisdictional dispute is resulting disadvantageously to the members of both of the above unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is directed to define clearly the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and to endeavor to bring about a conference, between the duly authorized representatives of the above unions, for the purpose of arranging a working agreement, by which harmonious relations will be restored, and these jurisdictional disputes avoided.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Matt Comerford, J. J. Hannahan, R. G. Moser.

John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has made every honorable effort to bring about an amalgamation between the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have met in a conference with the officers of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, at which Mr. Samuel Gompers presided, and where the following agreement was reached, to wit:

"With the purpose of removing conflict between the membership of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, and to protect and promote the rights, interests and welfare of the membership of both these organizations, we, the undersigned representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen, hereby enter into an agreement by which these desirable purposes may be accomplished.

"Therefore, we agree—

"First. That all hostilities shall cease, and the undersigned pledge themselves for their organizations to prevent any discrimination against the members of the other organization.

"Second. That a committee consisting of four members of each organization shall be selected for the purpose of drafting a plan whereby the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers shall become amalgamated into one comprehensive organization.

"Third. That it shall be the duty of the committee herein provided to agree on the details of amalgamating both organizations.

"Fourth. That if there shall arise any point upon which the committee, herein provided, cannot agree, it shall be the duty of the committee to select a member in good standing of the trade union movement to act as a conciliator or arbitrator. Should the committee be unable to agree upon the selection of a conciliator or arbitrator, then the President of the American Federation of Labor shall act as, or appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor to act as conciliator or arbitrator, and his decision on any disputed questions shall be final and binding upon the committees of both organizations, and the committees and the officers of both organizations shall earnestly recommend to their respective memberships the ratification of the entire agreement.

"Fifth. That when amalgamation of the two organizations shall have been accomplished, the amalgamated organiza-

tion shall issue local charters to the local unions now part of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen without cost, and that local unions of steamshovelmen and dredgemen, part of the amalgamated international union, shall have the right to make their own by-laws and rules provided they do not conflict with the constitution and general laws of the amalgamated international.

"Sixth. The local unions of steamshovel and dredgemen shall have complete jurisdiction over all steamshovel and dredge work.

"Seventh. As assurance of good will for united action, it is declared by the parties of this agreement that the district plan of organization among the steamshovel and dredgemen shall remain in effect in case amalgamation is consummated.

"Eighth. The Amalgamated International Union shall apply to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for a new charter under such title as may be agreed upon by the committee herein provided, and shall set forth the jurisdiction claimed by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen as now recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

"Ninth. On the 23d day of August, 1915, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the committee of four from each of the organizations party to this agreement shall meet at the New Morrison Hotel for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this agreement, and to devise the plan for the amalgamation as herein set forth.

"Tenth. This agreement shall be submitted to the general executive board of each organization for ratification and the full authority to act in accordance with the terms of this agreement.

"Eleventh. The committee of four from each organization shall apply itself assiduously day by day to devise the plan for amalgamation and complete their work at the earliest possible day.

"Twelfth. When the plan of amalgamation has been formed and agreed to by the committee of four from each organization it shall be submitted to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen for ratification and submitted to the executive board of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers for ratification. (The executive board of the latter organization having authority to act in the premises conferred upon it by the Peoria (Ill.) Convention of 1914.)

"Thirteenth. Within ten days after the ratification of the plan of amalgamation the general officers of each organization shall meet for the purpose of carrying into effect the amalgamation as declared herein, and as shall be provided in the agreement by the com-

mittee of four of each of the organizations.

Approved by

MATT COMERFORD,

JAMES G. HANNAHAN,

Representing the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

T. J. DOLAN,

P. W. WALSH,

Representing the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

Representing the American Federation of Labor.

G. W. PERKINS,

Representing the Cigarmakers' International Union.

JOHN FITZPATRICK,

Representing the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Representing the Chicago Building Trades Council.

Opposed by

E. M. FOLEY,

J. W. TRACY,

Representing the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen."

WHEREAS, The issuance of the charter to the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen has caused conflict between the engineers belonging to both organizations, in some instances the Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen offering their services for less wages than was being paid to engineers belonging to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Brotherhood of Steamshovel and Dredgemen be instructed to amalgamate with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers within 90 days, and unless complied with that the charter of the International Steamshovel and Dredgemen be revoked.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to bring about the amalgamation of the organizations named.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Lithographers—Lithographic Pressfeeders—Printing Pressmen—Photo-Engravers, Poster Artists.

Report of the Executive Council on above matter, and Resolutions Nos. 29, 30 and 31, by Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada, and Resolution No. 143, by delegates representing the International Typographical Union, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, Inter-

national Photo-Engravers' Union and International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The International Photo-Engravers' Union has sought to enter into the jurisdictional controversy now existing between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, We believe their entrance into the jurisdictional controversy has very largely added to the difficulties and confused the issue; and

WHEREAS, Photo-lithographic plates and the making up of transfer plates are the questions at issue between the Photo-Engravers' Union and Lithographers' Association; and

WHEREAS, The method classed as photo-lithographic plates and transfer plates has been in existence many years before photo-engraving, as now conducted, was known, and which is recognized everywhere; and

WHEREAS, The difference between a photo-engraving plate otherwise known as relief surface, and the difference between photo-lithographic plates, also including transfer plates and known as flat surface plates is very easily distinguished; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize the Executive Council either as a body or by the appointment of sub-committee whose duty it shall be to visit a lithographic plant and a type printing plant, and to then observe the difference in the two methods; and that representatives from the Photo-Engravers' Union be requested to be present with the committee from the Executive Council in order to demonstrate the wide difference between the two processes involved.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The representative of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association had offered a resolution at the Seattle Convention, and which resolution referred to the action of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union in employing non-union lithographers to act as instructors in the technical school of Printing Pressmen, and that these non-union lithographers as instructors were engaged to instruct type printing pressmen to operate a lithographic press; and

WHEREAS, This action on the part of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union was a direct encroachment upon our rights and privileges as guaranteed under our charter granted by the American Federation of Labor, said resolution was approved by the

convention and referred to the Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, This matter has now been more or less in the hands of the Executive Council without in any manner being adjusted or removing the wrong inflicted upon the lithographers; and

WHEREAS, The injustice as charged against the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union has not been denied, but to the contrary, openly admitted; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers have offered the most substantial evidence not only as to the charges made, but also to the fact that the offset press, the jurisdiction over which is the main question at issue, is being operated by lithographic pressmen throughout the country, with possibly a few exceptions. This evidence is in possession of the secretary of the Executive Council and shows conclusively the justice and equity of our claim; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as the contention of the lithographers has been satisfactorily proven, that the wrong committed on the part of the printing pressmen is an injustice, that it be the sense of this Convention that the offset press be classed a lithographic press, and that the Printing Pressmen Association, through their executive officers, be instructed to discontinue their actions where it relates to jurisdiction over the offset press, and their continued instruction of apprentices at their school in Rogersville, Tenn.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Philip Bock of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had granted a charter to the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, granting charter rights to organize and maintain organization in the lithographic industry; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association were practically organized 100% in the different branches or crafts which they then had jurisdiction over; and,

WHEREAS, It was deemed advisable both by the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Lithographers' Association to include all employed in the lithographic industry, and who produce and complete lithographic work into one organization; and,

WHEREAS, A number of conferences had been held, some of which were called through the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor, who continually advised and encouraged amalgamation; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association having found it necessary, in complying with the wishes of such whom we sought to amalgamate with, that the title of the Association be changed to read "The Amalgamated Lithographers of America"; and,

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, finding it to be for the best interest of all engaged in the lithographic industry and to follow the advice and encouragement given on the part of the Executive Council, then entered into amalgamation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this Convention that the resolution be approved and that a charter be issued by this body to the workers in the lithographic industry under the title of the "Amalgamated Lithographers of America," carrying with it whatever change it makes in the jurisdiction, which, however, shall be confined to the lithographic industry.

Resolution No. 143—By delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, Rapid and continued changes are constantly at work modifying and altering past and present methods and processes of producing printed matter, necessitating like changes in form of organization among the printing trades; and

WHEREAS, The Allied Printing Trades Unions have been able to cope with and successfully control all changes and modifications of producing printed matter of whatever kind, excepting that produced by the process of offset printing; on which class of printing it has been partially unsuccessful, because of the opposition and interference of the International Lithographers' Protective and Benevolent Association; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Annual Conventions of that organization recognized the necessity of the amalgamation of the Lithographic Pressmen and Press Feeders with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; the amalgamation of the Lithographic Engravers' and Transferers', etc., with the International Photo-Engravers' Union, and the amalgamation of all compositors employed directly or indirectly by the lithographic establishments, or doing work entering into lithographic work, with the International Typographical Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor having considered the conflicting jurisdictional claims of all the printing trades involved in the process of offset printing for a period of two years, finds itself unable to draw any line of demarcation between the printing trades unions involved in this work, thus evidencing conclusively that the varying processes of producing printed matter demands a like modification of organization among the printing trades unions and as proposed in the plan of amalgamations sub-

mitted by the Allied Printing Trades Unions; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of all labor demands that one union label be used on all printing matter regardless by whatever process or method it may have been produced; and

WHEREAS, The Lithographers' International Protective and Benevolent Association has failed to heed or respond to the action of the American Federation of Labor in amalgamating with the printing trades unions, but on the contrary has constantly, persistently and wrongfully used the union label—and in a number of instances cunningly substituted a label so closely resembling the Allied Printing Trades Council label as to mislead the general public; doing this to further its own interest at the cost of and to the great detriment of the Allied Printing Trades Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all work relating to type-setting for offset printing or any other process of printing is the work of members of the International Typographical Union; that all work of or relating to the producing of printing plates and transferring of same for offset printing, or any other process of printing, is the work of members of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; that all work of and relating to offset printing and offset printing presses, as well as type-printing, is the work of members of the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union; and that all binding, etc., of printed matter of every description is the work of the members of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Lithographers' Protective and Benevolent Association is hereby instructed to immediately cease further interference with and assumption of the rightful jurisdictional claims of the foregoing printing trades unions, as designated in these resolutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to continue its efforts in co-operating with the Allied Printing Trades Unions to the end that the plan of amalgamation dealing with the lithographic workers and as proposed by the printing trades unions may be speedily consummated; thereby making the use of one union label in the printing trades possible, feasible and practicable, and establishing in the printing industry that form of organization best suited to meeting all the varying and modifying changes in methods and processes of producing printing matter.

Your committee has given such time as was at its disposal to the consideration of the several suggestions contained in the report of the Executive Council and the resolutions introduced covering these matters.

Your committee finds that with the evolution taking place in the printing industry and because of the use of two or more labels which have a tendency to deceive and confuse not only the public but union men; and furthermore, the introduction of more scientific and modern methods in this particular industry would indicate that the amalgamation of some of the trades affected would be in the direction of progress, efficiency and beneficial to all parties concerned, and that where workmen are employed in the same workshop, producing the same class of work on practically the same kind of machines they should hold membership in the same organization.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall, within a period of ninety days from the adjournment of this convention, select a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject-matter contained in these resolutions with power to make recommendations to the Executive Council and that the Executive Council upon such recommendations made to it, and in accordance with the opinions expressed in this report, is authorized to bring about upon an equitable basis an amalgamation of the unions involved in this controversy, and the terms of such amalgamation and jurisdiction claims of the various organizations involved shall be determined and decided upon by the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Bock, Lithographers, discussed the question briefly and stated that he approved the report of the committee and believed the matter would be adjusted satisfactorily.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 11:30 Treasurer Lennon moved an adjournment to 9:30 a. m. Saturday morning. The motion was seconded, but not carried.

**Bridge and Structural Ironworkers—
Boilermakers—Hodcarriers.**

Your committee approves of the understanding reached in connection with this controversy.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Hodcarriers—Cement Workers.

Your committee finds that the Cement Workers as an organization have practically gone out of existence, its membership having been absorbed by other affiliated organizations.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council see to it that the decisions, heretofore rendered by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, shall be carried into effect as to the proper organizations where cement workers shall hold membership.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Painters—Railway Carmen.

Your committee finds that owing to illness in the family of the President of the Carmen's organization he was unable to attend this convention, and by mutual consent the Painters and Carmen have agreed to a postponement for the time being in order that a conference may later be held by representatives of the organizations at interest.

We recommend that this request be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Carpenters—Railway Carmen.

Your committee finds that owing to illness in the family of the President of the Carmen's organization he was unable to attend this convention, and by mutual consent the Carpenters and Carmen have agreed to a postponement for the time being, in order that a conference may later be held by representatives of the organizations at interest.

We recommend that this request be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Jurisdiction Over Single Wrapping.

Your committee approves the decision rendered by the Executive Council in this case.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Golden stated that the next matters to be reported upon by the committee would probably cause a great deal of discussion and moved to adjourn to

9:30 Saturday morning. The motion was seconded, but not carried.

Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths—Upholsterers—Machinists—Metal Polishers.

Executive Council's report on above matter and Resolution No. 110, by Delegates of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Metal Polishers and Sheet Metal Workers.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates J. W. Kline, J. M. Tobin, W. F. Kramer (Blacksmiths); W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary, H. C. Diehl (Metal Polishers); John J. Hynes (Sheet Metal Workers):

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its Seattle convention decided that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union should discontinue all encroachments upon the jurisdiction of the unions in the automobile industry, and ordered to turn over to the respective unions all men they have as members of the local unions who lawfully belong to other international unions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its Philadelphia convention, decided that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union discontinue the use of the words "Automobile Workers" and refrain from attempting to organize workmen in automobile factories properly coming under the jurisdiction of affiliated organizations; and

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union has since the adoption of resolutions at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor at Rochester, N. Y., Seattle, Wash., and Philadelphia, Pa., continued its encroachments on the jurisdiction of other international and National organizations and has ignored the decision of the Philadelphia Convention, and failed absolutely to comply with the demands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention order the revocation of the charter of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union by January 1, 1916.

Your committee recommends the reaffirmation of the decision of the Philadelphia convention on this subject and recommends the adoption of the resolution, with the exception that January 1, 1916, be stricken out, and April 1st inserted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McPherson, in a brief statement, called attention to the work that had been done by the Carriage and Wagon Workers in the past year in organizing men who had previously be-

longed to the ranks of the unorganized. He stated that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' organization was growing steadily, although it had to face a great deal of bitter opposition from the employers. In closing he moved that the report of the committee be amended by extending the time for carrying out the decision of the Philadelphia convention to June 1st. The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Kline (Blacksmiths) spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He stated the American Federation of Labor had gone on record on several occasions granting jurisdiction over blacksmiths to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, and, as there was no question that the men of their trade working in carriage and wagon factories belonged to their organization, the decision of the Philadelphia convention should be carried out. He stated that he would not oppose the request of Delegate McPherson to extend the time if he would promise to comply with the decision of the Philadelphia convention.

Delegate Tobin (Blacksmiths) stated that he would object to the proposition made by Delegate McPherson that he would be willing to drop the word "Automobile" from the title of his organization and substitute some other word therefor, unless he would specify the word to be substituted. He referred briefly to conditions existing in various factories where automobiles are manufactured, the different classes of labor employed in their construction, and stated that in many of those factories, especially in Detroit, the Carriage and Wagon Workers had organized blacksmiths, machinists, painters, molders, patternmakers and men of other crafts.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union, opposed the report of the committee, stating that it would be incon-

sistent to adopt such a report after the action taken in regard to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters.

Delegate Leary, Metal Polishers, spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation of Labor, stated that there appeared to be some misunderstanding in regard to the purpose of the Carriage and Wagon Workers. He stated they had been attacked bitterly by the manufacturers, but in spite of that had continued to develop their organization. He spoke of the evolution through which the trade of the carriage and wagon workers was passing and said that a large part of the work the men formerly performed was now being done in automobile factories. He urged that the request of Delegate McPherson for an extension of time in which to comply with the decision of the Philadelphia convention be granted.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men, moved as a substitute for the report of the committee that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to bring about a conference between the parties interested, in an endeavor to secure a proper adjustment of the matter. Seconded.

Delegate Kline: I am willing to do anything that will bring about harmony in the labor movement, but I am not altogether in favor of the motion, because we have been "getting together" for seventeen years and I do not see what can be done further along that line. I believe in carrying out the decision of the Philadelphia convention at this time and I insist upon the report of the committee.

The substitute offered by Delegate Mahon was carried.

At 12 o'clock, midnight, the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Saturday, November 20th.

ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 20, 1915.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Saturday, November 20, Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Absentees—Christman, Boyden, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Letroadec, Taylor, Call, Moore, Quinn, Kearney, Sultor, Steidle, Hylen, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Coffey, Ogletree, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Doyle, Sachs, Woodman, Boswell, McGinley (C.), Keller, Skemp, Spooner, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Leber, Severance, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Dean, Triska, Spear, Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Quesse, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbley, Foley (D. F.), Thompson.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, Nov. 19, 1915.

Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of
Labor, San Francisco, Cal.

Looking backward at thirty-five years of incessant and glorious labors for the advancement of those who toil, may your deliberations tend to bring into your fold the millions that are not yet organized, and hasten the day of final justice for the workers of our land.

MORRIS SIGMAN,

General Secretary-Treasurer,
International Ladies Garment Workers'
Union.

Secretary Morrison also read the following letter:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 20, 1915.
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Kindly read the following announcement from the convention platform:

Butte, Montana, Carpenters' Union No. 112, most respectfully request all delegates in attendance at the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to attend a celebration to be held December 2, 1915, when the mortgage on Butte Carpenters' Temple will be burned.

All delegates who can attend this celebration are requested to advise the Reception Committee at Butte, Montana, of their time of arrival in Butte.

P. W. DOWLER.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): I announced yesterday that one of the delegates was seriously ill in a hospital in this city. I am very sorry to announce that Delegate McGovern died during the night, and I move that the proper officers of

the convention send a telegram to the family extending the sympathies of the delegates of this convention to them in their hour of bereavement.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Metal Lathers—Plasterers.

We recommend that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment between the two organizations, and that a conference be arranged for by the Executive Council within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Electrical Workers—Theatrical Stage Employees.

Your committee finds that some misunderstanding has arisen during the year in connection with the decision rendered by the Philadelphia convention upon the controversy between these two organizations, and in order that there may be no further misunderstanding as to the intent of the decision that was rendered at the Philadelphia convention, your committee decides that the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance has full jurisdiction over Moving Picture Machine Operators, and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has jurisdiction over all electrical workers employed in the installation of new work and the repairing of old work on the outside and inside of theatres. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall within six months after the adjournment of this convention, turn over to the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance any local unions of Moving Picture Machine Operators or members of their organization

holding positions as moving picture operators; and if the Theatrical Stage Employees' International Alliance has within its membership any members engaged as electrical workers, they shall turn over such members to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention. This decision, however, is not to be construed to interfere in any way with the right of the members of the Theatrical Stage Employees International Alliance to handle all electrical apparatus or appliances necessary to a theatrical production.

(The report as presented by the committee provided that the men in question should be transferred to the Theatrical Stage Employees within ninety days).

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McNulty, Electrical Workers, announced that it would be impossible for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to comply with the decision within the time specified by the committee; that there was no power within that organization that could concede jurisdiction over any work to any other organization except a referendum vote of the membership, and to get that would require more than ninety days.

Chairman O'Connell stated that the committee had no objection to extending the time, but had specified ninety days, as that was the time usually given for organizations to take such action.

Delegate Shay, Theatrical Stage Employees, stated that he would be willing to have the time extended if President McNulty of the Electrical Workers would give the assurance that there would be no further effort to do anything in violation of the report of the committee.

Delegate McNulty stated he wished the time extended to six months, but without any qualifications such as suggested by Delegate Shay.

After a discussion by Delegate Miller (O.), Delegate Shay and Delegate Sweek the report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Teamsters—Brewers—Bakers—Laundry Workers.

Executive Council's report on above subject, and Resolution No. 77, by the Teamsters' delegation.

Resolution No. 77.—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey and M. E. Decker, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union has refused to comply with the decision of the convention held in Philadelphia last year, wherein said convention ordered the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to turn over to the Teamsters and Chauffeurs' International Union all drivers of wagons then holding membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The refusal on the part of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union to comply with the mandates and decision of the American Federation of Labor has caused considerable discontent and injury to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that all central bodies and State branches of the American Federation of Labor unseat as delegates the representatives of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International local unions in every district in the country, and that no support or recognition be given to this international union by organized labor until such time as said international union, namely, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, complies with and carries out to its fullest extent the decision of the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor, which is, to wit: That all drivers of wagons and automobiles now holding membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union be immediately turned over to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, and that the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union henceforth discontinue to admit to membership any driver of a wagon or operator of an auto truck.

Your committee recommends and reaffirms the Philadelphia decision in this controversy, and desires to give its interpretation of that decision so that there may be no further misunderstanding to it, that all local unions having members properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, shall not be seated in central bodies or State labor organizations. This interpretation

applies to local unions of Bakery and Confectionery Workers, whether its membership is made up, wholly or in part, of members properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablenmen and Helpers of America.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice-President O'Connell: The convention decided last year that locals of Bakery Workers having in their membership teamsters who should be in the teamsters' organizations should not be seated in central bodies. The president was asked for an interpretation of the decision during the year. The Bakery Workers interpreted the interpretation to mean that it did not affect the locals composed partly of teamsters, but only organizations made up entirely of teamsters. I wrote the Philadelphia decision. It affected the unions of the Bakery Workers that had in their ranks members coming under the jurisdiction of the teamsters' organization whether the locals were entirely made up of teamsters or only partly composed of teamsters. This report of the committee is meant to straighten out that matter.

President Gompers, in discussing the question said: During the year the president of that organization communicated with me, asking my interpretation of that decision, whether it applied to Bakery Workers' local unions composed exclusively of bakery workers and not having bakery drivers in their membership, and whether local unions could be represented in the city bodies when perhaps in any one of their other local organizations there might be bakery drivers. That was the question in controversy.

Delegate Myrup: Do I understand this interpretation of the committee's recommendation means that a demand can be made upon central bodies to unseat local unions of the Bakery Workers' International Union having within their membership such members as you have defined as coming under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters' International, regardless of the period of the affiliation of such local unions in the international union?

Chairman O'Connell: Yes, that is the decision. We did not take into con-

sideration the time of their affiliation. If you have local unions whose membership is made up entirely of those men whom you have a right to have under the law, they would not be affected because they are not in violation of the law in any way, and so long as your international is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor they shall be granted every privilege which goes with such affiliation. The decision says, if you have local unions with teamsters in their membership they should be turned over to the teamsters' organizations, and if they are not, such unions will not be seated in the central bodies.

President Gompers suggested that some words be added to the report of the committee to make it more plain and definite. He suggested that the words "coming under" be inserted after the word "member," the sentence to read, "that all local unions having members properly coming under the jurisdiction of the teamsters."

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, discussed the question at some length, and said in part: It was practically settled by the Philadelphia convention that the Bakery Workers have no jurisdiction over bakery wagon drivers. They come under the jurisdiction of the Teamsters. The committee has only reiterated its former statement, and in my judgment the addition of these words will destroy what has already been accomplished. The international union in question has absolutely refused to carry out the decision of the Philadelphia convention. We did not come in here, as we might have come, as was done by other organizations, and ask that the charter of this international union be suspended because of their refusal. All we ask is that the local unions of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers holding drivers in their membership, be unseated. We have ninety-five per cent. of the bakery wagon drivers of this country that are organized. There are less than three hundred drivers to-day that are in question between the international unions. There are unorganized bakery drivers throughout the country to-day and when our organizers go to them they say, "We will not go into your union until such time as we are told just where we belong." We want you to settle this matter.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, in the chair.

Delegate Myrup, in discussing the question, said in part: I have no desire to enter into a discussion as to the merits or demerits of this question of jurisdiction. I know it is useless. Our organization is not in accord with your definition of jurisdiction. We reserve the right of not being in accord with you on that question. However, while we are not in accord with your decision defining jurisdiction, since it was rendered we have ceased to organize the unorganized bakery drivers. In the last two years we have ceased to organize the unorganized bakery drivers and we intend to maintain that position. The organized bakery workers have been with us fifteen and twenty years; they were with us prior to the time there was an international union of teamsters; they have worked with us and built up this organization and have obtained splendid conditions. We take this position so far as it concerns the organized bakery drivers now within our organization, that they came to us by their voluntary choice, worked with us and built up the organization, and we have told them, "This is the decision of the American Federation of Labor. Voluntarily you came to us, voluntarily you can leave us."

Delegate Goldstone, Bakery Workers, discussed the question, and described in detail the conditions surrounding the members of both organizations in various cities, stating that if the organizations worked in harmony a great deal of good might be accomplished in bringing unorganized men into the unions.

Delegate Casey, Teamsters, in discussing the question dealt chiefly with the situation in San Francisco, where a local composed entirely of bakery drivers still maintained its membership in the Bakery and Confectionery Workers.

The question was further discussed by President Gompers, Delegate Hayes (M. S.) and Chairman O'Connell.

The committee accepted the amendment offered by President Gompers that the words "coming under" be added to the report of the committee.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted by a vote of 79 in the affirmative to 76 in the negative.

Hon. Anthony Caminetti, United States Commissioner of Immigration, was introduced by President Gompers. Mr. Caminetti expressed his appreciation of the privilege accorded him of addressing a convention of the American Federation of Labor. He expressed regret that he had not been able to appear at the opening of the session to present the message of Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson, which had been transmitted through other sources. In speaking on the question of unemployment Mr. Caminetti described briefly the system established by the Department of Labor throughout the country to bring together those needing employment and those who need labor to carry on their business. He called attention particularly to the plan of having blanks distributed through the post-offices for people needing employment to fill out. He stated that the postmasters in the various cities, through the Postoffice Department, had been instructed to give some time to that work each day. Mr. Caminetti spoke briefly on the subjects of industrial education, insurance and immigration.

Secretary Golden continued the report of the Adjustment Committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America have among its membership and under its control workers who are not, but should be, members of the various metal trades organizations in several localities; and

WHEREAS, These men of the various metal trades may or may not be deluded with the idea that it is necessary for them to hold their membership in the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America in order to hold their positions; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the various metal trades under their several charters extends over these men wherever they may be employed; and

WHEREAS, The affiliation of these various tradesmen in the trade organization to which they properly belong will in no way affect the working strength of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, for offensive or defensive purposes; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced and adopted in several conventions of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor by representatives of affiliated organizations, instructing its officers to

meet the president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, for the purpose of having him turn over all tradesmen now members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees to their respective organizations; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor have carried out these instructions, but without success; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention, instruct the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to turn over all metal trades mechanics to the various organizations that have jurisdiction over them; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor instruct the organization of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America not to interfere in any way whatsoever with the organizing of the various metal tradesmen for the purpose of retaining these men in their organization, and not to interfere with the object in view of making a working contract to cover men that are not under their jurisdiction, but under the jurisdiction of metal trades organizations.

Your committee concurs in the resolution held in and recommends its adoption.

We further recommend that the President of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, as soon as possible, jointly endeavor to adjust and straighten out such controversies as now exist between the various Metal Trades Organizations and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.): We do not care to take up the time of the convention discussing this, but the street-car men ask to be recorded as voting against the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Eugene E. Smith, of the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity:

Portland, Oregon, November 5, 1915.
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary A. F. of L., Sutter Hotel, San Francisco, Calif.
Dear Sir and Brother:

The following resolution submitted to the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity by L. U. 125, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, was en-

dorsed and the requests therein made to our Council were granted by it.

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 125, International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, is a union composed of electrical workers employed by public service corporations and utility companies whose policies and great industrial power make mandatory and necessary international laws governing our union and like unions that will make for organized strength and solidarity if the workers belonging thereto are to successfully obtain and maintain equitable wages and working conditions; and,

WHEREAS, Though once our union enjoyed such international laws we forsook them and reaffiliated with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, recognized as the true and legal international, best calculated to represent and protect the organized electrical workers of the country, by the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS, This action was taken by us in common with many of our then and now sister local unions with a full confidence and belief that fair play would be granted us by the recognized brotherhood insofar at least that the electrical workers commonly termed "outside electrical workers" would be permitted to place their position on the industrial field before the international convention and be given such legislation as experience has proven best suited to our interests; and,

WHEREAS, Our international convention held in St. Paul, Minn., during September of this year (1915), not only refused, despite our earnest and sincere representations, to pass such legislation, but did on the contrary, by force of numbers and other indefensible methods inconsistent with the best practice and fundamental principles of trades unionism, pass such hostile legislation and take such distasteful action that not only are our wages and working conditions jeopardized but the very life of our union is endangered; and,

WHEREAS, Our knowledge of the problems of like workers in other unions, having as members the same class of employees as constitute our membership, makes us firm in the conviction that not only is our union thus affected, but all like unions are endangered to the same extent; and,

WHEREAS, Because of lack of numerical strength, and a hostile international administration, it is highly probable that relief will be denied us by the initiative and referendum as per our constitution; and,

WHEREAS, Though we cast no reflection on the fairness of the individual members of our brotherhood who are commonly termed "inside wiremen" and who constitute the major portion of the membership of our brotherhood, we fear many of them may listen to the advice of those who either are hostile to the outside electrical worker or are ignorant of his problems and thus may contribute to our defeat in any appeal to the general membership; and,

WHEREAS, The report of our delegate (only one of whom has to date returned), returning from our international convention, a brother in whom we all have the fullest confidence, convinces us that we were subjected in said convention to gross injustice and confirms us in a belief that we must seek redress elsewhere than from our constitutional officers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By Local Union No. 125, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in regular meeting assembled, that we do deplore such injustice and proceedings and that we do petition the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity to instruct its delegate to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to present our grievances thereto, and to ask for a sweeping investigation into the affairs of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, that the component workers therein may all be assured that protection which may so easily be given with harm to none and justice to all, as our brotherhood was originally designed to do; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor, through our Central Labor Council, to, before concluding its investigation, send authorized representatives into the unions of out and inside electrical workers, there to confer with local union members and officers and with instructions to submit their findings to the proper American Federation of Labor authorities, that the latter may learn the true sentiment and needs of our general membership, and thus be enabled to know those things best to do that our interests as wage earners may be conserved.

Our Council desires the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to give the complainants every consideration as indicated in the above resolution.

(Signed) CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
OF PORTLAND AND VICINITY
E. J. Stack, Secretary.

Secretary Golden: Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Smith, Portland, spoke at length in favor of the resolution and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Chairman O'Connell stated that the committee did not believe it was within the power or authority of the American Federation to delve into the affairs of an affiliated organization and for that reason recommended non-concurrence.

Delegate Brown, Timber Workers, moved as an amendment to the committee's report that the matter be referred to the Executive Council and that the Executive Council direct the organ-

izers of the American Federation of Labor on the Pacific Coast to use their good offices to smooth out the difference between the local unions of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers on the coast and their international organization. The motion was seconded but not carried.

Delegate Sweek, Electrical Workers, stated if the local in question had grievances against the international they could submit laws through the referendum of that organization to correct any evils they felt existed.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: I desire to move that the Secretary be instructed to incorporate in the proceedings of the afternoon of the ninth day the address of President Gompers referring to Resolution No. 79. Seconded.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): I wish to amend that the discussion in full be incorporated in the minutes. All those who discussed the resolution should have a full opportunity to have their remarks printed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Barnes was seconded and carried and the motion as amended was adopted.

Delegate White, United Mine Workers, in the chair.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate Patrick Quinn, of the International Union of Pavers:

WHEREAS, A local union known as Asphalt Workers Local No. 84 of San Francisco has been granted a charter by the International Union of Pavers and Rammers and Asphalt Workers; and

WHEREAS, The said local union has been refused a seat in the San Francisco Labor Council because of a protest by United Laborers' Union No. 12,992 of San Francisco; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the San Francisco Labor Council to dismiss said protest and to grant full affiliation to Asphalt Workers' Local Union No. 84, without delay.

Secretary Golden: Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Dale asked that a member of the United Laborers, not a delegate, be permitted to address the convention.

Vice-President O'Connell: There is

nothing in the resolution or the report that warrants anyone from the outside or anyone in the convention discussing this question. It is simply a question of the local union legally organized and affiliated with its international having a seat in the central body.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Michael Casey and M. E. Decker, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs:

WHEREAS, The Clerks' International Union has in their membership a number of drivers of wagons and operators of auto trucks delivering merchandise in the several cities in our country; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs has absolute jurisdiction over this class of work and over men employed in this particular industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Clerks' International Union to turn over to the International Teamsters and Chauffeurs all drivers of wagons and operators of auto trucks now holding membership in the Clerks' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Clerks' International Union be ordered by this convention to cease admitting to membership in the future drivers of wagons or chauffeurs working on auto trucks; and be it further

RESOLVED, That failing to comply with this request that the central labor bodies and State branches throughout the country unseat the delegates from local unions of the Clerks' International Organization until such time as said Clerks' International Union complies with this request.

The committee recommend the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: I would like to ask the committee whether the adoption of this resolution would exclude all clerks' unions from representation in central bodies whether they have auto truck drivers in their unions or not?

Chairman O'Connell: No, it would not.

President Gompers: That is the impression I got. During the year after the convention's close the duty devolves upon the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor to enforce your declarations and if the President is unable to gather the right information he can not carry

out your instructions. I ask whether that direct statement or inference does not include all the clerks' unions whether they have auto truck drivers in them or not?

Chairman O'Connell: That is not the construction of the committee. There is a fundamental right that local unions in international bodies enjoy. That was discussed and gone over thoroughly in the case of the bakery drivers. They are in the same position exactly. A local union that has not in any way offended and is not in violation of the decision rendered by this convention will not be affected, but the local unions who retain in their membership those who come under the jurisdiction of another organization are direct offenders and the action would then apply.

President Gompers discussed the question further.

Delegate McCullough moved that the entire subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the former reference. Seconded.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, objected to referring the matter to the Executive Council. He stated that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters desired an expression from the convention. He stated further that he was satisfied with the ruling of Chairman O'Connell in the matter, that only unions of clerks that hold in their membership drivers and chauffeurs that come under the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs should be unseated.

Secretary Morrison moved as an amendment that the words, "having within their membership drivers or chauffeurs" be inserted in the last resolve between the words "Organization" and "until" in the sixth line.

Delegate Tobin stated the amendment was satisfactory to the Teamsters, and the committee accepted the amendment.

Delegate Conway, Retail Clerks, opposed the resolution and the recommendation of the committee. He stated that no notice had been given that such a resolution would be introduced, and that the retail clerks anticipated that a conference would be held and an endeavor made to adjust the matter without bringing it into the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Conditions existing in different cities

where trouble had arisen were discussed by Delegate Conway and Delegate Tobin.

The motion to adopt the report of the

committee, with the amendment offered by Secretary Morrison, was carried.

At 12:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:15 p. m. of the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:15 p. m. Saturday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—O'Hare, McKenna, Christman, Boyden, Gurney, Ford, Glass, Brennan, Letroadec, Call, Forrest, Kearney, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Splegl, James (C. E.), Coffey, Case, Weber, Harris, McGhinley (J. P.), Jennings, Sachs, Woodman, Keller, Porter, Kraft, McGarry, Anderson (E.), Hall, Severance, Lawson, Camomile, Castro, Dempsey, Kranefeld, Dean, Triska, Spear, Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Hammerschlag, Harrison, Corbey, Galvin.

Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Golden continued the report of the committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate J. M. Gavlak, of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, A substitute material for slate and tile, known as asphalt slate shingle, is and has taken the place of slate and tile on roofs of buildings; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have and continue to contend for the erection of this material to roofs of buildings, which work rightly belongs and comes under the jurisdiction of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, and not to the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed by this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to refrain from infringing on the jurisdiction claims of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, and cease from applying the asphalt slate shingles to buildings.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate J. M. Gavlak, of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are and have trespassed on the jurisdiction rights of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America in erecting or applying asbestos slate shingles to roofs of buildings; and

WHEREAS, At the Seattle convention of the Building Trades Department an agreement was formulated between the

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners or their executive officer, and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, which was later withdrawn by the Executive Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; and

WHEREAS, The International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America has entered into a satisfactory agreement over the work in question, "Asbestos Slate Shingles," with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners that was enforced by the said organization during its existence, and until the amalgamation of the two carpenters' organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and are hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement of the jurisdiction of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance to enforce the intent of this resolution.

Your committee recommends that Resolutions No. 84 and No. 85 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to arrange for a conference between the parties in interest within sixty days after the adjournment of this convention for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the complaints.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Mahon expressed surprise at the nature of the report of the committee, and said in part: If the Carpenters have transgressed the laws of this organization, why do we not have a report from the committee dealing with the conditions as they actually exist? I would like to know just why the committee's report is to refer to the Executive Council when this is an absolute violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman O'Connell: The laws of the

Federation require if there is a dispute between two organizations over any subject the organizations shall hold conferences and attempt to adjust the difficulty before it becomes a matter for the consideration of the American Federation of Labor as a subject of decision. No attempt has been made by the two organizations to get together.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Golden: This concludes the report of the committee, all of which is respectfully and fraternally submitted.

JAMES O'CONNELL,
Chairman;

JOHN H. TOBIN,
J. C. SHANESSY,
REZIN ORR,
H. J. CONWAY,
D. A. CAREY,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
JOHN T. SMITH,
CHAS. ANDERSON,
EDWARD FLORE,
JOHN P. DUFFY,
R. H. CURRAN,
MAIER SCHWARZ,
JAMES SMART,
JOHN GOLDEN,
Secretary,

Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Golden moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole as amended. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.): I desire to be recorded as voting "no" on the adoption of the report of this committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland: In view of the wide scope of the discussion and the interest and education that will come because of the discussion in the matter of the Machinists and Carpenters at last night's session, I move that it be incorporated verbatim in the minutes. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Rickert, United Garment Workers, in the chair.

Report of Committee on Laws.

Chairman Lennon, of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate James Roberts of the Western Federation of Miners:

Amend Section 11, Article 9, Constitution, as follows:

On line 5, page 15, before the word "Work", insert the words "go to" and after the word "work" strike out the word "at" and insert the following words, "in the jurisdiction of".

The full paragraph will then read as follows, from line three:

And it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union, go to work in the jurisdiction of any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the Union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee on Laws reports non-concurrence in the proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, Section 14, of Article XIII, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor which directs that one-fourth ($\frac{1}{4}$) of the initiation fees collected be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, has proved impracticable and detrimental to Federal and Laborers' Unions of California chartered by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That said Section 14, of Article XIII is hereby repealed and that Sections 15, 16 and 17 of Article XIII be renumbered accordingly.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Federal Unions are paying at the present time fifteen cents per capita to the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In addition, they are compelled to pay equally as much in support of Local and State Central bodies, and the Labor Press, where they do their full duty, thus placing a heavy burden upon workers who habitually receive very small wages; and

WHEREAS, Support of the Labor Press is one of the most important duties of Labor Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates of the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the American Federation of Labor to remit five cents per month of the per capita tax of Federal Unions which support their Local Labor Press upon a per capita basis; provided, however, that such Labor Press is owned and controlled by Organized Labor.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Timothy Driscoll, of Gas and Water Workers, Local No. 9840:

WHEREAS, Section 14 of Article 13

of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, if lived up to, would be detrimental to the interests of this organization, and we believe would also add an expense to all federal organizations, who are composed of one craft, such as gas workers and laborers, which said organizations can ill afford to pay; and

WHEREAS, The extra tax of twenty-five (25c) cents imposed on members of these organizations who through no fault of their own become delinquent would force them again into the ranks of the unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strike from its constitution the above mentioned section of Article 13 and also the twenty-five (25c) cents reinstatement tax.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Harry A. Milton, of the Elevator Conductors and Starters, Local 13,105:

WHEREAS, Section 14 of Article XII of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, if lived up to would act detrimental to the interests of this organization, and we believe would also add an expense to all federal organizations, who are composed of one craft, such as Elevator Conductors and Starters, which said organization can ill afford to pay; and

WHEREAS, The extra tax of twenty-five cents (25c) imposed on members of these organizations who through no fault of their own become delinquent would force them again into the ranks of the unorganized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strike from its Constitution the above mentioned section of Article XII and also the twenty-five cents (25c) reinstatement tax.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Ernest Carter, of United Laborers' Union No. 13,018:

Oakland, Cal., Nov. 5, 1915.

To the American Federation of Labor, Frank Morrison, Secretary, San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

United Laborers' Union No. 13,018, struggling to maintain its membership and to better the conditions of the common laborer in Alameda County, finds that it is compelled to pay such exorbitant per capita taxes and other fees that it cannot maintain itself and continue its work as it should be done.

In the first place, our members are engaged (when they work) at common labor. They, of course, receive the smallest wage paid to men in any calling. The wages which we have been able to maintain and to assure our members of getting, are barely enough, if constantly employed, to keep them. They have no possible chance of luxurious living and it is only by the prac-

tice of rigid economy that they can get along at all.

Now, under the circumstances in which our union must at the present time fight to keep alive, we find that it is practically impossible to exist and to pay the various per capita taxes which we must meet. It is impossible to increase the dues of men whose best rate of pay is so small that they can barely get along at all and we have no other means of support.

This union feels that the payment of twenty-five (25c) cents for each reinstatement, and of sending to the American Federation of Labor one-fourth of our initiation fees for each member is altogether uncalled for.

We also believe that the making of a "complete monthly report" of our membership is an imposition on the officers of our union, neither of whom is paid sufficient to make it anything but a tax on him and neither of whom is accountant enough to make it easy for him.

This union feels that with a monthly audit of our accounts by the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, which is directly responsible to the American Federation of Labor, and whose assurance will be proof of our full payments of per capita tax, your honorable body would be sufficiently guaranteed of our condition.

This union therefore respectfully asks that these requirements be either waived or done away with in connection with its position in the American Federation of Labor.

We ask this, knowing as we do that we represent that large body of labor, which, due to its lack of particular skill or ownership of a trade or craft is the least organized. We know, as do all students of unionism, that the large mass of unorganized common laborers is a constant menace to the organized workers of the country. And we respectfully suggest that to that element (the unorganized common laborer), special attention should be given and special inducement be held out, that the danger which they embody might be removed from the work of upbuilding and the maintenance of unionism.

All this being true, your honorable body, in our humble opinion, should assist and encourage, rather than make it a hardship, for the building up and keeping together organizations of common laborers, such as ours.

We believe that the best and most reasonable way to do that is to permit such organizations as ours to live at the least possible expense.

Therefore United Laborers No. 13018 respectfully asks that the American Federation of Labor take such action as will excuse them from the payment of: First, one-fourth, or twenty-five per cent., of all sums received from initiation fees; second, the payment of twenty-five cents to the American Federation of Labor for each reinstatement. This latter in consideration of the fact that all book-keeping, etc., in connection with each reinstatement must be taken care of by our union, is preposterous.

We also ask to be absolved from the requirement to make detailed reports monthly of our entire membership. This matter is fully covered by the audit of the Central Labor Council.

Placing these matters before your honorable body, this union respectfully asks that you give to the matters contained herein your careful and considerate attention.

Most respectfully submitted.

UNITED LABORERS' UNION NO.
130th

The foregoing five resolutions deal with the relations of local trade and federal labor unions with the American Federation of Labor and were considered jointly by the Committee on Laws. Your committee reports the following as a substitute for all proposals offered in the five resolutions: that present Section 14 of Article XIII be amended to read:

"Section 14, Article XIII. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 or more than \$10.00 and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the names of members paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation."

President Gompers stated that he was in accord with the recommendation that a higher initiation fee than \$10 shall be prohibited, but was not in accord with the recommendation to make the minimum \$2.00. He recommended that \$1.00 be the minimum fee.

Delegate D'Alessandro offered as an amendment to the report of the committee that the Executive Council instruct local unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor to apply for charters in the national or international unions that claim jurisdiction over the work they are doing.

Delegate Mahon opposed the recommendation of the committee that the minimum fee be changed from \$1.00 to \$2.00 and agreed with the recommendation that the maximum be fixed at \$10.

The question was discussed by Delegate Cotterill, who urged that we continue sending the Federationist to all who now get it through direct affiliation, and if possible to all delegates to central bodies as a matter of education.

Delegate Riley, Stenographers, moved that the minimum initiation fee be fixed at \$1.00. Seconded by Delegate Mahon.

The question was discussed by Delegate

Ernst, Delegate Johnson, Delegate McAndrews, Delegate Furuseth, Delegate Driscoll, Secretary Morrison, Delegate Bohm and Delegate D'Alessandro.

The committee accepted the amendment to fix the minimum initiation fee at \$1.00 instead of \$2.00.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.): I rise to move as an amendment that the report read: "except where such locals control 70 per cent. of the workers in the federal local, when the initiation fee shall be determined by that Federal Labor Union itself."

Delegate McAndrews: I move as a substitute that a section in the law pertaining to the initiation fee be stricken out. (Seconded but not carried.)

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Treasurer Lennon: In connection with Resolutions 37, 47, 51, 64 and 66, jointly considered by the committee, we recommend that the Secretary of the Federation, together with the Executive Council, give careful consideration to the adoption and use of some plan of making monthly reports by Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions more simple if possible than the one now in use, and consequently less burdensome to the officers of such Local Unions.

The report and recommendation of the committee were adopted.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, There are a number of local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who are not affiliated with State Branches or Central Bodies; and

WHEREAS, We believe that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be affiliated with their respective State Federations and Central Bodies; and

WHEREAS, Article XI, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, sets forth, "It shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist, similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction"; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been presented to the American Federation

of Labor Conventions year after year anent this matter without bringing the desired results; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That Article XI, Section 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby amended by striking out the entire section and inserting in lieu thereof the following, to be known as Section 11 of Article XI:

"It shall be mandatory upon all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make it mandatory upon their local unions to join the chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. It shall be mandatory upon all locals chartered by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with all trade and central labor unions in their respective districts."

Your committee is in entire accord with the end that these amendments seek to attain, but we feel that the recent accomplishments in the direction of securing the affiliation of every local union with central labor bodies and State federations, warrants us in recommending the continuance of the policy of urging national and international officers to continue and accentuate their efforts to influence their respective local unions to so affiliate, rather than attempt by law to force the matter. All local trade and federal labor unions are now compelled by Executive Council to affiliate with all central bodies. Much has been accomplished by these persuasive methods, and your committee urge the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of all affiliated unions, to be, if possible, still more diligent in their efforts to bring about proper affiliation of every local union in the United States and Canada. Your committee, therefore, non-concurs in proposed amendments as found in Resolution No. 38.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee.

In discussing the question Delegate Ernst stated that he would like to see some more drastic action taken than recommended by the committee.

Delegate Ryan, Plate Printers, urged that a plan be adopted to compel organizations to affiliate with central bodies.

Delegate McCarthy (T. H.) spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate S. B. Marks, of the Georgia Federation of Labor:

Amend Sec. 1, Art. 3, page 4 by striking out all of the section after the word "November" in the third line, and inserting the following: "at Washington, D. C." When amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November at Washington, D. C."

Your committee reports non-concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Marks, Georgia Federation, spoke in favor of the adoption of the amendments contained in the resolution.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Mahon.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate J. H. Walker, of the United Mine Workers:

RESOLVED, That Section 11 of the constitution be amended to permit the affiliation with State Federations, Central Bodies, and Building Trades Councils, of bona fide trade-union organizations of workmen and women, who, though their international unions may not be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that the American Federation of Labor is desirous of being affiliated, and where the membership involved have declared their desire to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, and where such affiliation is mutually satisfactory and advantageous.

Your committee reports non-concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor at its thirty-third annual convention, adopted resolutions instructing its delegate to this convention to prepare and urge the adoption of suitable resolutions providing that the American Federation of Labor employ the principle embodied in the initiative, referendum and recall, in transacting the business and affairs of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we endorse and ratify the initiative, referendum and recall and the officers are hereby instructed that wherever it is practical in transacting the business

of this Federation, that these measures be employed.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held in Alton, Ill., October 18th to 23d, 1916, instructed its delegates to this convention to ask this convention to submit to the membership of the affiliated organizations the question of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the referendum system of voting; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to submit to the membership of the affiliated organizations, through the proper channels, the question: "Shall the officers of the American Federation of Labor be elected by a referendum vote of the membership"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers in submitting this question use every reasonable means within their power to secure a "yes" or "no" vote from the individual members of the affiliated organizations upon this question.

Your committee considered Resolutions Nos. 96 and 97 together, as both involved the use of the principles of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in the transaction of legislation and the election of officers by this system. Your committee finds that the Rochester convention of the Federation carefully considered this entire subject and adopted a report by the Committee on Resolutions, which is herewith submitted as the report of this committee, as follows:

"Your committee, while in full accord with the declarations of the American Federation of Labor on the application of the Initiative and referendum to the election of public officials and the enactment of general legislation, does not believe that it would be advisable to apply this method to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. In the political fields and on questions of legislation there is public and common information as fully available to one citizen as to any other through the public forum and the press.

"Your committee is aware that there are organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which elect their officers by the initiative and referendum; also that some affiliated organizations which at one time applied the initiative and referendum to the election of their officers, have returned to the convention system because of their experiences under the former method, and that many affiliated organizations have not considered it advisable to adopt the initiative and referendum for that purpose. On that phase of the question members of unions electing officers

through the initiative and referendum have opportunities through trade information of knowing something concerning the availability and qualification of candidates for office. On the subject of applying the initiative and referendum to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, your committee is as fully aware that neither of the preceding opportunities of essential information are apparent. The members of one union have little opportunity of receiving trade or other knowledge concerning the availability or personnel of members and nominees of other unions, for officers of the American Federation of Labor. Apart from the enormous cost of such a method of election, the possibility of irregularities in connection therewith; the evident multiplicity of nominations which would follow, and the impossibility of guaranteeing an election by a number approaching a majority vote, there is the evident fact that there are neither adequate methods of conducting such elections nor are there available opportunities for the dissemination of proper and essential information to properly conduct such an election.

"Your committee has examined the report of the Executive Council upon the subject under consideration and find that in reply to the circular letter sent to all affiliated organizations on this matter as a result of the action of the Atlanta Convention on the subject, the officers of 52 affiliated organizations representing 890,240 members recorded themselves as opposed to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum, while the officers of but 23 affiliated organizations representing 508,116 members expressed themselves in favor of this system.

"For the reasons submitted and in view of the present method wherein representative conventions' officers are elected with due regard to their ability, fitness for the office for which they are selected, with fair and just consideration for the rights of affiliated organizations, your committee recommends non-concurrence with the resolutions."

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation: It seems to me the committee has failed to understand the purpose of the resolution. The report which the chairman of the committee read does not deal with any part of the resolutions or the intent of the resolutions as presented by the Illinois State Federation of Labor. We have two separate resolutions, one dealing with the question of trying to transact business of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and referendum, and everything that the chairman of the committee has read to you deals with the question of electing the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the initiative and ref-

erendum. The men and women of Illinois feel that if questions are taken up that are part of the business of the American Federation of Labor and submitted to the rank and file, it would be a helpful proposition; it would be a matter of education, and it might develop more confidence on the part of the rank and file in the American Federation of Labor than it has in it at the present time. Five hundred thousand men and women of the State of Illinois, through their representatives in the Illinois State Federation of Labor, have stated that they believe it is a practical proposition, and in order to test out the efficiency of the initiative and referendum, think the question should be taken up, put on the program and let the rank and file vote it up or down. That is not an unreasonable proposition on the part of such a large element of the labor movement of this country. We ask you to give this a trial, and your committee deals with another question presented to this convention. So much for that resolution. The other resolution deals with an entirely different proposition. The proposition it deals with is that the question of the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor be sent back to the rank and file. Now we know how the international officers are going to feel on this subject, but we do not feel that we have to bow to the will or the power of the international unions in performing that particular function for the American Federation of Labor. The men and women of Illinois do not think that must be done. And in order to find out how the men and women feel on this question, they submit a proposition. The proposition is this: "Shall the officers of the American Federation of Labor be elected by a referendum vote of the membership?" That is the important proposition involved, a yes or no vote from the rank and file, and then we ask that the Executive Council use particular caution in preventing international organizations from voting their organizations in their entirety. We ask that the Executive Council go to any extent necessary in order to present this question to the rank and file and give them an opportunity to decide whether this course shall be pursued or not. The men and women I represent think the officers of the American Federation of Labor ought to be

more in touch with the rank and file of the labor movement, and when they present the proposition in the way it is presented here it is not unreasonable; the only unreasonable situation that has developed is that the committee has lost sight of the intent of the resolution and has juggled the situation so completely that we do not understand what we are going to vote upon.

Delegate Bourne: Representing the Oregon State Federation of Labor, the home of the initiative and referendum, I would not be a true representative of the State if I did not say a word upon this question. The initiative and referendum has done a great deal for the working people of Oregon. That law has done more for the workers than any law we have in the western country. We do mighty things with the referendum, and I want to say to those members of the international unions here that I was elected by a referendum vote to come to this convention; the rank and file elected me to represent them, and that is a whole lot more than you fellows can say. I have no objection to the present officers, they have been selected by the convention in days gone by, they have been tried and have measured up very well. We are satisfied with the result, but here is a demand by the rank and file for true democracy, a demand that the rank and file shall have something to say about our representatives. President McNulty of the Electrical Workers got on the floor this morning and said his organization would have to submit the question under consideration to a referendum vote. The Electrical Workers' organization, bad as some of you think it is, has the referendum.

Delegate Barnes, Cigarmakers: The report of the committee is exactly what I have been expecting from it. The proposition is a simple one. They ask: "Let us consult the rank and file, see what their wishes are and what their opinion and their judgment are." It provides no machinery; it does not take into consideration the great difficulties that may be found in operation; but asks in simple language to let the rank and file of our different divisions have a voice and an opportunity of recording their judgment for or against the referendum principle both in regard to the enactment of laws and electing officers.

The committee points out to you that this Federation has had a wonderful experience by consulting the members, and there are those high in power who do not expect to ever let that opportunity be granted. Twenty-two years ago in the Chicago convention it was agreed by the delegates there present that the membership should be consulted on a certain proposition. The Cigarmakers' Union, by a membership vote of ten to one, endorsed what was known as the public ownership of all means of production and distribution. Nearly all the affiliated organizations brought in a similar result, not by quite such a large majority, but a majority of the delegation had behind them the endorsement of their members. Once we heard the voice of the membership in this convention hall, and that was fatal. Those who can prevent it will never endure it again. Since the time of which I speak there has been proposed not less than twenty-two resolutions looking to the same purpose, saying: "Let us give ear to the membership on this, that, or the other proposition." And every time it has gone down in defeat and you may expect, as long as this convention is constituted as it is, such things will be voted down. If the membership wants this they will overcome any obstacles that may be found in erecting a machine to carry it out. Once their will is recorded, a means will be found in our organization to provide machinery. There is no barrier we can not surmount. I charge you men to let the opinions of the members be recorded—the men down the line, not ourselves. We have a right to refer these things to the members and the members have a right to expect that you will ask their judgment in vital questions of this kind. That report which the committee reprints—it is to laugh! Have you read carefully the report of the Rochester convention? The Atlanta convention provided by resolution, introduced by Joseph Proebstle, that we ascertain from the affiliated unions—the officers of the unions, not the rank and file—whether they were favorable to electing the officers of the American Federation by referendum. If you read that report you will find at least six unions that are using the referendum for the election of their officers whose officers voted against the referendum;

said they thought it was impracticable, or clumsy, or something else. But notwithstanding the misrepresentation of a number of officers, there was still recorded a membership of over five hundred thousand favorable to it, one-fourth of our membership at least. Fully a quarter of our membership said the initiative and referendum should be adopted in the election of our officers. Vote this down if you will, but my advice is to listen to the voice of the people. The report of the committee is against that proposition. If you want democratic government you should commit yourself to the proposition in these resolutions and vote down the report of the committee.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

Delegate D'Alessandro: Do you believe that all of the business that has been transacted in this convention, all these questions of jurisdiction and law, could be sent to a referendum? Do you think the membership would be able to consider all these questions fairly or not?

Delegate Barnes: I believe the membership should have an opportunity to say how much they want to do. If they decide to do that they will find a means to do it. The Illinois Federation, by the way, is conducting its business in that manner. I believe the membership should be given an opportunity to say how much they want to do anything. They will find a way to do it if they have the opportunity.

President Gompers: The last remark made by Delegate Barnes is quite significant—if the members want to do a thing they will find a way to do it! May I say at the outset that at the convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union in 1877 I proposed a series of resolutions for the election of the officers of that international union by the initiative and referendum, and in every convention thereafter, whenever the opportunity presented, I persisted in that course. At the Indianapolis convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union I proposed that a special committee be appointed for the purpose of drafting ways and means by which the officers of that organization might be nominated and elected by initiative and referendum.

Delegate Barnes: Make it the Milwaukee convention and you will be right.

Delegate Perkins: It was in Indianapolis in 1891.

President Gompers: The convention adopted the motion and the committee was selected, of which I was made chairman. The committee sat, with the exception of an hour or two, in continuous session to frame that law. It was introduced, contested, discussed, debated, and finally adopted, and from that day to this, with very little exception, that law has remained practically unchanged. I think I can be fairly classed with those who will go as far as possible in order to conduct the affairs of the labor movement upon the principle of democracy by the membership of the organizations. I have seen the system introduced into other organizations. The cigarmakers have had a number of nominations and elections under that system. And, let me say, that some few years after its introduction the committee on laws of that organization met a week in advance of the convention and recommended, because of certain conditions which arose, to abolish the initiative and referendum and to go back to the election of the officers of the international union in convention. I led, or at least aided in defeating that recommendation and maintaining the initiative and referendum. Now, speaking upon the question of the business of the American Federation of Labor. Here we have been in session for nearly two weeks. We are crowded with work, we have to meet by committees and meet at evening sessions, and in many instances we finally refer subjects for further consideration and action to the Executive Council and to special committees for consideration during the time between conventions. I wonder how much of understanding of all the elements involved in the one hundred and sixty-one resolutions introduced in this convention, and the nearly one hundred different subjects referred to this convention and reported by the Executive Council, could be discussed and understood and voted upon intelligently and comprehensively by the membership during the year? How much attention could the membership

of the unions give the questions affecting their immediate interests? The proposition—I was going to stigmatize it as absurd, but I will not—is ill-considered. Reverting back to the election of the officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum. Under instructions of the Atlanta convention the Executive Council took up the matter and directed me to make the fullest investigation possible. I asked all national and international unions, affiliated and unaffiliated, I asked the national unions of Europe, I asked the federations of labor of the various countries, and the answers came back from the foreign countries that they would not give a moment's consideration to a proposition of such a character. There is not in all the world a federation of labor which conducts its affairs or elects its officers by the initiative and referendum. I want to speak of a few experiences which have occurred in international unions of America that conduct their nominations and elections by the initiative and referendum. I shall not speak of an organization whose affairs are not public property, but refer to the organization of which I am a member. But it has been asserted that in one of the international unions in America, through the machinations of an executive officer, and some of those who worked in league with him, nearly fifty thousand votes were perverted and the change of the election made by the initiative and the referendum system. That matter has not been made public property and hence I will not name the organization. There was an election by the initiative and referendum in the International Association of Granite Cutters within the past six months—that is public property—and the organized campaign of villification and misrepresentation is perhaps unparalleled in any of the political parties of our country. Delegate Barnes said, "It is to laugh!" referring to the recommendation of the committee. No, it is not to laugh; it is to weep at some of the actions taken by some men under pretense of agitating the initiative and referendum. During the time of the nomination and election of the officers of the Cigarmakers' International Union five years ago, circulars were sent out to the membership through which concentrated

action by a group of the membership was organized and conducted. Right now the members of the Cigarmakers' International Union are engaged in the initiative and referendum for nominations, and in a few months the elections are to occur. The convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union of Baltimore declared emphatically upon the question of the development of the trade union movement as it was adopted by the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor. That declaration for the development of trade unionism as against the misnomer of so-called industrial unionism was not only adopted by the convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union but went to the membership and was ratified by a vast majority. And yet in this convention one of the delegates of that organization voted in direct opposition to the instructions of the referendum vote. Reverting back to the fact that there is now a campaign on for the election of the officers of the Cigarmakers' International Union. Do you know that at the Baltimore convention a number of the delegates met, so I am informed over the name of Mr. J. Mahlon Barnes, and they no longer called themselves an "organization" but they instituted what they euphoniously called a "Correspondence Club."

Delegate Barnes: I will ask the chair is the speaker talking on the question? Is this interesting to the delegates?

President Gompers: I assure the delegate it will be interesting to him.

Chairman Green: If any delegate wants to ask a question he may do so after President Gompers has concluded his address.

President Gompers: That Correspondence Club is nothing more or less than an organization formed within the Cigar Makers' International Union to control the affairs of the International Union, and to control the affairs in a way that I shall try to show you in a few minutes. Somehow or other this Correspondence Club, according to the authority of Mr. Barnes, has grown; it has all the appearance of an organized entity. I haven't with me all the circulars Mr. Barnes has issued, but I happen to have the last one—at least if it is not the last one it is one under date of October 27th. I do not want to burden you

with all this circular contains, but I want to read you a few whole sentences. He says: "The Correspondence Club, composed only of members in good standing and with first fealty to the International Union, has grown wonderfully since its foundation and we want to enroll members in every union." Again he says: "Later the Executive Board of the Correspondence Club will have published some facts and comparisons, taken from the Journal, relating to the development of the industry, its changing phases, and opportunities for the advancement of the union." "If you know any member of the Cigarmakers' Union anywhere in the nation who would be interested in the Correspondence Club, send me his name and address. Also write him or send him one of these circulars with your name and address written on it. You will realize that some money is necessary." And then subscriptions are asked. Now I have heard that in some other unions there has been some sort of secret organization to influence its affairs, but in all my experience in the labor movement I have never yet seen where a body of men have had the effrontery within a trade union to make the propositions that have been made by this organization called "The Correspondence Club." May I say that in some of the circulars, superficially, asking certain men as to their preference for nominations for every office in the international union, and later a supposed referendum vote came to Mr. Barnes, and the names of those whom he desired to have nominated for the officers of the international union were those he sent out again in another circular. And in the effort of this so-called "Cigarmakers' Correspondence Club," is the element that makes for disintegration. Let me say this: That the conduct of some of those who have been the most ardent in the advocacy of the initiative and referendum in the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor has been—not all, I acquit any one who is innocent—but they have been guilty of such conduct that it makes me stand up and inquire whether, after all, the whole system of the initiative and referendum in our international unions is not being brought into disrepute. Some of the international unions have already gone back from the system of the initiative

and referendum in the election of their officers to the system of electing their officers man-fashion, face to face, in order that man may be put to the test. In the presentation to the Federation of that pictorial history of the Seamen's legislation, Delegate Furuseth quoted these words from it: "To-morrow is also a day." A work of the character of the "Correspondence Club" cannot last long without finding its retribution. If there is to be an initiative and referendum in the affairs of our organizations we must ourselves be free from contamination, we must ourselves permit of the free and untrammelled expression of opinion by the members of an organization and not by a clique formed within the organization to control the business, the legislation and the election of the officers who are to conduct the affairs of the organization. And at least until that is accomplished, at least until the organizations themselves have adopted the initiative and referendum to govern their own organizations, it is not difficult to discern how impossible it is to conduct the affairs or elect the officers of the American Federation of Labor by any other system than the present one, where we have white-heat debates by men in the conventions, when the light of the world is upon us to test us as to what we are doing in the open. We have much to do, and too little time to do it, and I realize that I ought not to take as much time as I have, but these questions are injected into our conventions from one source and another, from some I believe ill-considered, even though sincere, from other sources to provoke discussion and dissention. What safety would there be for the American Federation of Labor if we were to conduct our affairs and elect our officers by the initiative and referendum when in the international unions things go on such as I have stated? What would be the control of the American Federation of Labor in the affairs of the international and local unions? What safety, what protection for honor and honesty? We have had the statement that men want to perpetuate themselves in office, want to control, and all that sort of thing. I have worked five years for the Federation before it was able to pay one cent either in salary or compensation for time lost and effort given, and I worked for

several years at a salary of one thousand dollars a year. I imagine, with all the munificent salary now paid me, that if I were to devote whatever small ability and persistency I have to some other vocation in life, I could earn that money, and without the necessity of giving all there is in me. My purpose is to serve. And saying this within a few hours of when you are to determine who the officers of the American Federation of Labor are to be, you make it manifest, in some way that I can understand, and I shall be very glad to yield to your judgment. I have no money, I do not expect ever to have any, but I feel confident that I can manage to live—and that is all a man is entitled to after all—even though I shall not be the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Barnes: I ask a question of personal privilege.

Chairman Green: The chair has recognized another delegate. You may have the floor later.

Delegate Mueller: I had no intention of taking part in the question before the house, but since reference has been made, without mentioning any names, and as I usually am not ashamed of my actions, I feel it would be cowardly on my part if I did not say something on the subject of my vote here the other day. A resolution was before the house providing that the rank and file be given an opportunity to say whether they favored the industrial form of organization. The committee's report was absolutely at variance with giving such an opportunity. My vote upon the committee's report at Rochester upon that question is recorded, and by instructions from the membership of the international organization I have the honor to represent; and I felt the other day, without any consultation with my fellow delegates, that I voted right when I voted as I did. In my judgment I was not violating any act of the international organization I represent by voting for a proposition to give the membership this opportunity. I have voted on numerous occasions absolutely in conformity with my instructions as adopted by the membership, and I hope to do so again. I may err in judgment, just as well as any other delegate on this floor, but in doing so it is not the intent to violate

any instructions or mandates of the international union as adopted by its membership. I want to make that clear. No reference was made to my being a member of the Correspondence Club or that I had any time attended any meeting. I am not responsible for work of that kind, but when I vote I vote as my judgment dictates, and with no idea of violating the instructions.

Delegate Barnes: I rise to a question of personal privilege because the President took a great deal of liberty in using my name. He read some of the circulars. I am secretary of the Cigarmakers' Correspondence Club. It is a voluntary organization. Nobody gets any money from it; all that is paid in by voluntary contributions is expended for postage, printing and stationery. It is a most innocent and worthy institution, with the most proper motives. I think it is an imposition on the convention and delegates for people to stand here and talk for half an hour. Brother Gompers spoke for twenty-nine minutes, and it was a waste of time, abusing me—and he did not abuse me very much after all. The Correspondence Club of which he spoke does not have a political program and none of its members introduced anything of a political nature at the convention. Witness the report of the Committee on Resolutions of that convention, page 86 of the proceedings. The President of the American Federation of Labor was chairman of that committee, and the Resolutions Committee reported: "The convention has not been asked to endorse a political party and there are no resolutions before it for endorsement of any political party." This is a sufficient answer to the contrary rumors spread for a purpose. The members of the club stood at the convention, and I now stand, for an effective, vigorous, cigarmakers' union. President Gompers read some parts of the circular. I will read further: "There is no room for two organizations in any trade, therefore we must have faith in the one we have and make it a live one. An awakened membership can and will satisfactorily solve any question by which we are or may

be confronted." Later I say: "It is a get-together club to keep us in touch with matters of common interest, favoring measures and men for modern organization methods, fitting laws and the complete control of the trade by the workers." That is the sense of the whole thing.

President Gompers: Will Delegate Barnes permit a question?

Delegate Barnes: Certainly.

President Gompers: Is what I read contained in that circular?

Delegate Barnes: Oh, yes, you read what you wished and I am reading what I wish. I submit that Brother Gompers did not say one word to show that members have not a right, as the resolution provides, to decide what they want to do themselves. I was not the issue in this discussion, nor was the Correspondence Club, which is doing a good work in the Cigarmakers' Union, the issue; it was a question of when you as delegates will listen to the voice of the members.

The previous question was called for. A sufficient number supported the request and debate was closed.

Delegate Germer asked for a roll-call on the question.

The report of the committee was adopted by a viva voce vote.

President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison: I move that when we adjourn, we adjourn to 7:30 this evening. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Germer: I would like to ask whether the rules adopted to govern this convention are going to be adhered to?

President Gompers: The chair answers in the affirmative.

Delegate Germer: I think a sufficient number of delegates asked for the roll-call and their demands were not given any attention.

President Gompers: In the opinion of the temporary presiding officer a sufficient number did not ask for it.

Delegate Donlin moved that the convention adjourn.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 5:35 the convention was adjourned to 7:30 p. m. the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY—Saturday Night Session

The convention was called to order at 7:30 p. m. Saturday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: Christman, Letroadec, Call, Curran, Baker, Clark (J. F.), Ramsay, Steidle, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Spiegl, Hansen, James (C. E.), Coffey, Hayward, Kempton, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Sachs, Woodman, McGinley (C.), Keller, Porter, Kraft, Anderson (E.), Hall, Leber, Reagan, Severance, Lawson, Camomille, Castro, Kraneffeld, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Spear, Dowler, Voll, White, (J. J.), Milton, Bomar, Holm, Johnson (S. P.), Ainsworth, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Matheson, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.).

Report of Committee on Laws.

Treasurer Lennon, chairman of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate J. Mahlon Barnes, Cigarmakers' International Union:

Strike out section 3 of article III of the constitution and substitute the following: The following committees consisting of 15 members each shall be appointed by the president: Rules and Order of Business, Organization, Labels, Local and Federated Bodies, Education, State Organizations, Boycotts and Building Trades.

Committees consisting of 15 members each, on Report of Executive Council, Resolutions, Laws and Adjustments, shall be elected in the following manner: Nominations for members of all these committees shall be made at one time. The election to determine the personnel of the respective committees. The nominees in the order of the highest number of votes received shall fill the committees in the order in which the committees are herein named; provided, that no member of the Executive Council shall be eligible to membership in committees named in this section.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate G. B. Harrison, of Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union, No. 14605:

WHEREAS, The sick and death benefits administered through our local, trade and federal labor unions are a great factor in getting and retaining members; and

WHEREAS, Members, when changing their vocations, often fail to transfer to the organization having jurisdiction over their work, because of the fact that the benefits to which they were entitled have increased materially in value by reason of their long membership; and

WHEREAS, It is most desirable that this condition be corrected, in order that unionists, driven by unscrupulous employers and other forces from one trade or craft to another, should not be made to suffer unnecessarily; and

WHEREAS, It appears practicable to evolve a plan whereby the American Federation of Labor could administer such benefits (with the possible exception of strike benefits), and thus make the amounts of benefits due dependent upon the number of consecutive years an individual has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor rather than to any particular craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Board to investigate thoroughly the feasibility and possibility of such a scheme, and submit a detailed report, together with a practical plan, if possible, to the next annual convention.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 159 be referred to the Executive Council to investigate the subject matter and report to the next convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Hayes in the chair.

Chairman Lennon: By instructions of the convention, by report of the Committee on Office Building for the American Federation of Labor, your Committee on Laws, in accordance with such instructions, recommends that Section 1 of Article X be amended to read:

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of three-fourths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): I desire to say for the organization I represent that we are absolutely in favor of the increased tax. The work of the Federation is increasing and the amount of business to be done is increasing. I would like to ask the secretary how much added revenue this will amount to.

Secretary Morrison: In twelve months it would bring in twenty thousand dollars. It is an increase of one cent per member per year. To adopt this will require a two-thirds vote.

The report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 115 in the affirmative to 6 in the negative.

Delegate Germer desired to be recorded as voting against the increase in the per capita tax.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate H. O. Gossett, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A large number of local unions of affiliated national and international organizations have their several organizations of women workers, ladies' auxiliaries, which have the encouragement, support and co-operation of local, national or international bodies; and

WHEREAS, Such auxiliaries are of mutual help and encouragement and cause a closer and better affiliation of the craftsmen through better attendance at meetings, and a more thorough study of the principles of unionism; and

WHEREAS, Through such organization, affiliation, encouragement, co-operation and study of the mission and principles of unionism, the demand for the union label and union-made products increases, to material benefit of all and gives our movement greater power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the progress of the ladies' auxiliaries of our trade and labor unions thus far and urge the furtherance of their good work through such auxiliaries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our laws be amended to allow representation from such national or international ladies' Auxiliaries of a bona-fide national or international trade or labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor on the same basis as delegates from state and central bodies.

Your Committee on Laws concurs in the whereases and the first resolve, and non-concurs in the second resolve. With this change the committee recommends its adoption. As amended the resolution reads:

WHEREAS, A large number of local unions of affiliated national and international organizations have their several organizations of women workers, ladies' auxiliaries, which have the encouragement, support and co-operation of local, national or international bodies; and

WHEREAS, Such auxiliaries are of mutual help and encouragement and cause a closer and better affiliation of the craftsmen through better attendance at meetings, and a more thorough study of the principles of unionism; and

WHEREAS, Through such organization, affiliation, encouragement, co-operation and study of the mission and principles of unionism, the demand for the union label and union-made products increases, to material benefit of all and gives our movement greater power; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the progress of the ladies' auxiliaries of our trade and labor unions thus far and urge the furtherance of their good work through such auxiliaries.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Lennon: Your committee recommends that Section 5 of Article III be amended to read:

Section 5 of Article III. Resolutions of any character or proposition for changes in this constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report and recommendation of the committee.

Chairman Lennon spoke in favor of the adoption of the recommendation, and called attention to the amount of work still to be done by the convention, owing in large part to the fact that resolutions and propositions were introduced up to midnight of the fourth day of the first week.

Delegate Morrison moved to strike out Tuesday and insert Wednesday.

Delegate Furuseth favored the report of the committee and opposed the amendment, stating that he would prefer to have the section amended to read that no resolutions would be received after Monday night of the first week.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

President Gompers in the chair.

The chairman stated that Mr. Suzuki, Fraternal Delegate from Japan, desired to address the convention briefly.

Fraternal Delegate Suzuki, earlier in

the session, had distributed to the delegates pictures of a sculptured group, part of the Japanese exhibit at the Exposition.

Fraternal Delegate Suzuki: The print I have distributed among you is a small token of our gratitude for your kindness and cooperation. It is a picture of a group entitled "The Strike," by a Japanese artist, exhibited in the Palace of Fine Arts in the Exposition. It speaks eloquently of the story of the bitter struggles of the millions of Japanese workers for industrial freedom. This will remind you how we in Japan are fighting great battles against our common enemies. We have come for cooperation and support from you, our big brothers. When we shall have returned to our country you will please remember that we shall be still fighting for our common cause and give us your unstinted sympathy and assistance. This is an earnest appeal to you from the toiling millions in my country across the Pacific.

Mr. Suzuki then presented to President Gompers, for the Federation, a large picture of "The Strike."

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union: I move you, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, that we accept this token from Mr. Suzuki with the thanks of the convention and that it be appropriately framed and placed in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, thanked Mr. Suzuki for the picture.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners: I move you that the Executive Council be instructed by this convention to have conveyed to the Friendly Society of Workmen of Japan, through their able representatives sent here, a letter of appreciation and fraternity from the American working men and women to the Japanese working men and women.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Germer and carried unanimously.

Vice-President Duncan: Lest there be

some misunderstanding about the last resolution acted upon, I would like to inquire whether resolutions are to be presented to the end of the second day or the third day.

Treasurer Lennon: The second day.

Resolution No. 125—By T. F. Neary, delegate of Chicago Federation of Labor:

Add new paragraph to section 8 of article II, to read:

"In the event of a local having trouble with its International Union, central bodies will not be required to seat delegates from new unions chartered by such International Union to take the place of the union in trouble. If such unions are made up of strike-breakers and scabs and locals having such trouble shall have to have a full, fair and impartial hearing in the presence of a representative of the American Federation of Labor and the central body involved before any mandatory order of expulsion shall be issued by the American Federation of Labor."

The committee reports non-concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Smith, Portland: I would like to know why the committee non-concurs in a resolution that requires local unions chartered by national and international unions to not seat locals of strike-breakers.

Chairman Lennon: The reason the committee makes the report is that it takes the power to discipline away from the national or international union, so far as the local union is concerned, and places it in the hands of a trial board or committee consisting of the central bodies and representatives of the Federation, and no representative of the national body. The report would have been adverse even if that had been added.

Delegate Smith: The committee's report could not be construed in any way to mean that the committee places the seal of approval on organizing strike-breakers into local unions?

Chairman Lennon: Certainly not.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Lennon: This completes the report of the Committee on Laws, which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN B. LENNON,
Chairman.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
JOHN MOORE,
J. W. KLINE,
HUGH FRAYNE,
P. H. MCCARTHY,
H. J. WESSEL,
THOS. F. FLAHERTY,
E. W. D. O'DELL,
F. J. KIERNAN,
CHAS. P. FORD,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
ROBERT BAXTER,
FORD A. ALLEN,

Secretary.

Committee on Laws.

Chairman Lennon: I move that the constitution as amended be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried with 4 dissenting votes, the remainder of the convention voting in the affirmative.

Election of Officers.

Delegate Mitchell, Mine Workers, in the chair.

Chairman Mitchell: By direction of the convention 8 o'clock to-night was fixed as the hour at which election of officers would take place. Nominations for president are now in order.

Delegate McNulty was recognized by the chair and placed in nomination for president for the ensuing year Samuel Gompers, of the Cigarmakers' International Union.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Miller, Musicians, Delegate Casey, Teamsters, and Delegate Lipman.

Delegate Post, Carpenters, moved that the nominations be closed.

Chairman Mitchell: A motion to close nominations is not in order.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.) moved that the secretary cast the ballot of the convention for the election of Samuel Gompers as president for the ensuing year. The motion was seconded by Delegate Ogletree, and carried, 3 delegates voting in the negative. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected for the ensuing year.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Germer, Mine Workers, desired to be recorded as voting against the election of President Gompers.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association, was placed in nomination for first vice-president by Delegate Frey (J. P.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for first vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James Duncan was declared unanimously elected to serve as first vice-president for the ensuing year.

James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination for second vice-president by Delegate Johnston, of the same organization. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James O'Connell for second vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James O'Connell was declared unanimously elected to serve as second vice-president for the ensuing year.

Denis A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, was placed in nomination for third vice-president by Delegate McCarthy (P. H.). There being no further names presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for D. A. Hayes for third vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and D. A. Hayes was declared unanimously elected third vice-president for the ensuing year.

Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union of North America, was placed in nomination for fourth vice-president by Delegate Wilson (Jas.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Joseph F. Valentine was de-

clared unanimously elected to serve as fourth vice-president for the ensuing term.

John R. Alpine, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers of North America, was placed in nomination for fifth vice-president by Delegate Tobin (D. J.). There being no further names presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John R. Alpine was declared unanimously elected fifth vice-president for the ensuing term.

H. B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, was placed in nomination for sixth vice-president by Delegate Alexander (H. G.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for H. B. Perham for sixth vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and H. B. Perham was declared unanimously elected to serve as sixth vice-president for the ensuing term.

Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was placed in nomination for seventh vice-president by Delegate Hutcheson. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy as seventh vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Frank Duffy was declared unanimously elected to serve as seventh vice-president for the ensuing term.

Vice-President Duffy: This is the first time I have been on my feet in this convention. Last night the Carpenters got paddled right and left, and perhaps they deserved it. To-night we are handed a bouquet. Last night we had a good many of the delegates guessing; to-night you have me guessing. In a newspaper to-day I saw in big headlines that the Federation's existence was threatened. By whom? By the Carpenters? No. We were with you in the formation of this organization and, if

you let us be with you, we will be with you to the crack of doom. The Carpenters haven't concocted any scheme to leave the Federation, and if we ever should concoct any scheme we will be men enough to get on the floor and tell you right straight to your face. I wish to place the position of the Carpenters clear and distinct at this time before this convention.

William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America, was placed in nomination for eighth vice-president by Delegate Hayes of the same organization. No further names being presented, upon motion of Delegate Mitchell, Mine Workers, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for eighth vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and William Green was declared duly elected to serve as eighth vice-president for the ensuing year.

John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors of North America, was placed in nomination for treasurer by Delegate Rickert, Garment Workers. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Altman, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John B. Lennon. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and John B. Lennon was declared unanimously elected to serve as treasurer for the ensuing term.

Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination for secretary by Delegate Berry. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Altman, President Gompers was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Frank Morrison was declared unanimously elected to serve as secretary for the ensuing term.

President Gompers: The fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress having been elected two years ago, and at the Philadelphia convention last year it being decided, upon recommendation of the Executive Council, that be-

cause that Congress had been postponed on account of the conditions prevailing in Great Britain, William B. Mahon and Matthew Woll would be entitled to act as the delegates from the American Federation of Labor at the next Congress of the British trade unions; hence there is no necessity for the election of their successors. There is to be a fraternal delegate elected to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Berry, Pressmen: I move that we reaffirm the action of the Philadelphia convention in regard to Delegate Mahon and Delegate Woll, as delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Harry P. Corcoran, representing the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, was placed in nomination by Delegate Rowe, Flint Glass Workers, for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Sullivan (J. L.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed. Upon motion of Delegate Flore, the secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the convention for Delegate Corcoran. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Harry P. Corcoran was declared duly elected fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Convention City.

The chairman declared in order the selection of a convention city.

Providence, R. I., was placed in nomination by Delegate Alden, Massachusetts Federation of Labor. The nomination was seconded by Delegate McGarry, Providence Central Federated Union, Delegate D'Alessandro and Delegate Johnston, Machinists.

Baltimore, Md., was placed in nomination by Delegate Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Ryan, of the Plate Printers.

Buffalo, N. Y., was placed in nomination by Delegate O'Connor of the Longshoremen. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Flore.

Fort Worth, Texas, was placed in nomination by Delegate Gossett, representing the Texas State Federation.

The secretary proceeded to call the roll, which resulted as follows:

For Baltimore—Mullaney, Myrup, Gold-

stone, Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Felder, Foley (C. F.), Shanessy, Abernathy, Kline, Tobin (J. M.), Kramer, McGuire, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Butterworth, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy (P. H.), Post, Swartz, Cigarmakers delegation (79 votes), Scoby, Comerford, Hanahan, Glass, Moser, United Garment Workers' delegation (168 votes), Schlesinger, Polakoff, Hayes (D. A.), Baxter, Campbell, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Duncan, Garvey, Smart, McSorley, Taggart, Irwin, Britton, Leary, Reardon, McManus, Roberts, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lent, Dunachie, Miller (Owen), Silsman, Carey (D. A.), Quinn, Woll, Vessel, McGilvern, Gunther, Donlin, O'Connor (James), Deviny, Menge, Duffy (J. P.), Berry, Altman (Henry), Lipman, Murphy, Furuseth, Carney, Steidle, Hylen, Stage Employees' delegation (135 votes), Freil, Sumner, Funder Burk, Evans (E. Lewis), Carraher, Ernst, Ryan (P. J.), Donoghue, Ogletree, Corcoran, Lorntsen, Alleyn, Ferguson, Warden, Neary, Hoehn, Reagan, Hauser, Gallagher, Ives, Woodmansee, Dale, McFarland, Voll, McAndrews, Milton, Johnson (S. P.), Joss, Giles, Riley (T. G.), representing 7,069 votes.

For Buffalo—McClory, Barnes (J. D.), Tobin (Sam), MacPherson, Cigarmakers' delegation (315 votes), Zuckerman, Feehey, United Garment Workers' delegation (254 votes), Mahoney, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Koveleski, Raleigh, Bock, O'Connor (T. V.), Kean, United Mine Workers' delegation (780 votes), Skemp (J. C.), Triggs, Baker, Norris, Clark (J. F.), Forrest, Bergstrom, Gavlak, Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Casey (Michael), Decker, Williams (T. J.), Scott, Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), Stevenson, McCullough, Hansen, Allen, Cozzolino, Hayward, Weber, Lennon, Hart, Smith (J. T.), Sesma, Holland, Spooner, Townshend, Triska, Spear, Higgins, Riscoll, representing 4,306 votes.

For Providence—Schneider (R. C.), Baine, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Kiernan, Conway, Christman, McNulty, Grimblot, Singer, Ford, Sweek, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschl, D'Andrea, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Johnston (W. H.), Taylor, O'Connell (Jas.), Wharton, Van Lear, Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, Kemp, Wilson (Jas.), Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, Hurley, Fleming, Stage Employees delegation (45 votes), Golden, Alden, Abrahams, O'Dell, Mayo, McGarry, Cotterill, Kennedy, Merchant, Holm, Bohm, Lamoreux, representing 3,119 votes.

For Fort Worth—Franklin, Hinzman, MacGowan, Gurney, Diehl, United Mine Workers' delegation (2340 votes), Schneider (Geo. J.), Perham, Ramsay, Bode, Alexander, Weeks, Ware, Adams, Riley (J. F.), Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Guscetti, Griggs, Short, Heberling, Clohessy, Broden, Blakelev, Gossett, Schneider (H. R.), Rist, Boswell, Cavanagh, representing 3,899 votes.

Not voting—Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Boyden, Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, Marshall, Ryan (P. F.), Brock, Morrison

(H. L.), Letroadec, Call, Flaherty, Sultor, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan (T. J.), Brown (J. G.), Hatch, Splegl, Marks, Fitzpatrick, James (C. E.), Coffey, Casey (P. F.), Bourne, Kempton, Case, Harris, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Partelow, Doyle, Sachs, McGinley (Clara), Keller, Skemp (Meta), Porter, Kraft, Smith (E. E.), Anderson (Ed.), Hall, Leber, Severance, Lawson, Sleeman, Camomille, Batchelor, Castro, Dempsey, Kraneffeld, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Dowler, James (N. A.), Sullivan (John), White (J. J.), Bomar, Ainsworth, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Hammerschlag, Matheson, Harrison, Corbley, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Thompson (A. M.), Ammon, Bevin, Bancroft, representing 565 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll-call.

Neither of the cities having received a majority of the votes cast, no choice resulted. A second roll-call was ordered, the city of Providence having received the fewest votes in the first roll-call, being dropped. The second roll-call resulted as follows:

For Baltimore—Mullaney, Myrup, Goldstone, Schneider (R. C.), Neschang, Fischer, Felder, Foley (C. F.), Shanessy, Abernathy, Kline, Tobin (J. M.), Kramer, McGuire, Proebastie, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Butterworth, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy (P. H.), Post, Swartz, Cigarmakers' delegation (158 votes), Kiernan, Conway, Christman, Scoby, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, Moser, Rickert, Largier, Altman (Victor), Daley (Margaret), Schlesinger, Polakoff, Hayes (D. A.), Baxter, Campbell, Duncan, Garvey, Smart, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), McSorley, Taggart, Johnston (W. H.), Taylor, O'Connell (Jas.), Wharton, Van Lear, Irwin, Britton, Leary, Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, United Mine Workers' delegation (1170 votes), Reardon, Roberts, McManus, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lent, Dunachie, Miller (Owen), Silsman, Carey (D. A.), Wilson (Jas.), Forrest, Quinn, McGivern, Gunther, Donlin, O'Connor (Jas.), Deviny, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson (Chas.), Menge, Duffy (J. P.), Berry, Altman (Henry), Lipman, Murphy, Hurley, Furuseth, Carney, Steidle, Hylen, Freel, Sumner, Funder Burk, Golden, Williams (T. J.), Evans (E. L.), Ernst, Ryan (P. J.), Alden, Donoghue, Casey (P. F.), Ogletree, Alleyne, Harris, Ferguson, Lennon, Warden, Cavanagh, Mayo, Hoehn, McGarry, Reagan, Hauser, Gallagher, Ives, Dale, McFarland, Merchant, Voll, McAndrews, Milton, Johnson (S. P.), Lamoreux, Joss, Giles, Riley (T. G.), Thompson, representing 10,008 votes.

For Buffalo—Baine, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, McClory, Barnes (J. D.), Tobin (Sam), MacPherson, Cigarmakers' delegation (236 votes), Zuckerman, McNulty, Grimbolt, Singer, Ford, Sweek, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Schwarz, Mahoney, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Koveleski, Raleigh,

Bock, O'Connor (T. V.), Kean, United Mine Workers' delegation (1946 votes), Skemp (J. C.), Triggs, Kemp, Baker, Norris, Clark (J. F.), Bergstrom, Woll, Wessel, Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Gaviak, Fleming, Shay, Barry, Suarez, Dolliver, Dolan (T. J.), Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Casey (Michael), Decker, Scott, Morrison (Frank), Hayes (Max S.), Stevenson, McCullough, Fitzpatrick, Hansen, Allen, Cozzolino, Hayward, Weber, Abraham, Hart, O'Dell, Smith (J. T.), Sesma, Holland, Spooner, Woodmansee, Higgins, representing 7002 votes.

For Fort Worth—Franklin, Hinzman, MacGowan, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Diehl, Perham, Ramsay, Bode, Alexander, Weeks, Ware, Adames, Guscettl, Griggs, Short, Clohessy, Broden, Blakeley, Bourne, Gossett, Schneider (H. R.), Rist, Boswell, Cotterill, Bohm, Carter, representing 1189 votes.

Not voting—Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Boyden, Gurney, Rowe, Clarke (Wm. F.), Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, Marshall, Ryan (P. F.), Brock, Morrison (H. L.), Letroadec, Call, Schneider (G. J.), Flaherty, Sultor, Riley (J. F.), Pettit, Hanley, Brown (J. G.), Carraher, Hatch, Splegl, Marks James (C. E.), Coffey, Kempton, Case, Corcoran, Lornsen, McGinley (J. P.), Jennings, Partelow, Doyle, Neary, Sachs, McGinley (Clara), Keller, Skemp (Meta), Porter, Kraft, Smith (E. E.), Anderson (Ed.), Hall, Townshend, Leber, Severance, Lawson, Sleeman, Camomille, Batchelor, Castro, Dempsey, Kraneffeld, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Dean, Triska, Kennedy, Spear, Dowler, James (N. A.), Sullivan (John), White (J. J.), Bomar, Holm, Ainsworth, Brown (F. H.), Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Matheson, Harrison, Corbley, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Ammon, Bevin, Bancroft, representing 759 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll-call.

The chair declared that Baltimore, having received a majority of all votes cast, was selected as the next convention city.

Delegate Gossett, Ft. Worth, moved that the selection of Baltimore be made unanimous. Seconded by Delegate Alden and carried.

Report of Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Griggs, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers—Building Trades Department.

Under this caption, in the Report of the Executive Council, appears the following:

The report to the Philadelphia convention on the dispute between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers and the relations of the Carpenters to

the Building Trades Department, was very complete and gave a number of documents.

In accord with that report a conference consisting of three delegates from the Carpenters, three from the Sheet Metal Workers and three other delegates appointed by President Gompers, was held during the convention.

The Conference Committee reported that they had considered the problem very carefully but had not been able to secure an agreement between the two interested organizations, although the conference had been helpful, in that it had developed the realization of a strong community of interest between the two organizations. The Conference Committee recommended that the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, the President of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the President of the Building Trades Department and the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and continue conferences for the purpose of securing a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty between the two organizations. This recommendation was adopted by the convention.

A conference was held by the members of this committee in New York City in January, when it was decided that the investigation should be made in Chicago, Cleveland, Jamestown, N. Y., and New York City, starting from Chicago on February 3. The Committee secured information as to the manufacture and the erection of metal trim and secured the opinions of many manufacturers and constructors upon the matter of the erection of metal trim.

After that investigation a meeting was held at Washington for the purpose of securing an adjustment, but no agreement was reached. Since the conference had no power or authority to render an award, its work was necessarily limited to suggestions, proposals and efforts to reach an agreement mutually satisfactory. President Kirby expressed himself as willing to make a compromise based upon an equitable adjustment and subject, of course, to the approval of his general executive board. President Hynes insisted that the entire

metal trim work belonged to the Sheet Metal Workers, and was not willing to consider any compromise.

During the year efforts have continued to secure the re-affiliation of the Carpenters to the Building Trades Department. The great obstacle in the way of securing that result is the unsettled dispute between the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers.

A conference between the representatives of the two organizations concerned was held during the September meeting of the Executive Council, but again these representatives were unable to reach any adjustment of the difficulty.

It was agreed that President Gompers and President Williams submit a report upon this matter to the E. C. The report is as follows:

Washington, D. C., October 20, 1915.
To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Per the Executive Council:

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The special committee appointed by President Gompers during the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Alliance of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers on the jurisdictional dispute over the question of the manufacture and erection of hollow metal trim, made the following recommendation to the convention:

"The committee recommends that, for the purpose of bringing about an agreement between the two organizations, the president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the president of the International Alliance of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, the president of the A. F. of L., and the president of the Building Trades Department be instructed to investigate the work in dispute and to continue the conferences, to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations."

This recommendation the convention adopted.

This committee met in New York January 6-7, 1915. All members of the committee were present.

At this meeting we agreed upon the scope and method for conducting the investigation and the cities and places to be visited to best learn all the processes of the manufacture of hollow metal trim, in order to visit as many buildings in the different cities as time and opportunity would permit where hollow metal trim was being erected.

We began the investigation on February 3, in Chicago, with all the mem-

bers of the committee present. Two sheet metal shops were visited on this day and the committee was shown certain parts of hollow metal trim in process of manufacture. A number of other sheet metal shops were inspected the next day, and it was agreed that the visits and investigations practically covered all the shops in Chicago engaged in the manufacture of hollow metal trim. The committee found that all the men working in these shops were members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union.

While in Chicago, the committee was unable to inspect the erection of any hollow metal trim, owing to the fact that there was no building then in process of construction in Chicago in which hollow metal trim was being erected.

The committee left Chicago on the night of February 4, for Cleveland, Ohio, and there visited a new school that was being built in which a certain amount of metal trim was being installed; namely, door frames and doors. The men engaged in erecting the work in this school were members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union.

The committee left Cleveland for Jamestown, and there thoroughly inspected and investigated the manufacture and fabrication of hollow metal trim and metal doors in all its many processes to the finished product.

As far as the committee was able to discover, the majority of the men working in the largest plant, engaged in the work of manufacturing and fabricating this material, did not belong to any union, but the painting or enameling of this hollow metal trim was done by members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

From Jamestown the committee went to New York, and on February 8 visited a very large office building in process of construction in that city known as the Equitable Building. Virtually every part of the work known as hollow metal trim and doors was being erected in this building; in fact, there was to be very little wood finish used on this job; therefore, this particular building was the best example (that is, with regard to quantity) that the committee had an opportunity of inspecting during this investigation of the process and methods used in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors. The work in dispute on this building was very carefully and thoroughly inspected and investigated. The committee found that all the men engaged in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors on this building were members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. This ended the investigation of the material itself in its manufacture and fabrication and the methods used in the erection of the material.

We availed ourselves of every opportunity to find out both from the men engaged in the manufacture and fabrication and the men engaged in the erection of this material, the length of time they had been working at this class of work. In the erecting part of this

work we invariably found that the men had been selected for their own peculiar ability and had, in a sense, to learn how to handle this material, and that the work had the characteristics of a specialty.

The committee arranged to open the conferences on this subject on March 2, and on that date met in conference with all the members present at A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington. The conference was continued the next day. The entire subject of the dispute was considered and discussed, the late President Kirby and President Hynes presenting briefs and other documentary evidence. At the end of the conference it was agreed that the committee would meet again at the call of the chairman, to continue the conference in order to effect the end desired and hoped for by the A. F. of L.

The entire committee met in Washington on September 22, when efforts were again made by us to carry out the letter and spirit of the recommendation concurred in by the Philadelphia convention.

Our investigation of the manufacture and fabrication and the erection in the building of hollow metal trim and doors was conducted by us in as thorough and practical a manner as time and opportunity permitted and in an impartial and unbiased manner. We desire at this time to commend the spirit of friendliness and the fairness with which the late President Kirby and President Hynes conducted their part of the investigation and conferences. However we were unsuccessful in bringing about any agreement.

At the request of the representatives of both organizations concerned, as well as our own, several manufacturers and employers engaged in the manufacture and erection of hollow metal trim submitted briefs as to the extent of its work and classification, both in manufacture and erection, and the judgment each expressed as to the jurisdiction under which the work should properly come.

In each of the cities we visited, representatives of Sheet Metal Workers' Unions and Carpenters' Unions gave the committee every opportunity and facility to make a thorough investigation and study of the subject.

It will be observed that the resolution of the Philadelphia convention conferred upon the undersigned no more power than "to investigate the work in dispute and continue the conferences to the end that an amicable and satisfactory agreement be reached between the two contending organizations." This we have done, and it is doubtful whether the committee has the power to do more than to submit either recommendations or expression of opinion and judgment.

It has been urged that by reason of the dispute in regard to the erection of metal trim that a new organization should be organized covering this class of work. The representatives of both the Carpenters and the Sheet Metal Workers object to this proposition, and

we prefer not to give it our endorsement. But we submit that if a new organization of the workers in this class of erection ought not to be and is not formed, both organizations should be willing to meet the situation in a spirit that will conserve the best interests of the men, avoid unnecessary conflict in the labor movement, and eliminate a controversy involving employers who desire to live in reciprocal relations with organized labor. In our conference with the late President Kirby, and President Hynes, it was claimed by the latter and freely admitted by the former, that there are not any members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who are engaged in the manufacture of hollow metal trim doors and sash.

With these purposes in view, we express our best judgment as to the course which should be pursued:

1. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners should relinquish all claim to the manufacture of hollow metal trim doors and sash. Also that there is very little dispute as to the fact that the members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union all or nearly all perform this class of work.

2. We believe that the two organizations should reach an agreement by which the men engaged in the erection of hollow metal trim and doors may belong to either organization with provision of the right of interchange of cards.

3. That the organizations should arrange so that members availing themselves of the right to interchange cards may upon returning to their original work, rejoin the organization of the trade at which they are employed, and be placed in such beneficial standing as they enjoyed upon leaving the one organization for the other.

4. That under such an arrangement every encouragement be given to the end that hollow metal trim, doors, and sash shall be manufactured under union conditions.

We recommend that if the judgment and opinion we herein express meet with the approval of this convention, that the president of the A. F. of L. and the president of the department be authorized and directed to continue their efforts for the purpose of their consummation.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor.

THOMAS J. WILLIAMS,

President, Building Trades Department,
A. F. of L.

Your committee commends the report of President Gompers and President Williams and recommends to this convention the adoption of the report and the suggestions contained therein, in the hope that this deplorable fight shall be taken off of the buildings and adjusted amicably by the organizations that are parties to this controversy.

Delegate Griggs moved the adoption

of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded by Delegate Williams.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged its rejection. He spoke at length of the dispute between the Sheet Metal Workers and the Carpenters' organizations in regard to the erection of hollow metal trim, described the material used, the character of tools necessary for its erection, and various other matters in connection with the work. He referred to decisions of the Building Trade Department and an arbitration board in regard to the disputed work, and submitted samples of the materials the erection of which is in dispute.

Delegate Duffy, Brotherhood of Carpenters, spoke in support of the recommendation and report of the committee. He spoke in some detail of the dispute that has existed in regard to the hollow metal trim, the work on various buildings, the prices paid for the work and the fact that in New York the Carpenters had been awarded the work by an arbitrator. He described the tools used in the erection of the work, the material used and various other technical matters connected with it.

Delegate Frayne, Sheet Metal Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee. He spoke briefly of the character of material used, described the method of manufacture and erection of the work, cited the wages paid the men both in the factories and on the buildings, and disputed any claims made by the Carpenters.

Delegate Post, Carpenters, spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers, opposed the report of the committee.

Delegate Hurley urged the adoption of the report of the committee in the interest of peace in the building trades.

Delegate Mahon (W. D.) moved as a substitute for the committee's report that the entire subject matter be referred to the Building Trades Department and that the convention abide by its decision. Seconded.

Delegate Williams, chairman of the committee, spoke in favor of the report of the committee and described at length the investigation he had made, as president of the Building Trades Department,

with President Gompers on a committee appointed by the Philadelphia convention to investigate the matter.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate McNulty. Brief statements were made by President Gompers, Delegate Berry and Delegate O'Connor.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Delegate Hynes: I want to ask a question before you put the motion. Does this question at issue now come within what can be called a jurisdictional question and you are going to settle that?

President Gompers: There is no settlement contemplated. The committee recommends that this convention declare that in its judgment the Brotherhood of Carpenters should surrender the claim to the manufacture of the material in question and that the question of erection shall be the subject of a conference with the representative of the organizations, and that there shall be—not that there must be—but that there shall be some mutual arrangement so that men of both organizations can do part of the work, and that the members who transfer from one organization to another, when they return to their original work, may have the opportunity of becoming members of the original organization of the trade at which they are employed.

Delegate Hynes: If the committee's report is adopted does it abrogate what is known as the Tampa decision?

President Gompers: The chair declines to answer that question.

Delegate Hynes: Then it is a jurisdiction question.

Delegate Hutcherson, Carpenters, asked for a roll-call. The request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates to warrant calling the roll.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost, 84 votes being cast in the negative and 81 in the affirmative.

Delegate Hynes: I move that the Sheet Metal Workers-Carpenters controversy take the same course that was taken last night by the convention in the question of the Carpenters and Machinists under Brother Berry's resolution. I will read it.

Delegate Hynes read the following resolution adopted at the previous session at the close of discussion on the Carpenters-Machinists question:

RESOLVED, That the President of

the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of five representing international unions, of which he (the President) shall be a member, with instructions that this committee of five attend the convention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and endeavor to get them to recede from the position they have taken in respect to this claim of jurisdiction; and

RESOLVED, That in the meantime the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issue to the various international unions, State federations of labor and central bodies the information, directing their attention to the fact that the jurisdiction claims of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have not been granted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

RESOLVED, That this convention call upon the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners not to place in force or operation, pending the convening of their convention, the claims that they have set forth in their journal, which have been read to this convention.

Delegate Hynes: I move that the same course be pursued in this case. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): It is now nearly 12:30 and it is very evident this convention will not be able to complete the work even though we remain in session until 8 o'clock in the morning. I move that the convention recess until 10 o'clock to-day, Sunday. (Seconded.)

Delegate Donlin moved as an amendment that the convention recess until 9:30 Monday morning.

The motion was seconded and, after a brief discussion, carried, and at 12:30 a. m. a recess was taken to 9:30 a. m. Monday, November 22d.

Pursuant to the action of the convention in declaring a recess at the close of Saturday's sessions, the convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m. Monday, November 22d, President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison read a communication signed by Edward Flore, President, and Jere L. Sullivan, Secretary, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, stating that they were obliged to leave the convention and asking that Frank Sesma be seated for the remaining sessions of the convention. The request was granted and Delegate Sesma seated.

The Secretary read a communication signed by Daisy A. Houck, Garment Workers, and Frances Noel, President Women's Trade Union League, who ex-

tended, in behalf of the women of organized labor of Los Angeles, a cordial invitation to the delegates to visit that city at the close of the convention. The communication stated that arrangements had been made for sightseeing tours to mountain and sea, and urged all who could do so to visit Los Angeles.

Report of Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Griggs, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report, as follows:

Marble Workers.

On this section of the Report of the Executive Council, your committee desires to commend the action of the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in their endeavors to assist the Marble Workers, and we recommend that they continue their efforts in this direction in order to bring about the best results for this organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Dock Builders of New York City.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Building Trades recommends to this convention that the President of the Federation be empowered to appoint a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the status of the Dock Builders in New York City relative to the chartering of a local by an affiliated organization, while said charter had been revoked by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and we further recommend that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be requested to suspend the charter granted by them in New York City, known as Local 177, pending this proposed investigation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, opposed the report of the committee. He stated that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers was the only organization that had full and complete jurisdiction over pile-drivers and dock-builders, and described in detail the work done by those men. He referred to conferences held on several occasions with the carpenters and oth-

ers concerned, together with representatives of the American Federation of Labor, in which the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were not represented. He stated that when he found a charter had been granted the local in New York he investigated, with some of the local trade union representatives of New York, and from what he had learned did not feel justified in revoking the charter. He stated that many years ago the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were compelled to take jurisdiction over driving piles and erecting false work, owing to the fact that contractors had employed cheap and inefficient labor upon that work, which had resulted in the injuring and killing of some of the members of the Iron workers' organization.

Treasurer Lennon stated that he did not wish to discuss the merits of the question, but desired on behalf of the Executive Council to protest against an insinuation made by Delegate McClory during his address that the carpenters had received more favorable consideration in the matter of conferences than had the iron workers, owing to the fact that Secretary Duffy, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, was a member of the Executive Council. He stated that similar insinuations had been made during the discussion on other matters, and emphatically denied that any such special consideration was ever shown by the Executive Council to any organization that had upon the Executive Council one of its members.

Delegate Duffy (Frank) discussed the question, stating it was not a question of jurisdiction between the Carpenters and the Iron Workers, but a question of men belonging to a local union chartered by the Iron Workers taking the places of carpenters on work in New York who were striking for an increase in wages. He stated that he felt the carpenters could get in touch with the iron workers later on and adjust the jurisdiction, but at present that question did not enter into the dispute at all. Delegate Duffy discussed the question at length and described in some detail the situation in New York, the class of work performed, the wage paid, and other matters connected with the dispute.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers, in the chair.

The question was discussed by President Gompers, who spoke briefly of the action that had been taken in instructing the New York Federated Union to unseat the local referred to in the Executive Council's Report. He gave an account of negotiations that had been entered into in an endeavor to adjust the difficulty.

Delegate Tobin, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, opposed the report of the committee.

Delegate Williams, chairman of the committee, stated that the report read dealt with the chartering of the local union, and the question of jurisdiction did not enter into it; that the committee would have a report to make later that he felt would be adopted without debate.

The question was discussed by Delegate Gallagher (A. J.), Delegate Smith, Portland, and Secretary Griggs of the committee.

Delegate McClory moved as an amendment to the report of the committee that the words, "suspended pending the investigation" be stricken out. The amendment was seconded, but not carried, 61 votes being cast in the negative and 51 in the affirmative.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates John Kean and T. V. O'Connor, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has for many years been, and still are issuing charters to the pile drivers, dock builders, crib and breakwater workers; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association claims absolute jurisdiction over the pile drivers, dock builders, crib and breakwater workers; and

WHEREAS, The claims of the International Longshoremen's Association are being disputed by both the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association to the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to secure a ruling as to which

international organization these workers properly belong to.

In the matter of the jurisdictional dispute between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the International Longshoremen's Association, as contained in resolution No. 106, your committee recommends that the representatives of the three organizations enter into conference, upon the call for said conference by the President of the American Federation of Labor, at as early a date as possible, in an endeavor to bring about a mutual satisfactory adjustment of the matter contained in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Tobin, Iron Workers, and Delegate Post, Carpenters.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 149 was read by the committee. A report and recommendation on the resolution was also read. President Gompers stated that the subject matter of the resolution had been covered by preceding action of the convention. Upon motion of Delegate McClory the resolution and recommendation were expunged from the minutes of the session.

Chicago Building Trades Council Appeal.

Secretary Griggs: In view of the fact that the entire subject matter of this portion of the Report of the Executive Council is to be referred by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Building Trades convention, we recommend that this portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with this subject, be also referred to the Building Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Jas. Moriarity, Thos Redding, Hugh Frayne, John J. Hynes (Sheet Metal Workers); O. A. Wharton, Thos. Van Lear, J. A. Taylor, Jas. O'Connell (International Association of Machinists); M. J. McGuire, J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Chas. MacGowan (Boilermakers); J. A. Grimblot, F. J. Sweek (Electrical Workers):

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Chicago has entered into an agree-

ment with the Construction Employers' Association of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, Clause three of the aforesaid agreement stipulates that there shall be no discrimination against manufactured material, excepting only the product of prison labor; and

WHEREAS, The acceptance of an agreement of this character is in itself a discrimination against the product of the union shops and will eventually mean their disorganization, if such agreements are continued in force; and

WHEREAS, Said agreements tend to discourage union material employers from continuing agreements or entering into them with affiliated organizations on account of union men being compelled to install non-union made material in Chicago, which impedes the progress of the men employed in the manufacture and erection of material used in the building trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Chicago Building Trades Council, or any other council or organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which promotes or accepts an agreement containing a clause which places the products of union labor on a level with the products of scab and non-union labor, be most severely condemned for such action by this convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the organizations affiliated to the Building Trades Council of Chicago be requested to take the necessary steps to cancel this agreement at the earliest possible date in order to prevent so gross an injustice being perpetrated against the interests of the organized workers in the manufacturing industries.

The committee recommends that the following be adopted as a substitute for Resolution No. 99:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of Chicago has entered into an agreement with the Construction Employers' Association of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, Clause three of the aforesaid agreement stipulates that there shall be no discrimination against manufactured material excepting only the product of prison labor; and

WHEREAS, The acceptance of a clause of this character is in itself a discrimination against the product of the union shops and will eventually mean their disorganization, if such agreements are continued in force; and

WHEREAS, Said agreements tend to discourage union material employers from continuing agreements or entering into them with affiliated organizations on account of union men being compelled to install non-union made material, which impedes the progress of the men employed in the manufacture and erection of material; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention

recommend to all affiliated international organizations that they instruct their respective local unions that they refrain from renewing such agreements upon their legal expiration so long as they contain such a clause, wherever they may exist within the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Carpenters and the Building Trades.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, your committee commends the action of the Executive Council and the efforts of President Gompers and the officers of the Department in their efforts to have the Carpenters reaffiliate with the Building Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Frank W. Cotterill, of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

Whereas, We believe that the many perplexing problems confronting, and worked out, in Local Building Trades Councils furnish most valuable experience, which would be of very great benefit to the Building Trades Department, if available in its convention; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the embittered feelings of International Officials, over jurisdictional matters, sometimes prevents harmonious action, no matter how righteous the cause; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we delegates to the Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to take some action that will cause the Building Trades Department to seat credentialled delegates from Local Councils chartered by the Building Trades Department, and we hereby instruct our delegate to the Convention to do all in his power to secure this most desirable change.

Your committee is of the opinion that this resolution should be referred to the Building Trades convention and the committee so recommends.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Building Trades Department.

It is with extreme regret that your committee feels called upon to draw the attention of the convention to the fact

that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has not reaffiliated with the Building Trades Department.

In the opinion of your committee the understanding was general at the Philadelphia convention when Article 15 was proposed for adoption that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners would, in line with all other organizations eligible to membership in the several departments of the American Federation of Labor, seek reinstatement in the Building Trades Department. That the organization in question has failed to observe the recognized law of the American Federation of Labor has occasioned surprise, and it is our opinion that this convention should go on record most emphatically declaring that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America shall without further delay reaffiliate with the Department to which they are logically and rightfully eligible.

Your committee concurs in the report of the Building Trades Department in expressing the belief that the building trades as at present organized in the Department has been helpful to the American Federation of Labor, and if the work already accomplished is to be continued in the future it can only be by and through the active co-operation of all the organizations that rightfully and promptly belong to the Department.

It is therefore our opinion that this convention direct the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to immediately reaffiliate with the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Smith, Portland: Do I understand the committee to recommend that the convention instruct the Brotherhood of Carpenters to reaffiliate with the Department?

President Gompers: That is what it does.

Vice-President Duncan: The committee uses the word "direct." I understand it means within the scope of the authority of the American Federation of Labor?

President Gompers: It does.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Griggs: That completes the

report of the Committee on Building Trades, all of which is respectfully and fraternally submitted.

THOS. J. WILLIAMS, Chairman.

SAM GRIGGS, Secretary.

F. J. McNULTY,

D. A. POST,

JOHN J. HYNES.

JAS. G. HANNAHAN,

D. D. ALEXANDER,

J. T. HURLEY,

JOS. F. CLARKE,

FRANK FEENEY,

CHARLES M. RAU,

J. M. GAVLAK,

WM. J. MCSORLEY,

Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Griggs moved the adoption of the report as a whole. Seconded and carried.

Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, in the chair.

Report of Committee on International Relations.

Chairman Perkins submitted the report of the committee, as follows:

It is a matter of great regret that the purpose of the International Federation of Trade Unions to hold its congress in San Francisco immediately after this convention of the A. F. of L. cannot be carried out due to the conditions which now prevail in Europe and which affect all nations. The extraordinary conditions and relations now existing affect in some degree all phases of our national life and in a very intimate manner the labor movement. Regardless of sympathy with any purposes of any nation involved in the war, the preservation of neutrality of the labor movement of our country is of great importance, not only for the welfare of the workers of America, but that we may ultimately be in the best position to render assistance to the workers of all countries when the time comes for determining constructive policies for the future. We are well grounded in the principle of the right of nations to settle their own problems and difficulties in their own way, and cannot sanction unwarranted interference with that right. On the other hand, the welfare of the American labor movement is of fundamental import and cannot be set aside

for things of less importance than human welfare. We declare our great concern is, first, for the preservation and maintenance of the national and international trade union movement, regardless of the outcome of the present war; and, secondly, we hope for a cleaner, broader, and a more comprehensive democracy for all nations, especially for those that are temporarily submerged by the flood of human blood, devastation and carnage now rampant in Europe.

On that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption of International Peace and War, we are in full accord and take pleasure in so reporting. We have taken note of and fully indorse the statement that the "horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery seemed so horrible as to be well nigh impossible"; and again with the further statement: "It is then our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations, and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation"; and further and more particularly with the following statement: "There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. . . . So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they seem best the things which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free, they cannot be forced or coerced by other nations even in the matter of peace"; and finally: "Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist; so now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for American citizens as well as our desire to restore peace."

We are fully in accord and agree with the sentiments expressed. We hold America has the right to carry forward

its normal or extraordinary activities, industrial, political or otherwise, so long as we do not violate any rule of humanity or fundamental rule of strict neutrality. We stand for justice and right rather than for peace at any price, we want peace, we shall work for peace, and hope finally to attain it. We agree with and commend the sayings, acts and attitude of President Gompers which in their wise application have done much to safeguard and protect the honor and best interests of the American labor movement and all America. Fearlessly, freely and boldly expressed, his guidance has received the warmest endorsement of our nation and has been a potential factor in the national policy that has kept us out of the spineless class, yet free from entanglement in the cataclysm now devastating Europe.

Your committee fully agrees in everything under the foregoing caption and recommends its adoption.

Chairman Perkins moved the adoption of the report of the committee as read. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Labor's Peace Conference.

We are in full accord with the plan suggested by the Executive Council as outlined in its report, and fully concur in the suggested arrangements for holding such conference. While we reaffirm the action taken by the Philadelphia convention, we hold the Executive Council should again be instructed to make all arrangements for holding the anticipated conference, and further that the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to select the President of the American Federation of Labor and one other to represent the A. F. of L. in such conference.

The A. F. of L., the American trade union center, because of its strict neutrality, isolation and distance from the seat of trouble, its freedom from race bitterness, hatred and passion, is eminently qualified to lead in the effort which portends so much and is so important for the future wellbeing of the trade union movement, human life, liberty, justice and a broader democracy for all mankind.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The International Federation of Trade Unions.

We have read and carefully considered the report under the foregoing caption, together with the correspondence entitled "Labor's Book of all Colors," published in the November, 1915, issue of the American Federationist, and fully concur in every action taken by President Gompers and the action of the Executive Council as a whole. The report and correspondence present forcefully the human side of the world's trade union movement, and emphasize the necessity of a more comprehensive and more effective system which will safeguard and protect the movement regardless of any and all circumstances which may develop. The preservation of the national, international unions, the national trade union centers, and finally the International Federation of Trade Unions, is our highest concern. One way to do this is to formulate a method and organization whereby prompt action may be taken. Under this caption and at this time your committee prepared the following declaration:

Because the maintenance of the trade union movement of our country, or all civilized countries, and of the International Federation of Trade Unions is of paramount importance in so far as the economic condition of the workers is concerned, at all times and under all conditions, the stability of our movement here or elsewhere should not be subject to the disturbing influences and possible destruction by any cataclysm, be it a fire, flood, war, or pestilence. In times of great stress there is more and greater need of workable machinery and unhampered officers to safeguard and protect our movement and the rights and best interests of the members thereof. Under the present laws of the Trade Union Centers and the International Federation of Trade Unions, there is no law flexible enough to meet an emergency which might be caused by any of the foregoing catastrophes.

We recommend, first, that the next delegate to the Congress of the Federated Trade Unions be and is hereby instructed to offer a motion creating an honorary President who shall perform under circumstances stated hereinafter all of the functions and necessary duties of the President of the

International Federation of Trade Unions, to wit:

If the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions is prevented from exercising and performing the normal functions of his office, by reason of a disastrous fire, flood, war, or pestilence, the functions and duties of the office shall temporarily revert to the honorary President, and as soon as the cause or causes which rendered it impossible for the President to perform the normal duties of the office no longer exist, the functions of the office of President of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall automatically revert to the regularly elected President.

And, second, that the President of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed, if in the judgment of the Executive Council it may be deemed necessary, to take this matter up by correspondence and endeavor to have the principle involved in this resolution adopted.

We wish to call particular attention to the recommendation of the Executive Council and recommend that the convention specifically endorse that suggestion which is as follows:

"In discussing the subject of the next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, President Gompers has urged upon the officers of the labor movement of other countries that the spirit of the Zurich declaration should be observed and that when the official congress shall be held after the close of the war, it should be held in the United States, and at some time approximately near the time of the holding of the convention of the A. F. of L."

The report of the committee was adopted.

British Trade Union Congress.

We declare that in our judgment the plan of exchanging fraternal delegates with the British trade-union movement cannot be otherwise than beneficial to all concerned. We note with extreme regret that the war has temporarily interfered with the free exchange of fraternal delegates, but express the hope that normal conditions will soon permit the free and untrammelled exercise of that fraternal spirit which will finally band together the world's workers, re-

ardless of birth or nationality, in one common whole, with one purpose, a better and still better economic, social and political existence for all working men and women, and a result which is inextricably bound up with the welfare of all humankind.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee has amended Resolution No. 113 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Benjamin Schlesinger and S. Polakoff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Max Zuckerman, of the United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers of North America; Jacob Goldstone, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It has been the good fortune of the people of the United States to be comparatively free from the turmoil of European strife, its hatreds and prejudices; and

WHEREAS, The people and the Government of the United States are in a position to exercise a beneficent influence in aiding the world to lay a foundation for a durable and permanent peace based upon justice to all; and

WHEREAS, In some of the countries of Europe the Jewish people are still deprived of elementary political and civic rights; and

WHEREAS, Every form of religious oppression and discrimination is contrary to the spirit of the American people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests the Government of the United States to urge upon the governments of the nations of other countries to cease discriminations wherever it exists and now practiced against the Jewish people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the same appeal be made by the American Federation of Labor to the organized workers of all nations.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended, and further recommends that if adopted the resolution be referred to the delegates to the Labor Peace Conference, when selected.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: Brother Bevin, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, informed me while Chairman Perkins was reading this resolution, that the British Trade Union Congress at its session last September adopted a resolution of a similar

character, urging upon the government of Great Britain that the principles and declarations contained in the resolution should be urged and pressed upon the governments which are offending against that principle.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The report of the committee was continued as follows:

Your committee feels that this convention can serve the best interest of all our fellow workers regardless of where located, and moreover and especially those of our trade-union movement, by maintaining strict neutrality in the present crisis in the history of the world's trade-union movement, and we so recommend. After all, down deep in the minds and hearts of all real unionists lie that fraternal spirit and world-wide brotherly love, genuine sympathy and kindly regard for the welfare of our fellow workers, regardless of place or nationality. This fraternal spirit must and shall be kept alive. Bitterness, hatred, passion and even brutality may temporarily divide us, because of the machinations of kings, potentates, big interests, financiers and the inhuman and brutally selfish; but ultimately common interest grounded upon self-preservation will bring about unity of purpose, will rekindle and keep alive the spirit of economic solidarity, fraternity and good will. This result will require patience, prudence and diplomacy. Because of its neutrality, environment, temperament and well known determination to be right and to do likewise, America, the American trade union center, is qualified to exercise leadership in this undertaking which we owe to justice, liberty, humanity and advancing civilization.

We recommend that this convention urge that everything possible be done to make a permanent part of international relations and institutions the spirit and the purpose that shall be mindful of the supreme importance of human welfare and protection, and shall make provisions for institutions and agencies that shall make their ideals effective factors in the determining of world policies and the relations between nations as well as within nations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Perkins: That completes the report of the committee, which is

Respectfully submitted,

GEO. W. PERKINS, Chairman;

C. L. BAINE, Secretary;

JAS. DUNCAN,

D. J. TOBIN,

J. H. WALKER,

B. A. LARGER,

JAS. O'CONNELL,

MAX S. HAYES,

J. P. FREY,

T. F. TRACY,

T. V. O'CONNOR,

G. L. BERRY,

JAS. WILSON,

MATTHEW WOLL,

MARTIN LAWLOR,

ANDREW FURUSETH,

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Upon motion, the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

At 12:30 a recess was taken to 2 p. m. of the same day.

Pursuant to the action of the convention in declaring a recess to 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, November 22, the convention was called to order at that hour by President Gompers.

Report of Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Mueller, secretary of the committee, presented the report, as follows:

Your Committee on Boycotts begs leave to submit the following report relative to the matters referred to us from the Report of the Executive Council and such resolutions as were properly referred to our committee.

The Holt Manufacturing Company—Resolution No. 146.

On the subject-matter of the Holt Manufacturing Co. of Stockton, Cal., which has received due consideration on the part of the Executive Council, we recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to cause additional circular letters to be issued to National, International, State and City Central bodies as well as to all Farmers' Alliances, Granges, agricultural and horticultural organizations, showing the antagonistic attitude of the Holt Manufacturing Company towards organized labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Detroit Cigar and Tobacco Trust.

On the subject-matter of the Detroit Cigar and Tobacco Trust, your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in conjunction with the Cigar Makers' International Union, immediately take steps to acquaint all organizations in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor of the deplorable and outrageous labor conditions that exist in the Detroit non-union cigar factories.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to lend whatever moral aid it may deem necessary to successfully combat the inhuman exploitation of the toilers engaged in said industry in Detroit, Mich.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Ward Baking Company.

On the matter of the Ward Baking Co., your committee commends the Executive Council for its action and co-operation with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union in their fight against the Ward Baking Co.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts in this matter and in general co-operate with the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union in their campaign against the Ward Baking Co. and the Bread Trust.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions 79, 92, 154 and 161.

On the subject matter contained in resolutions 79, 92, 154 and 161, Philadelphia Convention, under the caption, Abram S. Cox Stove Co., Lansdale, Pa.; Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J., and United States Broom and Brush Co. of Chicago, Ill., your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue their efforts with the Abram S. Cox Stove Co., Victor Talking Machine Co. and the United States Broom & Brush Co. with the view of bringing about an amicable adjustment of the controversies existing between said firms and the organized labor movement.

The attention of the Executive Coun-

all is directed to the fact that since the Philadelphia American Federation of Labor Convention the stove mounters of the Abram S. Cox Co. have been organized and have been locked out.

Your committee further recommends that all organizations directly interested in the controversies affecting the Abram S. Cox Stove Co., the Victor Talking Machine Co. and United States Broom & Brush Co. be urgently requested to co-operate with the Executive Council in their efforts to adjust these several difficulties.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Owen Miller, E. H. Silsman, and D. A. Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, One of the serious problems facing the American Federation of Musicians is the formation of non-union bands and orchestras by fraternal organizations, covering such bands and orchestras with the cognomen of the order and assisting such in competition with the American Federation of Musicians; also the formation of juvenile bands and orchestras ostensibly for educational purposes, but in nearly all instances eventually used for speculative purposes in competition with legitimate musicians; and

WHEREAS, There is scarcely an institution in the country maintained for the purpose of caring for and educating boys, but what has its band, nearly always used in competition with adult musicians; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Musicians has not the slightest objection to the formation of bands and orchestras for educational purposes, as the organization recognizes that a knowledge of music tends to higher culture, but it decidedly objects to the use of such musical aggregations for speculative purposes to the injury of the membership of the American Federation of Musicians; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request all affiliated bodies to support the American Federation of Musicians in opposing the use of such bands and orchestras in unfair competition with the American Federation of Musicians.

Your committee recommends favorable consideration of the resolution and compliance with same on the part of affiliated bodies, as well as its individual members.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all efforts of the American Federation of Labor and the California State Branch, the Holt Manufacturing Company of Stockton, California, with an auxiliary plant at Peoria, Illinois, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farming implements, continues to discriminate against members of organized labor and remains to this day a standing menace to the shorter work-day, a decent living wage and the right to organize; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-fifth Annual Convention assembled, that the Holt Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of traction and caterpillar engines and other farm implements, be placed on the unfair list; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That especial efforts be made during the ensuing year to organize the plants controlled by this firm and to urge upon the organized farmers to refrain from purchasing the products of that concern.

Inasmuch as the subject matter of resolution No. 88 is embodied in the Executive Council report, and that body is recommending what course to pursue, this resolution is, therefore, referred to the Executive Council for consideration in conjunction with our previous recommendation in the matter of the Holt Manufacturing Company of Stockton, Cal.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and Geo. Leary (Metal Polishers); J. L. Merchant (Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union):

WHEREAS, There exists at this time a Barbers' Supply Company, which is making every effort to defeat the objects and aims of organized labor, to the extent that the following organizations have declared it unfair: Carpenters' District Council, Painters' District Council, International Association of Machinists No. 9, Metal Polishers' Local No. 13, Sheet Metal Workers' District Council, Plumbers' and Steamfitters' U. A., Stationary Engineers, Upholsterers' No. 21; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify all organizations affiliated that the Koken Barber Supply Company, of St. Louis, Mo., does not employ union men.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council put forth renewed efforts in an attempt to adjust the difficulty between the several organizations

and the Koken Barber Supply Company of St. Louis, Mo.

Your committee desires to commend the officials of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union for keeping the antagonistic attitude of this firm constantly before their membership.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 137—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, R. R. Donelley & Sons Co., printers and publishers, of Chicago, Ill., have been opposed to the printing trades unions since the inauguration of the eight-hour day in the printing industry, and have been and are now operating a non-union establishment in all branches of the printing trade; and

WHEREAS, There is about to be placed on the market a new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, reduced in size, especially designated for sale among working men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the International Allied Printing Trades Unions in the effort to place the facts in relation to the manufacture of this new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica before the membership of all unions affiliated with organized labor and also to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to adjust this complaint.

Your committee recommends favorable consideration and concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 139—By delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Star Publishing Company of St. Louis, Mo., directed against "The St. Louis Star," which boycott is instituted and conducted not only without justification in fact and in violation of the laws governing Federal Labor Unions, but is likewise in conflict with the laws governing the St. Louis Central Trade and

Labor Council and in total disregard to the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor, as prescribed in article IX, section 1, as well as in violation of the ruling of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, rendered June, 1908, to-wit:

"RESOLVED, That all central bodies, State federations and directly affiliated local unions shall be required, before declaring or endorsing as unfair any person, firm or corporation, to submit the dispute to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and adjustment"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares the boycott instituted by Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 against "The St. Louis Star" not justified in fact and unwarranted by the constitutional laws and rulings of the American Federation of Labor, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, immediately after adjournment of this convention, or as soon thereafter as is possible, instruct Federal Union No. 5783 to annul this boycott at once and immediately cease a further boycott or any other concerted form of opposition intended and directed to lessen or interfere with the sale or patronage of "The St. Louis Star"; that failing to comply with these instructions within thirty days after receipt of such instructions, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is authorized and directed to revoke the charter of Federal Union No. 5783, and to organize an affiliated union of these workers who will adhere to, live up to and fully comply with the laws, rules, regulations and instructions of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee submits the following substitute for resolution No. 139 for consideration and recommends its adoption:

WHEREAS, Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 has instituted and is now actively conducting a boycott against the Star Publishing Company of St. Louis, Mo., directed against "The St. Louis Star," which boycott is instituted and conducted in violation of the laws governing Federal Labor Unions, and is likewise in conflict with the laws governing the St. Louis Central Trade and Labor Council and in total disregard of the constitutional provisions of the American Federation of Labor;

RESOLVED, That this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor declares the boycott instituted by Federal Union of Newspaper Carriers No. 5783 against "The St. Louis Star" has been illegally placed in accordance with the laws and rulings of the American Federation of Labor, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Coun-

oil of the American Federation of Labor, immediately after adjournment of this convention, or as soon thereafter as is possible, instruct Federal Union No. 5783 to annul this boycott at once and immediately cease a further boycott or any other concerted form of opposition intended and directed to lessen or interfere with the sale or patronage of "The St. Louis Star"; that the Executive Council be authorized to cause an investigation to be made into the complaint of the Newspaper Carriers' Union of St. Louis, and attempt to adjust whatever local difficulties may exist; that in the event of Federal Union No. 5783 failing to comply with these instructions within thirty days after receipt of such instructions, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is authorized and directed to revoke the charter of Federal Union No. 5783, and to organize an affiliated union of these workers who will adhere to, live up to and fully comply with the laws, rules, regulations and instructions of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 141—By the Delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, The G. and C. Merriam Company of Springfield, Mass., are having Webster's New International Dictionary and other dictionaries published in non-union or unfair offices; and

WHEREAS, All efforts of the Allied Printing Trades Unions to have this work done in offices that pay the union scale of wages and observe all other union conditions required by the Allied Printing Trades Unions have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be hereby instructed to co-operate with the officers of the International Printing Trades Unions in a final effort to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this complaint, and that failing to bring about a satisfactory settlement and agreement, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are directed to place the facts in relation to the manufacture of Webster's New International Dictionary and all other books of the G. and C. Merriam Company before the members of all affiliated unions, and also to take such other steps as may be deemed essential and necessary to adjust this grievous complaint.

Your committee recommends favorable consideration and concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, William Brennan of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The stationary firemen employed by the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company of Chicopee Falls, Mass., were locked out by the chief engineer, who is also master mechanic, on account of their membership in the firemen's union; and

WHEREAS, Said company has refused to meet a committee of the firemen or the Holyoke Central Labor Union; and

WHEREAS, The Westinghouse Company has been declared unfair by the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the Holyoke (Mass.) Central Labor Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, by the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the products of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company be declared unfair and do all in its power to stop the sale and shipment of the products of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company until such time as it agrees to stop its discrimination against organized labor.

Your committee recommends that the subject-matter contained in Resolution No. 151 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate conditions complained of and endeavor to adjust same, and in the event of being unable to bring about a satisfactory settlement, the resolution then be given the necessary favorable consideration by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate James O'Connell, President Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The York Manufacturing Company of York, Pa., has for years indicated by its action that its policy was one of hostility towards the trades-union movement; and

WHEREAS, The interests of the metal-working trades which have been injured by the attitude of the York Manufacturing Company have been jointly considered by the International unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and at the sessions of this department; and,

WHEREAS, After jointly considering the welfare of the metal-working trades unions in 1911, the Presidents of the affiliated organizations decided to put

forth an effort to organize this plant; and

WHEREAS, The non-success of the effort is largely due to the fact that several international organizations claim jurisdiction over the installation and setting up of this class of machinery; and

WHEREAS, The membership of the International Association of Machinists decided not to install or set up the product of this company, but members of other international organizations claiming jurisdiction over this work, would take advantage of such opportunities to do this work, and thereby destroyed the possibilities for bringing about organization in this plant; and

WHEREAS, In view of this fact the International Association of Machinists signed an agreement with the management of the York Manufacturing Company, which declares this company fair to organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Said company's attitude towards organized labor has not been such as to warrant the general declaration that they are fair to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, put itself on record as not recognizing the York Manufacturing Company as being fair to organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend every assistance to the Metal Trades Department in its endeavor to organize and bring about an agreement with the York Manufacturing Company covering all crafts employed.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 154 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that the Executive Council put forth every effort to organize the York Manufacturing Company as applying to all crafts employed therein and endeavor to adjust the differences existing between the contending parties.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate Wm. H. Johnston, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, In May, 1915, the members of Machinists Local No. 354, and the members of Federal Labor Union No. 6170 (Horseshoe Nail Makers) employed by the Capewell Horseshoe Nail Company of Hartford, Conn., started negotiations for a renewal of agreement, such negotiations including a demand for an increase in wages; said demand being based upon the fact that the cost of living had been materially increased and that this company paid a lower rate of wages than other firms engaged in the manufacture of the same product; and

WHEREAS, Every effort put forth by the officers and members of these organizations resulted in failure to secure the just and equitable increases asked and no other recourse being left open, the men went on strike to enforce their demands in May, 1915; and

WHEREAS, The following firms: The Union Horseshoe Nail Co. of Chicago, Ill., The Fowler Horseshoe Nail Co. of Seymour, Conn., and the Standard Horseshoe Nail Co. of New Brighton, Pa., use the Union Label of the A. F. of L., The Capewell Horseshoe Nail Co. being the only non-union and unfair manufacturer of horseshoe nails in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., that we request all affiliated organizations and all friends of labor to use every legitimate means and influence to make the strike effective and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take the necessary steps to place the facts before the labor movement with the view of bringing this strike to an early and successful termination.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the foregoing and that the Executive Council be instructed to take the necessary steps to acquaint the labor movement with the facts in the case and urge the membership to assist in bringing about an early and successful termination of this strike.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Respectfully submitted,

D. A. HAYES, Chairman;
JAS. J. FREEL,
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,
WM. H. JOHNSTON,
W. W. BRITTON,
C. M. FEIDER,
A. A. MYRUP,
THOS. O'HARE,
JOHN RADER,
WM. CHRISTMAN,
W. L. FUNDER BURK,
HENRY ALTMAN,
JOSEPH COZZOLINO,
PHIL. H. MUELLER, Secretary.

Secretary Mueller: That completes the report of the committee. I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was adopted.

Delegate Johnston stated that it was gratifying to the committee that its report had met with the unanimous approval of the delegates.

Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Chairman Perham presented the report of the committee as follows:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies renders the following report on all matters that have been submitted to it:

Excerpt from the Report of the Executive Council entitled "Municipal Housing."

Resolution No. 61 on this subject was adopted after being amended at our Thirty-fourth Annual Convention, and it is noted that the Executive Council and our Legislative Committee in Washington, D. C., have done everything possible at this time to forward the legislation desired.

Your committee suggests that the subject should be brought to the attention of city and State governments by those interested. Before Congress will become convinced that the people desire such legislation it must be brought before that body in tangible form as coming direct from the people, and municipal and State enactments seem to be the most feasible method of getting the subject started.

With this further recommendation your committee endorses the action already taken by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate R. A. McGarry of the Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, An increase in dues among the labor unions is a dire necessity, due to the growing expansion and importance of the Labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to all national, international and federal unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that whenever a subordinate union obtains an increase in wages, that they cause to be put into operation an increase in their dues amounting and equivalent to 10 per cent. of said raise in wages.

This resolution is doubtless applicable to some organizations where the dues are too low, and to those its intent and purposes might be beneficial, but to a very large number of national and international labor organizations to increase the dues as proposed in the proportion of ten per cent. of each in-

crease in wages obtained, might be undesirable as well as impractical.

Your committee favors proper regulation of dues and believes that in many instances the dues are too low and that such organizations would be made more effective if the dues were increased, but such changes in the laws should and must be made by the national and international organizations themselves.

Your committee therefore does not concur in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, R. G. Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, Dissatisfaction and discord prevails amongst the local unions affiliated with the Central Body in Louisville, Ky.; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs is highly detrimental to the welfare of all organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send some representative to Louisville to investigate the affairs and the conduct of certain individuals of the Central Body of Louisville, Ky., with a view of bringing about harmony.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of carrying out its intent as early as possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Perham: That concludes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

H. B. PERHAM,

Chairman;

EMANUEL KOVELESKI,

Secretary;

THOMAS CLOHESSY,

JOHN F. DONAHUE,

CHAS. W. McFARLAND,

J. G. BROWN,

WM. MacPHERSON,

JOHN J. BARRY,

S. B. MONK,

C. F. HANSEN,

CHAS. A. GUNTHER,

HUBERT S. MARSHALL,

JAMES A. SHORT,

ANDREW J. GALLAGHER,

P. H. TRIGGS.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Report of the Committee on Organization.

Vice President Duffy submitted the report of the committee, as follows:

We, your Committee on Organization, herewith submit for your consideration the following report:

Relative to the letter from the Philippine Labor Assembly, which was read by Secretary Morrison, we are glad to learn that an organized labor movement has been established on the islands and we recommend that the American Federation of Labor encourage this movement and give it every assistance possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Organization of Women Wage Workers.

We commend the work done during the past year by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in organizing the women wage workers of our country. The records show that seventeen organizers were engaged in this special business and that the sum of \$9,192.62 was spent for that purpose. Realizing the necessity of organization among women who have to work for a living, we recommend that the campaign of organization started last year be continued by the Executive Council during the coming year.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor Forward Movement.

We consider the "Labor Forward Movement" not only one of the best means of organizing the unorganized, but at the same time one of the best means of stimulating and arousing interest among members who have become careless and indifferent. Officers and members of subordinate local unions often feel they are neglected, that they are left to work out their own salvation as best they can without assistance from any one; that no interest is taken in them. They feel the struggle is too great, and that, therefore, they might as well give up. This feeling must be overcome, and we know of no better way to do this than through Labor Forward Movements. The American Federation of Labor should not be expected to do all the work in this direction. National

and international unions should willingly give their assistance in these movements, for, after all, they are the organizations which are benefited most. Those conducting Labor Forward Movements should report in detail to the American Federation of Labor the success achieved, the number of unions organized or re-organized, the membership gained, the methods used, how conducted, and any other information that may be of use and assistance in conducting similar campaigns elsewhere.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Organizers.

We concur in all that has been said about the organizers of the American Federation of Labor in the Executive Council's report. They are deserving of much credit for the work they have done, especially those who have willingly given their services without pay.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Telegraph Companies.

We concur with the action of President Gompers in notifying all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor relative to the conditions under which the Commercial Telegraphers work for the Western Union and Postal Telegraph companies.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Affiliation of International Trades Unions.

We concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council that the efforts to secure the affiliation of all unaffiliated national or international unions be continued during the coming year. A labor organization which holds aloof from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor places itself in the same category as a person who refuses to become a member of the union of his craft or calling. Such an organization cannot be considered or looked upon as fulfilling its mission in the labor movement. It is only through united effort and action that success can be achieved.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Organizations of Teachers.

It is with a feeling of pleasure we note that the Executive Council has

taken up the fight of the teachers of our country for the right to organize. If any class of workers deserves our support, encouragement and advice, not for the right or privilege to organize, but to organize and become part and parcel of the great American labor movement, it is the teachers. We know of some of the difficulties with which they have to contend, but do not wish to recount them here.

We recommend that the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts and give its fullest support and encouragement to the teachers in their work of organization.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Educational Activities.

We endorse the plan adopted by President Gompers of issuing circulars and pamphlets to the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, giving information of value and importance in organizing work. We believe that the most effective policy the American Federation of Labor can follow for educational work among the members of organized labor, as well as among the unorganized workers, is to put at the disposal of the organizers information that will assist them to present matters in a clear manner, through lectures, talks, discussions and addresses, that will benefit the labor movement, the wage workers and the general public. We recommend that the system be continued during the coming year.

We further recommend that the Executive Council continue its work in the establishment of the American Federation of Labor library, as suggested by the Philadelphia convention, without restricting them in any particular course to follow. We feel in this way a library of useful information will be sooner established than by restricting them to hard and fast rules.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegate Homer D. Call of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, There are approximately 220,000 Butcher Workmen in this country who are unorganized and whose working conditions are deplorable; and

WHEREAS, The A. M. C. and B. W.

of N. A. have since the 1904 strike been waging an unequal struggle with this most powerful combination ever known in history (The Meat Trust) to reach and organize their men but without avail; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the present gigantic European struggle, which is creating a large demand for meats of all kinds, both for home and export trade, we feel that the present is the opportune time to effect a more thorough organization of the people working in the meat industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to assign some one organizer to devote his entire time and energy to this work and to confer with the Executive Council of the International A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. and outline a policy to be followed until success shall crown their efforts.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the subject matter of the resolution and that the American Federation of Labor render such assistance as its funds will permit for carrying on such work, with the understanding that when they are organized these workers shall be assigned to their respective organizations.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14.—By Delegate R. A. McGarry of the Providence (R. I.) Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, Local officers of unions, and of the Central Federated Unions, are versed in conditions and affairs pertaining to their respective local communities, and are in possession of knowledge relevant to the well-being and welfare of organized labor, which a visiting brother could not be aware of; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make it a law or rule of the American Federation of Labor, and also that the said American Federation of Labor recommend to all national, international and Federal unions affiliated with them that all officers and organizers of the aforementioned bodies be instructed, when making more than a temporary stay in a town or city, to seek the officers of the Local Central Federated Union and find out the condition of affairs existing in that city. Also that all national and international unions, when planning to hold a convention in a city or town, be instructed to get in touch with the local officers of the Central Federated Union of said city or town. This would prevent the possibility of patronizing hotels, halls or places of industry or business that are unfair to organized labor.

Your committee would recommend non-concurrence in the resolution for the

reason that the American Federation of Labor has no authority to instruct the officers of voluntarily affiliated national or international unions how or in what manner they shall carry on their work of organizing. Nor has the American Federation of Labor authority to instruct the organizers of said organizations how they shall transact their business. We would suggest that the organizers and representatives of all national and international unions visit with local officials of the labor movement and confer upon the matters touched upon in the resolution whenever possible or necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Oscar Joss of Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861:

WHEREAS, On account of certain resolutions passed by the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, Cal., all dairies were removed from and out of the city limits; and

WHEREAS, On this account Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861 is unable to control the membership throughout the State of California without the assistance of its parent body to effect a thorough organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled this . . day of November, 1915, pledges its fullest support morally, and if necessary, financially, to Milkers' Union No. 8861 of California; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Organizer of the A. F. of L. of this district be and hereby is instructed to give all assistance possible to Milkers' Union No. 8861 of California.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the subject-matter of the resolution and render such aid as the funds of the American Federation of Labor will permit, governed by the laws and requirements set forth for such local bodies.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Hugo Ernst, of the California State Federation of Labor (introduced by instruction):

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor in conjunction with the American Federation of Labor are putting forth every effort to more thoroughly organize the City of Los Angeles and surrounding territory; and

WHEREAS, In this herculean task it

is necessary and essential to have the active co-operation of all National and International organizations having local unions in this section of our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled, that we impress upon the Executive Officers of the affiliated National and International Unions the need for immediate, active assistance in carrying the gospel of trade-unionism to the thousands of unorganized workers in Los Angeles and vicinity; further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all National and International Unions who can possibly do so, to send organizers to that locality and direct them to "get together" and map out an organizing campaign to the end that the workers of Los Angeles may become thoroughly unionized.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the subject-matter of the above resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Herb. R. Schneider, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

According to a census, just completed, by the State of Wyoming the fact is disclosed that while the total population of said State is but 141,705 and that the population of its citizens above the age of twenty years is 83,395 (49,779 being male) that 23,872 presented as information as to their vocation the title "laborer" and 5,823 "miner."

The fiscal year of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, concluded at the same time, gives the information that for the past year the average number of members affiliated with that body numbered 9,051.

Statistics from the Government census of 1910 gives Wyoming the highest percentage of a State population engaged in occupational pursuits.

And the last-named figures indicate that Wyoming has the largest percentage of organized workers of all the States in the Union; but

WHEREAS, Eighty-five per cent. of the members of organized labor in Wyoming are members of the United Mine Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, This membership is without the cities and otherwise industrial centers of that State, it becomes evident that the twenty-eight national and international organizations represented in Wyoming and in the counsels of the American Federation of Labor, as well as those who can be, have in this commonwealth a fertile field for expansion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As an expressed desire of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, that an organizer be assigned to the State of Wyoming for a period of six months, or so much of such time as shall be necessary, for the purpose

of assisting the State body and the various trades unions in a campaign already begun that shall culminate in a complete organization of Wyoming.

OUR ASSURANCE. Members of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor pay a per capita assessment of ten cents per month. Its objects have ever been to promote education and organization. Only three times within our existence has aid been given from without our State in the matters of organization—yet in spite have we grown to number considerable over a hundred local unions, three central bodies and one district organization. We are sincere and honest in our belief that much good will result from these contemplated desires, and we pray that the aid necessary to make and maintain Wyoming (a young State in years and industry) a good place to live and work in, be granted us.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the request contained in this resolution insofar as the funds of the American Federation of Labor will permit of such work being carried forward.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State of Maryland is a fertile field for the work of organization of men and women workers; and

WHEREAS, The Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and the central bodies of the City of Baltimore and the City of Cumberland have jointly inaugurated a campaign of organization to cover a period of one year, and have adopted a slogan of "Ten Thousand New Members in the Year"; and

WHEREAS, Such an undertaking should meet with the approval of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention urges national and international unions, so far as possible, to co-operate with the trade unions in Maryland by sending representatives to direct and assist in the work of organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to do all things to make this movement a success; and, should funds be available, place an experienced organizer in that jurisdiction, to have full charge of the campaign of organization, and press the movement to a successful conclusion.

We recommend that the convention concur in the resolution and comply with the request in so far as the funds

of the American Federation of Labor will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, There are in the United States and Canada over forty thousand gardeners and florists of whom only two per cent. are organized; and

WHEREAS, We believe with the hearty assistance of the state federations of labor and city central bodies in the United States and Canada, we can organize the thousands of workers in our line; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor request its membership and friends to use their best endeavors in the state and city organizations to help in organizing our trade.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate E. B. Boyden, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The members of the Pacific Division No. 87 of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, employed as wireless operators by the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, which controls and operates the majority of coastal and maritime radio stations in the United States, are now on strike as a protest against extremely low wages and intolerable working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company has and does refuse to enter into negotiations looking toward a favorable settlement of said strike, or in any way to deal with organized labor and has used every means at its command to destroy the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place itself on record as viewing with extreme disfavor the unreasonable and arbitrary attitude of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the action of these members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America and that its officers and members render them whatever aid, moral or otherwise, possible, in support of their endeavors to effect better conditions for their craft.

We commend the members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union for their efforts to better their conditions. Upon investigation, however, we find that the strike mentioned has been en-

dorsed by their national organization and we do not consider further endorsement necessary by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate Geo. L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There has been formed in the southeastern States an organization of the workers known as the Southern Labor Congress; and

WHEREAS, The Southern Labor Congress purposes the fostering of organizations and uniform legislation in the interest of the workers of the South; and

WHEREAS, Through the address of the representative of that Congress, Mr. Jerome Jones, made before this convention thoroughly indicates the far-reaching possibilities of the Southern Labor Congress; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that a more concentrated action and attention should be given the work of organization in the south, in order to successfully cope with the growing industrial activities of that comparatively new industrial field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon all national and international unions to render such co-operation as possible in assisting the work of the Southern Labor Congress and the organization of the various crafts in the southland; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is directed to render such general support as may be found possible in carrying out the work indicated in this resolution.

This Congress may and no doubt is doing much good in its own way. From information received we learn it consists of labor unions affiliated and unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor, farmers' organizations, women's clubs, welfare associations and the like. It takes unto itself the right to direct state federations of labor in the South as to the course they should pursue in educational and legislative matters. This we consider the business of the American Federation of Labor and not of the congress. We, therefore, cannot see our way clear to recognize it as a component part of the American Federation of Labor; nor do we believe it should be represented in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor by a fraternal delegate.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison, of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women wage workers is well understood by the American Federation of Labor, as is proven by the fact that at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor a special one-cent assessment was levied for that purpose; and

WHEREAS, The money collected by this assessment was used to such good purpose that it resulted in adding several thousand women to the ranks of organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are many millions of women wage workers who do not belong to any organization, among whom we may specifically mention the one hundred and twenty-five thousand unorganized women employed in the laundry industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the Executive Council to levy a one cent assessment on all affiliated members for the special purpose of organizing women wage workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to expend part of the funds collected by this assessment in organizing the women and girls employed in steam laundries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor directing their attention to the great field for organization work that is to be found among the women wage workers of the laundry industry.

We recommend that the first resolve of the resolution be adopted by the convention.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the second resolve, believing that the best judgment of the Executive Council will prevail in the expenditure of the fund thus created.

We recommend that the word "instructed" in the second line of the last resolve be stricken out and the word "requested" be inserted in lieu thereof, and that the convention concur in the request, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women wage workers is well understood by the American Federation

of Labor, as is proven by the fact that at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor a special one-cent assessment was levied for that purpose; and

WHEREAS, The money collected by this assessment was used in such good purpose that it resulted in adding several thousand women to the ranks of organized Labor; and

WHEREAS, There are many millions of women wage workers who do not belong to any organization, among whom we may specifically mention the one hundred and twenty-five thousand unorganized women employed in the laundry industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, authorize the Executive Council to levy a one-cent assessment on all affiliated members for the special purpose of organizing women wage workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor directing their attention to the great field for organization work that is to be found among the women wage workers of the laundry industry.

The resolution as amended by the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The necessity of an active campaign of organization in Moline and Rock Island, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa, commonly called the Tri-Cities, was brought to the attention of the recent convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This is a most important center and any activities engaged in there have effect upon two great States; and

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor is anxious to make the Tri-Cities a union labor center; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its President to assign one of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to co-operate with the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in unionizing the Tri-Cities and such assistance and co-operation be continued as long as, in the opinion of the President, it seems advisable.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the resolution in so far as the funds of the American Federation of Labor will enable this to be done.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate G. E. Blakeley, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the State of Kansas there exists an unorganized condition among the workers of the State, both skilled and unskilled, the forces of organized labor in the State have, in the past been divided by the existence of two State movements, viz., the Kansas State Federation of Labor and the State Society of Labor and Industry; and

WHEREAS, The State Society of Labor and Industry (the dual movement), has now ceased to exist, and conditions are most favorable at the present time to organize the unorganized and build up a strong State Federation of Labor in Kansas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, through the proper channels, inaugurate a state-wide "Labor Forward Movement," in the State of Kansas, in the Spring of 1916, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various National and International Unions be requested by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to co-operate in this movement by sending organizers to assist in bringing about a more thorough organization of the workers of that State, and the affiliation of their local unions with the State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The advancement of the interests of Organized Labor and Farmers' Organizations calls for a closer co-operation on the part of these two great forces of the producers of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations, City Central Bodies and Local Unions, conduct an energetic and persistent campaign to the end that the desired co-operation may be brought about.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council and that they render such assistance in the work suggested as will be warranted by the funds of the American Federation of Labor at the time requested.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Thomas J. Mahoney of the International Glove Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The O. C. Hansen Manufacturing Company, the Ellsworth Thayer Manufacturing Company and the Milwaukee Glove Company of Milwaukee, Wis., who for years have made agreements with our organization and used our union label, have refused to

renew the agreements with us, although no changes in either the agreement or wage schedule was asked for by our organization, and locked out our members July 1 of this year; and

WHEREAS, Our members have been waging a struggle since that time to maintain their organization and resist the reduction of wages made by the Milwaukee Glove Company, and

WHEREAS, The gloves made by these manufacturers are used particularly by the men in the organized trades, and we believe this attack on our organization in Milwaukee is backed by the Glove Manufacturers' Association of Wisconsin, so we need every possible assistance to successfully carry on this fight; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention urge the affiliated unions of their organization to render their moral and financial support to the glove workers involved in this lockout.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the subject matter of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and Geo. Leary (Metal Polishers); J. L. Merchant (Wallingford, Conn., Central Labor Union):

WHEREAS, There exists a condition in the silver industry of this country that should be of vital importance to every trade unionist affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Silver Trust, known as the International Silver Company, own or control nearly all the silver factories of this country, thereby have stamped out competition and can regulate prices of this product. Manufacturing an article that is a luxury and only purchased by the wealthy, they are in a position to pay fair wages to the workers in their many factories.

They, however, are bitter and antagonistic towards organized labor and have successfully stamped out all attempts of their employees to form organizations at their very inception, punishing the agitators by instant dismissal and the use of the black-list.

This corporation must of necessity employ only the most highly skilled mechanics, and these men and women are compelled to labor ten hours a day and sixty hours a week for a rate of wages ranging from one dollar to a dollar and a half a day less than paid union men and women doing the same work in other branches of industry.

The employees, enthused by the eight-hour agitation in the East, succeeded in organizing thoroughly several of the largest factories of the International Silver Company, and demanded the shorter work-day and a fair living wage. The International Silver Company immediately refused their demands and over three

thousand men and women went on a strike, grimly determined to stick solidly together until fair conditions were conceded to them.

The strike occurred on October 4, 1915, and involved six of the factories of the International Silver Company, all located in Meriden, Conn. This corporation then began having its work done in its other shops. These other employees had been organizing and refused to do the scab work, and as a consequence strikes are now on in Derby, Wallingford, Norwich, Waterbury; ten factories now on strike and more to follow, bringing the number on strike up to close on eight thousand.

The winning of this strike will not only remove the competition of the underpaid mechanic in keeping wages down in other industries, but will add at least thirty thousand more men and women to the ranks of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, It is necessary to provide food and living necessities to these destitute brothers and sisters, who are fighting so hard to better their conditions; and

WHEREAS, The organizations these strikers are affiliated with are not large enough to bear this great burden without assistance from this great labor movement in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of this Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to send out letters of appeal to the International, National, State Federations, City, Central Councils, Federal Labor Unions, and all local unions affiliated either directly to this American Federation of Labor or through their International or National Unions, for financial assistance to help the organization and the men and women now involved to carry this fight on to a successful termination.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the request presented in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Leary: There are now on strike in the southern factories about eight thousand men and women, and the present indications are that the fight will last all winter. I would like to offer, as an amendment to the resolution, that the officers be instructed to send out these letters of appeal as soon as possible.

The amendment was seconded and carried and the motion as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 136 was amended by the committee to read:

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates Matt Comerford, James G. Hannahan, R. G.

Moser, John Glass, of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, There exists in Massachusetts a so-called Brotherhood of Power Workers with headquarters in Springfield, Mass.; and

WHEREAS, Said organization is in fact a dual organization to the general labor movement and particularly to the International Brotherhood of Steam and Operating Engineers, the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and members of all trades working in boiler rooms and power plants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor notify all local and central bodies in Massachusetts of this fact.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as presented, and later accepted amendments offered by Delegate Healy and Delegate Alden, changing the resolution to make it read as above.

The resolution was adopted as amended.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 147 be amended to read:

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, Wm. Brennan, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen has succeeded in establishing a uniform wage scale in many of the municipalities, county and State institutions for oilers, stationary firemen and helpers; and

WHEREAS, We are now engaged in an effort to obtain the prevailing rate of wages for oilers, stationary firemen and helpers now employed in the federal service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request its Executive Council and all central bodies as well as its organizers to render the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen such assistance as may be necessary to bring about the desired result.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates J. E. Giles, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 1173, and Newton A. James, Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, During recent years office workers in Washington, New York, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, San Francisco and other cities have organized into local unions; and

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in

any other calling, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no short-cut road will bring them to better wages and conditions; and

WHEREAS, Nearly all of the above-named local unions have expressed themselves in favor of forming a national union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to make an investigation into existing organizations of office workers, the need for such organizations, the field for further organization and the whole question of the advisability of organizing a national union, and to make an early report of its findings; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor designate one of its special organizers to work among the office employees of the District of Columbia and of the country as long as practicable during the coming year; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the meantime the general organizers of the American Federation of Labor, in connection with the central labor bodies, be instructed to begin the organization of office workers wherever possible in any of the cities of the United States.

Your committee recommends that the convention concur in the subject matter of the resolution and that such assistance be given to this work as the funds of the Federation available for such work will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate Frank Spiegl, Colorado State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Every incorporated municipality in the United States has its fire department, the membership of which is composed exclusively of the working class; and

WHEREAS, In almost all of these municipalities these men are compelled to be on continuous duty 24 hours per day, with only short intervals for meals; and

WHEREAS, To improve such intolerable conditions is one of the objects of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every legitimate effort to organize locals of firemen connected with the municipal fire department of the country, with a view of forming a national organization of members of Municipal Fire Departments to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution, in so far as it deals with the organization of municipal

firemen, and would recommend that the portion of the resolve, seeking the formation of a national organization, be referred to the Executive Council to act upon as their judgment may direct.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Duffy: The above report covers all matters that have been referred to your committee, and it is respectfully submitted, signed by

FRANK DUFFY,

Chairman;

O. M. PARTELOW,

Secretary;

P. W. DOWLER,

A. J. KUGLER,

A. HINZMAN,

JOHN T. TAGGART,

JAMES ROBERTS,

THOS. F. FARRELL,

W. J. BRENNAN,

HERB R. SCHNEIDER,

FRANK J. HAYES.

Chairman Duffy moved the adoption of the report as a whole as amended. (Seconded and carried.)

Report of Committee on State Organizations.

Vice-President Alpine submitted the report of the committee, as follows:

Your Committee on State Organizations, having carefully considered the different matters referred to them, beg leave to report as follows:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Charles W. McFarland of the Wallace (Idaho) Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, We have no State Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The State of Idaho is a fertile field for the work of skilled organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to transfer one or more organizers to this district; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in this work of organization to the full extent of our ability.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request that the subject-matter be given serious consideration by them and that they take such action as in their judgment is advisable.

And also that that section of the Executive Council's report covering this matter under the caption of "City Central Bodies—State Federations of Labor," be adopted.

The committee desires to report further that it secured from Secretary Morrison a partial list of the local unions that are part of some of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and that are not affiliated with the central bodies and State federations in whose jurisdictions they are located. We also learned in connection with this matter that Secretary Morrison had rendered material assistance in co-operation with international officers in bringing about the affiliation of many local unions during the past year. The committee also took up the question of the affiliation of their local unions with the central bodies and State federations with a large number of international officials, and they all agreed to render any assistance that they could during the coming year to bring about the affiliation of all unaffiliated local unions. And in an effort to bring about this condition which means the greatest strength and highest efficiency of those bodies to do the greatest good for the workers and the labor movement, we would recommend that Secretary Morrison be instructed to continue to work in co-operation with the officers of the international unions and of the different central bodies and State federations to bring about the complete affiliation of all eligible local unions with those bodies; and that the Executive Council also use its good offices and render whatever assistance they can to this end, and that all salaried and voluntary organizers be furnished with a list of the unaffiliated local unions in their territory with instructions to use their influence in every manner possible to bring about their affiliation.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McFarland discussed the condition of the organizations in the state of Idaho, thanked the committee for the report submitted, and urged that organizers be sent there by the American Federation of Labor. He suggested that international organizations instruct the organizers going through that state to

aid the local movement whenever possible.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate G. E. Blakeley, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many local unions of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are not affiliated with the State Federations of Labor of their respective States; and

WHEREAS, The State Federation of Labor is one of the important links in the chain of organized labor, and is the principal instrument through which State legislation in the interest of the workers can and is secured, and therefore should receive the undivided support of all bona fide labor unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its Executive Council to request the various national and international unions at their next conventions, to amend their Constitutions so as to provide: that their local unions must affiliate with the State Federation of Labor where such Federation exists in the State in which the local union is located, and provided further, that the dues to such State Federations shall be collected through the general office of the national or international union and by the general office paid to the proper officers of the various State Federations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention be earnestly requested to use every honorable means in their power to secure the adoption of such amendment to the Constitution of the organization of which they are delegates.

The committee endorses the spirit of this resolution, but believes that the time has not arrived when such action can be enforced to the best advantage of our movement. We therefore recommend as a substitute that the action of the Philadelphia convention, which is herewith quoted, be reiterated:

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes that part of the report of the Executive Council to the effect that there should be a greater degree of harmony between the Federation and some central bodies and state federations, and that there should be on the part of some of them more consideration for and obedience to the mandates of the Federation.

Your committee feels that there is one reason that can be assigned for this attitude on the part of these bodies, and that it is subject-matter of affiliation. We are aware, of course, that there are other causes for the failure of these

bodies to co-operate; but we wish to assure the convention that we have made an investigation through some of the delegates from these bodies and find that the failure of internationals to secure the affiliation of local unions with state federations and city centrals, and also building trades councils, has considerable to do with the lack of harmony existing.

Year after year complaints are made to these conventions of the failure or inability of certain internationals to do their full duty in this regard.

These recurring complaints are the cause of friction, and do not encourage that healthy loyalty to this Federation, and to the internationals which is so much needed and desired for the success of the movement.

Just as this American Federation of Labor obtains its highest efficiency and greatest strength from the collective effort of all organized labor, so, too, are these States and local bodies strengthened or weakened by full affiliation or refusal of locals to join.

In all fairness it must be conceded that these city centrals and State federations, in many instances organize unions, finance strikes, father and secure the enactment of progressive and beneficent legislation, and are often the means by which the internationals, acting through the American Federation of Labor, accomplish and sometimes compel obedience to their law by locals throughout the land.

There must be some reciprocity in these things. If it is proper to compel a central body to keep these unions within the fold (by threats to revoke its charter), why is it not as logical to take steps to insist upon the affiliation and federation of these local unions?

Sometimes the unions complain that the per capita tax is too high, and urge that as a reason why they are not affiliated. In that regard your committee would say that if it became necessary for this or a succeeding convention to set the maximum amount of per capita that might be charged by these bodies, it would be vastly preferable to a state of non-affiliation of local unions.

We believe that the time has come to deal definitely with this evil, and to that end we recommend that the following steps be taken as a means of assisting the State federations, city centrals and building trade councils, and encouraging from them a greater respect and obedience for and to this Federation.

First—That each international convention be visited by a representative of the American Federation of Labor with a specific request that said convention legislate to insist upon affiliation of locals with State federations, city centrals and building trade councils.

Second—That the Executive Council be instructed to secure for the information of the next convention the names of locals in States not in affiliation with their State federations, and from central bodies and building trades councils the

names and numbers of unaffiliated locals in their cities.

Third—That this information be submitted to the next convention in printed form. The Executive Council is to recommend to the next convention the appointment of a special committee, whose duty it shall be (during the convention) to inquire of international officers the reasons for non-affiliation of their locals.

The secretary of this Federation is to supply, if possible, to each international the names of its unaffiliated locals at least sixty days prior to the convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Rosenthal.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.): There is one recommendation which provides the representatives to the American Federation shall visit every national and international union convention. In the Label Trades Department it is provided that, so far as we could do so, we will send a representative to every national and international convention. It is possible the Metal Trades have taken a somewhat similar action, and that the Building Trades will have a representative for purposes of their own. That would be duplication. I would like to amend that there be co-operation between the American Federation of Labor and its departments in assigning these representatives to visit the national and international conventions.

The amendment offered by Delegate Barnes was seconded and carried, and the report of the committee was adopted as amended.

Your committee also wishes to recommend that the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor do everything within their power to secure the affiliation of all local unions with the central bodies and state federations in whose jurisdiction they are under, and that all central bodies affiliate with state federations under whose jurisdiction they are located.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Ernst stated that as a member of the committee he concurred in the report, except that the part of the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention in regard to sending out the names of unaffiliated locals to the Internationals prior to the convention had not been carried out. He moved as an amendment to the report of the committee that the secretary be instructed to compile a full list to be submitted to the next convention.

Chairman Alpine stated that the committee, with the exception of Delegate Ernst, did not deem it advisable or expedient to publish a list of the local unions and send it broadcast; that the

committee had received from Secretary Morrison a list of the unaffiliated locals, and many of the representatives from international unions in the convention were interviewed, and they promised further assistance in the matter.

The question was discussed by Delegate Ferguson, Delegate Bourne, Delegate Ernst, Delegate Blakeley, Delegate Tobin (D. J.), Vice-President O'Connell and Chairman Alpine.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Model Anti-Trust Injunction Limitation Law for State Use.

The committee recommends the adoption of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Convict Labor.

The committee recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's report on the subject of Convict Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Child Labor.

The committee recommends the adoption of the section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Proposed Welfare Amendments.

The committee recommends that the Council's action be endorsed and that their efforts be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Alpine: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN R. ALPINE, Chairman,

JOHN H. WALKER, Secretary,

STUART A. HAYWARD,

FRANK SPIEGL,

ED. S. ALDEN,

HUGO ERNST,

JOHN T. DEMPSEY,

SAM TOBIN,

R. L. WOODMANSEE,

P. J. RYAN,

JOHN F. McGRATH,

H. G. ALEXANDER,

FRANK M. COFFEY,

FRED L. BOURNE,

HARRY P. CORCORAN,

Committee on State Organizations.

Upon motion by Chairman Alpine the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Report of Committee on Labels.

Secretary Altman of the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee on Labels, after careful consideration of all the resolutions and recommendations referred to it, begs leave to submit the following report:

Registration of Titles and Labels.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the recommendation of the Executive Council in regard to the registration of titles and labels.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate H. O. Gossett of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The union label is a mark of distinction "union made" and should not only be requested but demanded on all articles of our purchase and use; and such demand and purchase should not be confined to any special few of any personal choice, but to all union-made articles of whatever craft and kind, and

WHEREAS, The universal purchasing power is compiled through the individual demand and purchase and as, approximately, ninety per cent., or more, of our membership do not know the designs of all the various union labels, and, for the want of such knowledge, the concentration of our universal purchasing power is but a small per cent. of what it should be, and

WHEREAS, We, the American Federation of Labor, as a unit for the universal good and betterment of unionism and mankind, believe that simplified aid should be given to utilize a progressive universal purchasing power among all trade unionists and friends; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the adoption of a Universal Monogram Label for all union-made goods and that the Label Committee submit an appropriate design of such a label for the adoption of this convention.

Your committee feels that, in view of the fact that the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor itself in previous conventions, have considered and investigated the advisability of adopting a universal label, and the different national and international organizations have reported as to the impracticability of such a label, and in past conventions of the

Union Label Trades Department have declared against the adoption of same, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

. Resolution No. 117—By Delegates Frank W. Cotterill and J. G. Brown, of the Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle, through the efforts of its educational committee and label committee recently held a most successful exposition of union labels, union house and shop cards, and products of union labor, said exposition having been made possible by the hearty and enthusiastic co-operation of the officers and the rank and file of a large majority of all affiliated unions, and

WHEREAS, This exposition has created a marked increase in the demand for the union label and for union labor products, and

WHEREAS, Local manufacturers and merchants interested themselves in said exposition and contributed to its success by making attractive and creditable displays for the purpose of taking advantage of the advertising opportunities presented, and whereas also the labor press received a flattering increase in advertising patronage through said exposition and was enabled to prove its value as an advertising medium; and

WHEREAS, All local unions of Seattle having benefited by said exposition, central councils in other cities have planned or are planning similar expositions for the education of the members of their affiliated unions and the general public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby indorse the holding of such expositions for the advertisement of union labels, union house and shop cards and union labor products, and in furtherance of the exposition idea authorizes its executive council to place at the disposal of organizations making proper application such statistics, literature and exhibits as it may now have on hand, or may hereafter acquire; such, for example, as the American Federation of Labor exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and other exhibits of paintings, sculptures, photographs, music and literature of special interest to labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That merchants and manufacturers fair to organized labor be invited to participate in such expositions at the discretion of the central labor councils holding the same, or at State fairs under the auspices of State Federations; and that such other assistance be extended at such expositions as the executive council of this federation, or the label department thereof, may deem necessary.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Experience has fully demonstrated the necessity for, and the value of union labels to lend discriminating power in favor of union made products; and

WHEREAS, The good results to come from the use of the union label must come from the patronage bestowed by labor and the friends of the Union Label; and

WHEREAS, It is a notorious fact that products bearing the Union Label do not enjoy the demand that Union Labeled products have a right to expect from the members of our great movement; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a blue label which now is placed on hundreds of brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best quality produced, and is as well advertised proportionately as any other label in this country; and

WHEREAS, The patronage given to Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is not within fifty per cent. of that which it should be, which reliable statistics will prove; and

WHEREAS, With the ever growing membership of the American Federation of Labor, these conditions could be greatly changed for the better by remembering the Label when exchanging good Union-earned money for tobacco, cigarettes or snuff; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we as delegates will ourselves do our duty and we will as far as lies in our power urge others to patronize only such tobacco products as do bear the Union Label, and we will endeavor wherever possible to induce dealers in tobacco products to put in full lines of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we will refrain from and urge others to not patronize places of business who persistently refuse to keep in stock an assorted line of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, G. P. Leary, of the International Union of Metal Polishers; John J. Hynes, of the Sheet Metal Workers; James Wilson, of the Pattern Makers; J. S. Merchant, of the Central Labor Union of Wallingford, Connecticut; Wm. H. Johnston, J. A. Taylor, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has adopted a universal label; and

WHEREAS, The appearance of this label will be a positive guarantee that all employees in the employ of the firm using same are carrying a card in the organization representing their craft or trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor request the Label Trades Department to advertise thoroughly the existence of this label, to the end that all mechanics may know that they can purchase tools bearing the union label.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Union Label Trades Department.

Your committee recommends the endorsement of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In conclusion, your committee desires to commend the good work and recognizes the valuable services rendered by the Union Label Trades Department in promoting a demand for union label products and shop cards. We believe this department would do more in that direction if the policy of demanding union labels and shop cards is pursued by all members of organized labor more rigorously, especially in regard to the labels and cards of those organizations whose existence depends upon such demand. If this demand were more general, it would be only a short time until no manufacturer in this country could operate his establishment without the recognition of union labor.

And we further believe that in this manner the necessity for strikes, lock-outs and boycotts could be entirely eliminated. And the manufacturers would realize that any reasonable and just demand of a labor union must be met in a fair and impartial manner and properly and promptly discussed. Impatient as they may be, there is always an opportunity for a settlement of the differences existing between the union and the employer without the necessity for any drastic action.

Therefore, your committee recommends to the officers and delegates of this convention that after the adjournment of this convention, upon their return to the

different localities in which they reside and to the organizations to which they belong, they take up especially the question of promoting the demand of Union Label Shop Cards and Buttons. And that efforts be made to interest every member of the organization to purchase Union-Label commodities and patronize the Union Shop Cards and Buttons, if for no other reason than the selfish reason of benefit to themselves. A proper demand for the Union Label, Shop Cards and Buttons would undoubtedly bring about conditions under which all of the moneys now expended on strikes, lockouts and boycotts could be used for further propagation for Union Label, Shop Card and Buttons, and for organizing the unorganized workers, and in that manner insure better conditions under which the laboring people would work. Increased salaries mean better home conditions, more education for the children, and will lead toward the human uplift.

Respectfully submitted,

M. ZUCKERMAN, Chairman;
 PHILIP BOCK,
 THOS. J. MAHONEY,
 F. A. SCOBY,
 JAMES F. BROCK,
 JACOB GOLDSTONE,
 MAX S. HAYES,
 J. MAHLON BARNES,
 M. L. GREENE,
 GEO. ABERNATHY,
 P. F. RYAN,
 J. THOS. BEASLEY,
 VICTOR ALTMAN, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Report of Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Delegate Leary, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The ship-building industry is enjoying a volume of business unprecedented in recent years; and

WHEREAS, The war now going on in Europe has taken from this industry all competition in connection with ship-building for the United States; and

WHEREAS, The eight-hour limitations contained in the several appropriation bills authorizing the construction of vessels has forced many ship-building plants to work at least a por-

tion of their forces eight hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The conditions as above enumerated would indicate that the time is most opportune for the complete organization of this industry, and the inauguration of the eight-hour day generally; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled indorse and give its moral and financial support to a joint movement of all the trades directly interested towards the organization of and the establishment of the eight-hour day in this industry.

We concur in the preamble of this resolution and recommend that the subject-matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The Shorter Work Day.

On the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reports as follows:

Every expression made by the American Federation of Labor regarding this subject either in convention, by the Executive Council, or otherwise has been in favor of the shorter work-day. It is gratifying to observe that as a result of these repeated declarations and reaffirmations the working people have been stimulated and encouraged to strive for the establishment of this humane principle until now the eight-hour day prevails generally in a very large number of trades and industries.

We express the hope that ere long a maximum work-day of eight hours will be universally established.

We believe the language contained in the following paragraphs of the Executive Council's report, reflects the hopes and aspirations of the workers everywhere on this question and we recommend it be emphasized as the expression of this convention:

Because of the far-reaching importance and effect of the shorter work-day upon the material, physical and mental conditions of the working people, we cannot too strongly impress upon all wage-earners the necessity to concentrate their chief effort to secure the shorter work-day—the general application of at least the eight-hour day.

We, therefore, recommend that all wage-earners—all the toilers of America, unite and make common cause for the attainment of this economic, social, political and moral boon at the earliest possible day. No proposition more sound economically, sociologically and humanely can be adopted than the en-

forcement of the general eight-hour work-day for all the workers engaged upon any field of human endeavor.

Signed:

WM. GREEN,
Chairman;

GEO. LEARY,
Secretary;

JOHN WILLIAMS,

M. G. SCOTT,

C. L. BAINE,

C. R. CASE,

H. ABRAHAMS,

THOS. REDDING,

M. J. MCGUIRE,

J. F. HART,

J. H. BAKER,

WM. TABER,

J. CARNEY,

D. G. RAMSAY.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers: The convention has directed the President of the American Federation to appoint a committee on Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws. The committee is to make an investigation during the year. The President appoints the following committee:

John P. White, United Mine Workers, Indianapolis; T. W. McCullough, Typographical Union, Omaha; John Williams, Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Pittsburgh; Matthew Woll, Photo-Engravers, Chicago; Charles L. Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, Boston; Paul Scharrenburg, Seamen, San Francisco; D. D'Alessandro, Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, Albany, N. Y.; P. F. Casey, Glass Bottle Blowers, representing the Ohio State Federation, Zanesville; M. Donoghue, Plumbers, Butte, Mont.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, submitted the final report of this committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 22—By the Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirms the position taken at the Philadelphia convention in the following resolution which was there unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The registration laws have been so altered as to permit foreign vessels to come under the American flag

and to sail for two years without inspection, and for seven years with officers not citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Those vessels so admitted thereby become able to sail with no inspection whatsoever, to the danger of human life and property; and

WHEREAS, Those vessels have no rights, other than those mentioned, that they would not have enjoyed under any foreign flag; and

WHEREAS, That part of our registration laws which prohibit foreign-built vessels from being engaged in the coast-wise trade acts as a deterrent on the building of American merchant marine; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon Congress to so change our registration laws that any vessel rated in the highest class of any responsible classification society may be registered as an American vessel to sail in any trade, provided that she be compelled to carry citizens of the United States as licensed officers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Senate Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Andrew J. Gallagher (introduced by instruction of San Francisco Labor Council):

RESOLVED, By the 35th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that this Federation hereby places itself on record as opposed to any interference with our present Coast-wise Navigation Laws. These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards and to protect the vessels in their operation on our sea coast. The whole of the present merchant marine of the United States is the product of said laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition. Having faith in the protection of those laws, American shipowners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would be not only unjust to permit the injury to their investments by allowing cheaper, because foreign built, vessels to compete with them, but also highly impolitic, because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There is under consideration the question of opening our coast-wise trade to foreign-built vessels; and

WHEREAS, The world's history, now in the making, emphatically warns us not to rely on outside sources for our means of protection; and our ability to defend ourselves in times of war and to use the ocean highways in times of peace, will largely depend upon the up-building of our shipyards to the end that quantity in construction and efficiency in labor will eventually lessen the cost to a point where we may reasonably expect to meet any competition; and

WHEREAS, These laws, in our opinion, were wisely framed to encourage the construction of vessels in American shipyards, and to protect the vessels in their operations on our sea coast. All the present merchant marine of the United States is the by-product of those laws, as they furnish the stronghold behind which American tonnage can find protection against foreign competition; and

WHEREAS, Having faith in the protection of these laws, American ship-owners have expended hundreds of millions of dollars in American shipyards, and have acquired tonnage at a cost much in excess of what said tonnage could have been purchased for from foreign sources, and it would not only be unjust to permit the injury to their investments of allowing cheaper, because foreign-built, vessels to compete with them, but highly impolitic because the smothering of shipbuilding in this country would have a disastrous effect upon the men employed in said industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor rescind its action in concurring in Resolution No. 2, page 329, of the Philadelphia proceedings, and oppose any interference with our present coastwise navigation laws.

The subject of these resolutions were referred to two committees, the committee on Executive Council's Report and the Committee on Resolutions. These committees met in joint session, which lasted over three hours, and during which interested parties were given a hearing. The committees, acting jointly and with the approval of the contending parties present and the joint meeting, decided to report to the convention the recommendation that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of securing additional information.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Your committee amended Resolution No. 146 to read as follows:

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate Jos. W. Morton, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

WHEREAS, In some of the principal cities there has been established a wage scale for Stationary Firemen, Oilers and Coal Passers in all branches of the municipality; and

WHEREAS, The Boards of Education in certain cities have adopted a form of contracting for the heating of buildings whereby union men may be deprived of what they should receive; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we oppose any system which has for its purpose a reduction of wages.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate J. P. Holland, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity:

WHEREAS, News reports from Washington indicate that President Wilson may recommend to Congress an appropriation of five hundred million dollars for the construction of warships in pursuance of a policy of general preparedness; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor and all progressive thinkers fully realize that militarism and navalism is the greatest enemy to peace, happiness and the general welfare of the American people and all other nations; and

WHEREAS, National preparedness must mean a well directed defense of our country against any invasion and not a military aggression against other nations; and general preparedness must not be a pretext for the growth of militarism and the destruction of popular rights nor a capitalistic menace to the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, A huge national appropriation will be a mighty impetus to industrial activity and the employment of thousands of workers for many years; and

WHEREAS, Warships are tax-eating and unproductive as well as obsolete and valueless after the lapse of but a few years, while merchant ships are producers of revenue and do not add to the burden of the tax-paying people; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson stands already committed in favor of the creation of a National Merchant Marine owned and controlled by the Government; and

WHEREAS, In the present deplorable and horrid war between the great nations of Europe the historic achievements of several big German liners, which were built both for commerce and naval reserve service, have conclusively demonstrated that merchant ships may be so constructed as to serve with equal efficiency the pursuits of peace and in an emergency the exigencies of war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That general preparedness for the naval defense of the country and for the protection of the economic inter-

ests of all the people is best attained by the construction of a revenue-producing merchant marine and naval reserve combined in preference to that of costly, unproductive and tax-eating warships for military purposes only; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity be and hereby is requested to urge the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor to favor the progressive policy as expressed in this resolution.

Inasmuch as this convention has already taken action upon the subject covered by this resolution, your committee recommends that the following be adopted as a substitute for this resolution:

RESOLVED, That this convention place itself on record as favoring the upbuilding of a merchant marine under the American flag, which shall be a part of the nation's defenses against foreign aggressions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The Public Printer having recommended to Congress, last year, an increase to certain employees of the Government Printing Office, as follows:

"In view of the technical nature of most of the work handled in this office and the knowledge and skill required on the part of the employees, I recommend that authority be given to me to increase the pay of the printers and bookbinders from 50 cents to 55 cents per hour, and the bookbinders machine operators from 55 cents to 60 cents per hour"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Congress of the United States, is hereby urged to grant at the coming session, the authority requested by the Public Printer.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Thos. Van Lear, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, Past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have urged upon all State Branches to work for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight hours per day; and

WHEREAS, The best interest of all the workers demand a general reduction in the hours of labor at the earliest possible moment; and

WHEREAS, The activities and power of the organized employers of this

country are taking advantage of the long hours of labor to keep thousands unemployed; and

WHEREAS, A considerable number of States at present enjoy the right to initiate and pass legislation by a vote of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring the direct legislation method of shortening the work-day in such States as the State Federation of Labor in said States deem it desirable.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegate John J. Fitzpatrick of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the establishment of the eight-hour work day by legislation by the adoption of the following resolution:

"**RESOLVED**, By the thirty-third annual convention of the Illinois State Federation that we go on record and hold solid for the eight-hour work day by legislation, both industrially and politically, and that every delegate use all of his influence in his local union and boost for the eight-hour law by legislation, that some day we will all be working eight hours per day and thereby keeping in line with the increased productiveness of modern machinery," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the spirit, intent and purpose of the foregoing resolution be adopted by this convention.

Your committee is of the opinion that one of labor's first great victories was the winning of industrial freedom through the repeal of those laws through which the workers' terms of employment had been largely determined by legislative and judicial authorities and the establishment of the workers' privilege to organize on the industrial field and, through their collective strength, enforce their right to have a determining voice in the terms of their employment.

Your committee recommends as a substitute for the resolution the endorsement of the Executive Council's report on shorter work-day, which reads in part:

It is an accepted principle that the shorter work-day is a fundamental step in the betterment of the workers. The shorter work-day affects the length of life, the health, the standards of life, and in fact, every phase of the lives of the workers. The wage-earner whose hours of labor are decreased goes to work and comes from work at a different time than before, and consequently comes in contact with people whose

habits of living are different. From contact with these people of greater leisure, he establishes new ideals. He has a greater number of hours in which to rest, revive his energies and devote to recreation or the development of his mind. Thus the shorter workday makes of the worker a different person, a person of greater physical endurance, greater vitality, higher ideals, and consequently a person who will not be satisfied with the old standards of the long hours of work.

The improved methods of production which always follow a reduction in the hours of labor increase the productive power of the worker and consequently he is in a position to demand and receive higher wages. Invariably every decrease in the hours of work per day is accompanied or followed by an increase in wages. The shorter work-day movement is to secure to the workers greater material advantages. It is an important movement in conserving national vigor and health and in guarding against those tendencies that undermine true national power. From this is evident the importance of the action of the Philadelphia convention, in adopting the following:

"The American Federation of Labor, as in the past, again declares that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should be undertaken through trade-union activity, and not to be made subjects of laws through legislative enactment, excepting insofar as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals; and employment by federal, state or municipal government."

The economic strength of the organization determines the bargaining power of that organization. One of the objective points which the anthracite miners include in their demands for the new 1916 contract is the eight-hour work-day. They have wisely planned their campaign in advance and have measured their forces, so that they will be in the best position possible to enforce their demands. It is very significant that the gains that have been made in shortening the work-day in private industries throughout the country have been fundamentally due to the influence of the economic power in the trade organizations, and have been secured through economic action. Also significant in connection with this is the recommendation of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations: "The regulation by legal enactment of hours of work of adult workmen is not generally practicable or desirable except for public employees." It cannot be over-emphasized that the wage-earners must depend upon their economic organizations for securing a shorter work-day. This method is not only effective in securing for the workers this fundamental step in their betterment, but it enables them at the same time to maintain their independence and their resourcefulness, together with the right to determine those things which affect the conditions of work under which they must toil.

To secure the shorter work-day by any other method makes it necessary for the wage-earners to delegate to other authorities other things which vitally affect them, and which constitute a limitation upon their activities and their rights, and thus finally lessen their freedom.

Because of the far-reaching importance and effect of the shorter work-day upon the material, physical and mental conditions of the working people, we cannot too strongly impress upon all wage-earners the necessity to concentrate their chief effort to secure the shorter work-day—the general application of at least the eight-hour day.

We, therefore, recommend that all wage-earners—all the toilers of America, unite and make common cause for the attainment of this economic, social, political and moral boon at the earliest possible day. No proposition more sound economically, sociologically and humanely can be adopted than the enforcement of the general eight-hour work-day for all the workers engaged upon any field of human endeavor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Secretary Frey: The subject-matter concerned in this resolution was very late in being referred to the committee. The whole subject had been referred to three committees, that is, the Committee on Shorter Work Day, the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and these two resolutions to the Committee on Resolutions. We were not able to report this when last on the platform and consequently the entire matter was referred to this committee, including the section of the report of the Executive Council with which it deals.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists: I am opposed to the report of the committee. They make practically the same report they made in Philadelphia, that we should legislate to shorten the hours for women but not legislate to shorten the hours for men. Just three days prior to the action they took in Philadelphia they passed upon a recommendation of the Executive Council which states: "Representative Stevens of New Hampshire introduced bill H. R. 12102, for the purpose of making eight hours the maximum work day for Railroad Telegraphers employed by railroad companies engaged in interstate commerce. This bill is being strongly urged by the Order of the Railroad Telegraphers and affiliated organizations. It is before the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, which has given hearings on it. We believe that if this measure is

strongly urged we can obtain complete action upon it during the next session of Congress." This same resolutions committee in Philadelphia recommended that the Executive Council be instructed to take action to secure legislation for railroad telegraphers. Railroad telegraphers are neither women nor children. They also passed a resolution in the Philadelphia convention and in the Seattle convention on the shorter work day. There was a resolution coming from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters asking to have the hours reduced to six. The committee submitted a report which was adopted by the convention. I will read the latter part of it:

First. That we strive for a more general application of the eight-hour day in all trades and occupations before commencing a general agitation for a six-hour work day, but in the event any national or international organization desires to commence an agitation for a working day less than eight hours, that they be given the encouragement and moral support of the American Federation of Labor.

Second. That the American Federation of Labor work unceasingly for the enactment of laws limiting the working hours of women and children to eight hours per day, and not more than forty-eight hours per week.

Third. Where women's eight-hour laws already exist an agitation should immediately begin for the enactment of general eight-hour laws.

Fourth. That the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to do all in its power to aid and promote the principles hereby enunciated.

This same resolution practically was passed in Seattle. Appearing before the committee, President Gompers made the statement that that applied to government and state employees. There is not a sentence, not a word, in that resolution that has anything to do with government or municipal employees. Both of those resolutions were acted upon previous to the eight-hour legislation question, which was passed three days later. I think that is a somewhat inconsistent attitude for the American labor movement to assume. When you take action to legislate for a shorter work-day for women and then refuse to take action to legislate for a shorter work-day for men, you are legislating the women on the shelf. When that law was passed in the State of Washington, Japanese, Chinese, and in some instances young white men took the places of

women so they could work ten hours a day. Why don't you organize them? We should take a stand one way or the other. Either agitation for a shorter work day by legislation is right or it is wrong all the way through. I hope the delegates will be given the fullest opportunity to discuss this question on the floor, because I believe when people legislate for a shorter work day they know what they want, and should be given the right by the American Federation of Labor to do it. I believe this convention should take action reversing that part of the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention that says we must not enact a shorter work day by legislation.

Delegate Ernst, California State Federation of Labor: I realize that the time is rather short for extensive debate, but I want to reiterate the position of the California State Federation on the eight-hour provision. The California State Federation of Labor still believes it should be the right of each and every state that has the initiative and referendum to enact an eight-hour law for men as well as for women if they see fit to do so. We have an initiative law that would have made it possible to establish an eight-hour day for men had it not been for the fact that the enemies of labor availed themselves of the declaration of the American Federation of Labor that it is not in favor of the eight-hour day for men. I would like to place the California State Federation on record as emphatically opposed to the report of the committee and in favor of the resolutions.

Delegate Fitzpatrick, Illinois State Federation of Labor: I am interested in one of the resolutions that came before the committee, Resolution No. 152, adopted by the Illinois State Federation of Labor. It asks that the eight-hour day, as far as it is possible to rightfully bring it into operation, be established, and that we proceed to do that either industrially or through legislation. What I want to bring to the attention of the convention is this: When the Philadelphia convention acted upon this question, the men and women of labor of America were more concerned about other questions. It is a bread-and-butter question with the workers, and all their time is consumed in trying to meet that situation. They haven't the time to investigate the re-

ports of committees, and decisions and actions; but when the Philadelphia convention acted upon this matter and it began to trickle down into the rank and file, the rank and file began to study the situation and it came to the conclusion, at least in our state, that the eight-hour day, either through legislation, industrially or any other way, as long as it can be brought within the reach of the workers, is one of the things the labor movement ought to try to accomplish. I don't know whether the working men and women of Illinois are going to be given any weight when this thing will be voted on. We are not going to vote direct upon the proposition which the men and women of Illinois sent here; we are going to vote on an action that was taken some time before, an action which caused them to think and present their idea of the situation. I don't think it is the best way of approaching the situation. I know of some of the arguments, some of the objections and the reasons that will be given to show this is a dangerous thing; to show why we should not undertake any further action, that what has already been said and done is sufficient for the labor movement. If that is the position you are going to have a lot of your city central bodies and state federations absolutely in contradiction to the plan and purpose of the American Federation of Labor. We don't want to do that. We want to be in conformity with the American Federation of Labor. When I look back and see the representatives of the Illinois State Federation going to the Legislature and asking this legislation be enacted, I see the Illinois State Federation in a position it does not want to occupy. It was determined by the men and women of Illinois, in their last convention, to proceed along this line; and if there is anything in their road, that they proceed to try to remove that obstacle. It is said that some organizations already have a lesser number of hours to work than eight, and possibly among the building trades they have an eight-hour day for five days in the week and a half holiday on Saturday. That is one of the achievements of the labor movement; it is nothing we need to be afraid of or ashamed of. Then it is said that we will jeopardize what we have already got

if we permit further action, and that there is a tendency to keep those who already have it away from their fellows in the struggle. The Federation was not intended to divide labor's forces. The Federation's purpose is to bring the men and women closer together, that we may make sacrifices in one another's interest if that is necessary. That is the purpose of our movement, and when you raise a false issue in matters of this kind the fellows who are selfish and who allow selfishness to actuate them will step out of the fight and save what they have got. That is not doing the thing we ought to do or doing it in the way it ought to be done. Another argument offered is that the American Federation of Labor has already gone far enough in this situation. The American labor movement has spoken for the women and children of America, and as far as women and children are concerned, well and good. I would not care how much benefit and protection you bring to the women and children, whether through legislation, our organizations or otherwise; and if you want to put our organizations on record in these matters and say we are liable to lose some of the ground we have gained, why, if we are going to give up that which we already have got we are not worthy the name we have attached to us. If we haven't the manhood and the red blood in us to hold the things we have gained after the struggles we have made and the lives that have been sacrificed, if we are going to forego them because some legislature may take action, I say we are not worthy of the name. But that is not getting where we want to. The question of women and children is involved. How about the other women and children that are not in the factories and the workshops? Don't you suppose their lives are worth anything to them? Don't you suppose their future is worth anything to them in this world? But still the American Federation of Labor disregards that great army of defenseless women and children; you only take into consideration the women who go into the mill, the factory and the shop. You do not take into consideration that in this country we have some one hundred million people, 2 per cent. of them or-

ganized. Among the other 98 per cent. there are men and women who have to toil for a living, and these men and women are absolutely and totally at the mercy of big business in this country. There is absolutely no ray of hope in their lives, and still we are going along regardless of the interests which they may have in the premises. If you can secure this for these millions; if you are going on to organize them, and after you have them organized let them cut down their hours and in that way you are going to bring the eight-hour day into their lives, all right; but life is too short. We are not Methusals in this day and age; we don't live for hundreds of years; we die off pretty early, and the term of our lives is shortened because we are so brutally used in these industries and occupations. But suppose you say that these men, these millions and millions of men in these various occupations who are so hopelessly situated ought to have the red blood in them to get up and fight, and if they won't fight there is no use worrying about them. How about the wives of these men? The lives of the wives of these fellows are just as important to them as the life of your wife and my wife or any other man's wife. These men in the industries are working ten, twelve and fourteen hours a day, which means that their wives have to work two hours longer than the industries compel the men to work. We do not regard the women in the homes, the women who have to work these other extra long hours, and we are not going to make one move politically in that situation. We are working on it industrially and economically, but we say, "Don't do it politically." We have organized two million men after a hard struggle and a great number of years, practically within the period of the average man's life, and then we say to these others, "Live on in hope that some day our organization will reach you and bring you within our beneficent fold." Do you know what the records of the Cigar Makers' Union prove? They prove that when the cigar makers' members worked unlimited hours the average life of the wife in the home was probably thirty years. Then the cigar makers, through their own volition, brought into existence the eight-hour day, and after

a period of ten years they figured the effect it had upon the lives of the wives and they found the average life of the wife had been increased something like eleven years. That trade was organized because of the operation of corporate and private greed. When you take into consideration the millions of men in the industries we cannot reach, and then say to them that we are going to prevent them from doing anything to change that situation until we are able to reach the matter industrially, they will not be satisfied. That is the view, roughly, which the Illinois State Federation takes of this situation. That body represents a large portion of this labor movement of ours, and we felt that when this resolution was sent in here it would not be practically nullified by covering it by a report that was made at a previous convention. We did not think that would be done. We thought that, inasmuch as the men of Illinois had been pinched since the Philadelphia convention, the thoughts which they had developed in their own humble way and then presented to this convention would be considered; at least the situation they have to meet would be considered, instead of going beyond it in the manner and form presented by the committee.

Delegate Germer, United Mine Workers: I am at variance with the report and recommendation of the committee, because in my opinion it does not place the matter squarely before this convention; it leaves the inference that the supporters of the resolution and those who support the eight-hour day by legislation assume the position that that is the only way by which the eight-hour workday shall be secured. That is not a fact. As Delegate Fitzpatrick stated, we want the eight-hour workday by law, and if we cannot get it by law we will get it by economic action, and if we cannot get it by economic action we will try to get it by law; but our purpose is to get it one way or another. Reference is made in the committee's report to the demand of the anthracite miners for the eight-hour day in their next wage scale negotiations. That has been the demand of the anthracite miners for years, and in spite of the fact that they have an economic organization, that they are fairly well organized, they have

been unable to get the eight-hour work-day. There is nothing new in the anthracite miners asking for the eight-hour workday in their coming wage scale negotiations. The Illinois miners that are thoroughly organized, and the Ohio miners that are thoroughly organized, and the Indiana miners that are thoroughly organized, where there is no possible hope of increasing the number of hours, still make it part of their agreements to have an eight-hour workday. That is not an acknowledgment of the fact that that is the only way they can get it, but as they have it they intend to maintain it in their wage contracts. In a document handed to every delegate reference is made to the fact that the Ohio miners secured a mine-run law by legislation and then had to go on strike to enforce it. The strike of the Ohio miners was not to enforce the mine-run law, but to compel the Ohio operators to pay a certain price based on the mine-run law. The miners of Eastern Ohio that went on strike to compel the operators to pay a certain price for mine-run coal are represented here by the United Mine Workers, and they are asking the adoption of the resolution providing for the eight-hour day by legislation as well as by economic action. There is one thing in favor of this resolution in connection with the Ohio miners' strike and that is that the operators did not dare to import strike-breakers. If they had, if they had used them for the purpose of defeating the prices the Ohio miners asked, which grew out of the fact that the mine-run law was enacted, they would be violating the law and they dared not do it. In Philadelphia last year it was pointed out that in spite of the eight-hour law on the statute books of that state it was a part of the demands of the Colorado miners. It is in the miners' demands wherever they have a contract, even in the state of Washington, where they have an eight-hour law. Why is not the eight-hour law enforced in Colorado? When the strike was called fully 96 per cent. of the miners laid down their tools, and every mine in the state was closed down. We had economic action there. The reason the laws were not enforced was because we had the so-called "friends of labor," the agents of the coal barons, in political

power, and they did not exercise their political power to enforce the laws of Colorado. I want to refer to an instance to show that after a law is passed there is one more step necessary, and that is to execute it. In the city of Elizabeth, New Jersey, they elected an "undesirable citizen" as Justice of the Peace. One of the editors of a daily paper in Elizabeth made an attack upon a representative of organized labor who attempted to organize the Singer Sewing Machine factory. He recommended in an editorial that the employees take these agitators, tie ropes around their necks, tie stones to them and sink them in the bay. The organizer for the central body brought charges in the court of this Justice of the Peace. He found the editor guilty and imposed a penalty of \$500 for inciting to riot. There we have political power; they placed the political power in the hands of the workers and they used that political power to enforce the law. Of course, they appealed to the higher courts and the case was dismissed. If we had the same kind of judges as that Justice of the Peace the laws of West Virginia would be enforced. Now, we must do one of two things: we must either say that securing an eight-hour day by legislation along with economic action is right, or we must say to those States and to the legislature of those States where they have an eight-hour day by law, that they ought to repeal the laws they have to limit the number of hours. It is either right or it is wrong. If it is right, we ought to extend it to every part of the State; if it is wrong, they ought to go before the legislature in Washington and other States where they have an eight-hour law and ask for its repeal. I am sure this body would not advise the organizations in the States where they have the eight-hour law to ask for the repeal of the law, because we must secure it only by economic action. It is true the miners secured the eight-hour law by economic action in Illinois, but the eight-hour law that has been secured there has been paid for at an awful price. You might as well tell the Illinois miners that they must repeal their qualification law. That law prohibits any one from working who has not the proper qualifications, and it has had a great deal to do with secur-

ing other laws in the State of Illinois. The miners' qualification law was secured by legislative enactment, and it has prevented the operators from importing strikebreakers to take the place of miners several times when they were on strike. This resolution does not say that eight must be the numbers of hours worked; it says not more than eight hours. Of course some will say because we have that in there we cannot ask for any less. I presume that reference will be made here to a certain document gotten out to which my name has been attached, and of course I well realize it will be done to create a prejudice in the minds of certain delegates. The only hope I have to express is that this matter will be discussed upon its merits, not upon individual charges; not by attacks made upon individuals who have taken one or another position in this matter. Now, to sum up the matter briefly: Are we going to place ourselves on record as saying that if any legislature passes an enactment limiting the hours to eight, that legislature is doing something detrimental to the material welfare of the workers? If we reject these resolutions and adopt the committee's report we will be going counter to every organization that is attempting to use its influence and is using its money to secure a reduction in the number of working hours by legislation. I am in favor of securing a maximum eight-hour day, whether it is by law or by economic power. I am not one of those who believe it is better, that it will create more interest, more activity, more solidarity, to have our men shot and our women burned to death in order to get the eight-hour work day. I would rather have the maximum hours determined by law, and then insist that those who are elected and paid to execute the law do their duty and carry out their obligations. If they fail, then again I am in favor of using that mighty weapon, the ballot, to place men in office to execute those laws that have been placed upon the statute books. I have found in the limited years of my experience in the labor movement that it is much cheaper to vote right than it is to strike right. It has cost millions of dollars, it has cost human life and agony and suffering to correct the mistakes we have made at the ballot.

I am unalterably opposed, and I now record my opposition, to the proposition that we go on record that the only way we will accept eight hours as the maximum workday is through economic organizations, strikes, sacrifice and even the yielding up of human life. If I can secure it by law and secure it through the unions' efforts, that is the way I want it. I want the maximum number of hours to be eight. That means that not more than eight hours shall be the day's work. And whether I secure it by law or whether I secure it after months of strike, after spending money and even sacrificing lives, I want a shorter workday. If we can get a shorter workday, whether by law or after a strike, we will get the same benefits, the same results, and they will add to human happiness just the same, whether it is done through the strike or whether it is achieved by law. I am not a syndicalist, I am a political actionist as well as a trade unionist, and I want to use both these arms of the movement to bring a little more sunshine and joy and happiness to the homes of the workers.

Secretary Morrison in the chair.

Delegate Barnes, Cigar Makers: I want to say, friends, that in my humble judgment I consider the proposition of the committee fundamentally unsound as judged by the experience of the whole labor movement. I lay down as a definite fact, and there has been some contradiction, that this is so in every trade and calling, in every town, village, city and nation, that the labor movement roster began with the best skilled mechanic, not the shirker nor the incompetent nor the lackadaisical cuss. The men that first appeared on the roster of the labor movement were the best skilled men. They were the men who could demand their terms and make them. They were independent because they were so highly skilled. I have brought this question up again and again, I have put it to men from every country, and they have always said it was the highest skilled mechanic, the best man at his trade, that headed the roster of the labor organizations in every community; and he did so because he was independent, and along with that, because he was skilled and independent, he had more leisure

and time for thought, and it was the thoughtful and studious man that started the industrial revolt known as the labor movement in any community. And I am going to say now, as I have always said, that I want eight hours for all the working people of this country and every other country, and get it as best we can, in any manner we can. I shall do my share, and ask everybody to do his. It is our duty to get it, along economic lines if we can, but if we cannot, it is our duty to get it somehow, either by economic efforts or by legal requirement. The committee says if we get this by any other power than our economic power it will make us indifferent, it will reflect disastrously upon the labor movement. That is the sense of it. I charge again that those who have the most leisure will be quickest to organize; it is an appetite that grows with leisure, and this report flies in the face of the whole tendency of civilization. That situation is in favor of larger leisure which has more light, more opportunity. And there is a growing public sentiment in that direction, and we want to coin that sentiment into law in the interest of the two million organized people that have been spoken of and in the interest of the ninety-eight million that are not organized. In proportion as they are relieved from arduous toil and have more leisure, they will join us sooner. Has Henry Ford imposed a great injustice upon his people because he has given them the eight-hour day? Will it keep them longer from organizing? John Wanamaker has a big department store and he has granted it. The trend of public sentiment is in favor of more leisure and more light, and a better civilization. It has resulted in each Saturday during the summer months being given as a holiday in some cases, which is an innovation in those establishments. And by this declaration we are going back, we are retrograding absolutely. In the early days of the trade-union movement in England the trade unionists began to knock at the doors of Parliament for some remedial legislation, limiting the hours of labor, limiting child labor, etc., and the captains of industry of those days went

to the legislature and said: "We don't want any interference. Let this fight be between us and our working men. We will attend to this matter." Now the American Federation of Labor goes to the doors of the legislature and says, like the captains of industry in England: "Let us alone; we will fix John D. Rockefeller and his blessed son; we will take care of the steel industry. You gentlemen representing legislation keep your hands off." You will appreciate this if we lick Rockefeller. Yes, we will! This is the position you are taking, going back a hundred years and assuming exactly the position of the master class regarding legislation. The decision of the Seattle convention is capable of only one interpretation. The words "women and children" are not written into it at all. I hold that that was simply an interpretation put upon it in the interim between the Seattle and Philadelphia conventions by President Gompers, when there was a fierce fight on in several States by trade unionists for its adoption. I don't know just what made him change his mind. I never knew he was opposed to the eight-hour day by law. He made that decision between those two conventions. In his speech in Philadelphia he fung at Brother Gallagher: "Do you know where the eight-hour law in California originated?" Gallagher said he thought he did, that it originated among the trade unionists. And in effect, without using the exact words, Gompers said: "It was started by the Socialist Party of California." I say to you I don't know why there was such a change of heart, but I do feel that the rank and file of this organization want relief by any means they can get it, and I hold that committing ourselves to both efforts will not weaken us one iota; but if we get the relief for the workers it will strengthen our organizations, give them a new lease of life, give them more intelligence and increase the spirit of revolt rather than dampen it.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I shall not take up very much time, I could not talk very long if I wanted to, but there are some things that have been said here and some ideas are being distributed that I cannot very

well permit to pass without having a word to say upon them. The Telegraphers have been spoken of. The Telegraphers asked for an eight-hour day in interstate commerce. That is true. If Congress had passed it it would stand, because the Constitution of the United States gives to Congress the full right to legislate upon the hours of labor with reference to workmen engaged in interstate commerce. If California had by a referendum enacted the eight-hour law for men it would have been taken to the Supreme Court of the United States and wiped off the slate in shorter time than we have been wasting here on this question. You cannot get the eight-hour law for men within the United States except for a few and peculiar occupations, except by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared itself and said that for women yes, because they are the weak sex, and in the interest of the health of the people; for children, yes, anything that we can get the legislative powers to enact; for men working under ground in especially dangerous occupations, yes, because of the health and police powers of the State. When you come to pass by referendum in any State a general eight-hour day for men you will waste all the effort you have been making, because the courts will knock it out. You come in here and say you want the eight hours anyhow, you want it somehow. Then go ahead and get it the way you can get it, and don't play the part of the jack-o'-lantern leading the working people of the country into the bogs. Look at things as they are. You can take the youngest boy or the youngest delegate here, and he will have grown to manhood and will have died before you can convince the people of the United States that it is well for them to delegate power over the hours of labor, with reference to full grown men, to the legislative body of any State or the United States. You are not doing the working people a service. There isn't one of you that has spoken but knows the facts I have stated; there isn't one of you but knows you cannot have an eight-hour workday for men stand the test of the Supreme Court of the United States. Any law a State makes that is contrary to the Constitu-

tion of the United States is worthless. If you want to do the things you say you are eager to do, get out among the grown men and use a little of your time and a little of the money of your organizations to teach them how to get this thing without asking anybody's "by your leave." You can in the run of your own lifetime, in the run of one-third of the average lifetime, nail down the eight-hour workday in all other kinds of employment except agriculture, and you cannot get it in agriculture either by economic power or by law. If you could you would hurt the man with the small farm—which I hope is coming generally, that the land will be divided, so that most men will be working for themselves on the land—and the man who cannot work more than eight hours will some day lose his entire crop. You ought to think of these things and you ought to think of the power you have got instead of taking up the time playing, not to these galleries, because they are empty, but to the galleries over the country.

President Gompers: The chair asks whether the introducer of the resolution desires to be heard upon the subject in controversy?

Delegate Van Lear: I do.

Delegate Johnston: I would like five or ten minutes.

President Gompers: If the delegate who introduced the resolution will yield for that purpose you can have it.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: I believe the report of the committee, as well as the action of the Philadelphia convention, does not reflect the real sentiment, the hopes and the aspirations of the tolling millions of America. I further believe that it is altogether inconsistent with the established practices and customs of our organization. Delegate Furuseth tells us to do these things through the economic organizations. I ask him why he did not get the seamen's legislation through the economic organization.

Delegate Furuseth: No misrepresentation here, my friend! Because the men I represent under the law were compelled to work twenty-four hours.

Delegate Johnston: For years the American Federation of Labor has gone on record in favor of the eight-hour day on all Government work, not only

in Government shops but in private manufacturing shops engaged on Government work. For years the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the machinists' organization, and others, have spent time and money knocking at the doors of Congress in order to establish something by law we were unable to establish by our economic organizations. Some are apprehensive that if the eight-hour day is established through law it will act as a preventative of organization; that it will be more difficult to organize the people in the movement. I contend that philosophy is wrong and not founded on fact. We have established the eight-hour day by law. In our Government navy yards and arsenals and we find these men are just as responsive to the appeal of the labor movement as any men in any employment. They recognize that it is the militant power of the labor movement that has made it possible, by knocking on the doors of Congress, for them to secure that condition. We came here some years ago and made the request that the American Federation of Labor ask Congress to grant men in the Government service fifteen days' leave. We have gone on record repeatedly, in favor of giving the telegraphers the eight-hour day. After these men have secured these conditions they have a more intensified desire for a larger life, and that is what we are struggling for. The struggle of the labor movement is the old struggle that has been going on since the beginning of time, the struggle of the soul for freedom,—emancipation from the conditions in which we find ourselves. I venture to say there is no organization connected with this movement spending more time and money to shorten the hours of labor through economic action than the one I represent. In the last few months, through the campaign we have been carrying on, we have shortened the hours of one hundred thousand men. At the present time we have fourteen thousand men striking for a shorter work day, and invariably the employers I have talked to have said, "If you can get the employers in adjoining cities where they are at present unorganized to grant these conditions, we will do so." If we had it universally it would be a great deal easier for the

economic organizations. We have spent on strikes in the last three years over a million dollars to secure a condition that we might secure if we used our franchise. Some are apprehensive that if the eight-hour law is established, some who want seven hours, or six hours, will be unable to secure it. I maintain there is nothing in that proposition. It would, in my judgment, be a great help if we could make universal the eight-hour day; it would be much easier for the stronger and better organized trades to secure seven and possibly six hours a day. I maintain that this proposition from the committee is inconsistent with all the former activities of the great movement; and it does not reflect, in my humble judgment, the real sentiment, or spirit, or hopes of the toiling millions, organized or unorganized.

President Gompers: Delegate Van Lear.

Delegate Van Lear: I am thankful to get an opportunity to say something on this matter, and I am rather inclined to think I must be getting popular in the American Federation of Labor, because this is the first time in my life I have been called upon to speak on a subject. Four times it has been ruled that I would not be allowed to speak on this subject.

President Gompers: I have been attending the American Federation conventions for a number of years; I have been President and presiding generally. Can you point out a time when you were denied an opportunity of being heard?

Delegate Van Lear: Yes, at the Philadelphia convention on this same question. You were not in the chair, however. I was not accusing you of ruling me off the floor.

President Gompers: It seems to me strange when this convention has been so liberal in hearing everybody, that here at the end of the second week of the convention such a statement should be made.

Delegate Van Lear: There are some new matters in connection with this question since it was passed upon by the Philadelphia convention. At that time California, Oregon and Washington had just come out of a struggle for the eight-hour day by legislation, and they claimed they had been considerably

handicapped by the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. Since that time there have been some other State Federations of Labor heard from. Delegate Fitzpatrick says that since that time the State Federation of Illinois, representing, I understood him to say the other day, about eight hundred thousand working people, had come to the conclusion that, regardless of the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor in Philadelphia, they still believed the rank and file, the people who work in the shops, would be benefited by an eight-hour day, whether secured by legislation or by any other method. The State Federation of Minnesota has gone on record in exactly the same way as the State Federation of Illinois, and it cannot be claimed in either case that they did not know the action of the American Federation of Labor, because when the report of the committee was brought in it was recommended by the committee that the words "either by legislative action or by ordinary trade union methods" be stricken out and "trade union activity" be substituted therefor and that the resolution as amended be adopted. The recommendation of the committee was not adopted. Delegate Anderson moved to adopt the resolution as introduced, and the resolution as introduced was adopted, carrying with it legislative efforts as well as industrial activity. So we find that when this is put up to the different State organizations they do, in many instances, express themselves in favor of it. It has been said here that the women and children, Government employees, etc., should have this legislation; that it would be all right to legislate an eight-hour day for them. It has been argued that we are afraid of laws, afraid, as has been said, of "Greeks bearing gifts," that once we put into the hands of the authorities jurisdiction over working people we never know where we are going to end. If that is true we are agreeing that women and children, Government employees and those who work for contractors employed by the Government, should take their chances in being under the jurisdiction of these unfair judicial authorities, and be enslaved to that extent, but we say that we do not agree that anybody else but these people shall be. I contend that if there is a fear

of slavery in this, if there is a fear of judicial rulings in this, if we are afraid of putting the American workmen under judicial authority, then we ought not to put anybody under judicial authority. It seems to me the same argument would hold good in all cases. When the assertion was made a few moments ago by Brother Johnston, when he asked Brother Furuseth why he did not get what he wanted by law, he said it was because his men were practically slaves. That is true, but a seamen's law could have been drafted, and there need not have been put in the nine-hour clause, they could have put in a twenty-hour clause. They did not do it, they put in nine hours and they got it by legislation. I believe it is a good thing, but those who are opposed to limiting the workday by legislation, if they don't think it is a good thing, I don't think they ought to use that method. I have heard a great deal said about doing something, and about dreamers that want to do something, in the sweet by-and-by; those that have beautiful day dreams and want us to wait until kingdom come before we do anything. I think we ought to do something now. For more than thirty-five years we have been agitating and educating for an eight-hour day, and the most we can say is that there are two million workers who have received an eight-hour day by organization. That is, we have about two million workers in the American Federation of Labor, and all of them are not working under the eight-hour day, but we will say that two million are working under the eight-hour day after thirty-five years. We have more than thirty million working people I would like to see have the eight-hour day. That is a dream, too; but at the rate we are going, getting two millions of them—and I am giving you two millions, though you haven't got that many—but getting the eight-hour day for two million in thirty-five years, it would take about one hundred and twenty-five years to get it for the thirty millions. I want it a little nearer than one hundred and twenty-five years. The miners' law was brought up; it was said here, as has been said elsewhere, that the run-of-mine law had to be enforced finally by strike. That has been partially denied, or something said to the effect that it

was not exactly what they struck about. But that is neither here nor there; the point I want to make is, that if the miners have secured a mine-run law they only went after it when they found they could not get it on the economic field. It does not necessarily follow when you try to get the eight-hour law that you will discontinue your activity on the economic field. I have no doubt the miners were working on the economic field in every way they could to force the mine-run law on the employers. They failed, but at the same time they were willing, by strike, or threat of strike, or in any way they could, through their economic organizations, to get this law through the State legislature. They secured it, and then they had to strike. I claim that if they had to strike, they were in a better position striking to enforce the law; that they received more encouragement; that the public was more with them, and they had a better argument than if there had been no law on the statute books. They put themselves in the position of men striking to enforce the laws of the State and of the country, and that is a very desirable position to be in. If we can pass an eight-hour law and the employer will not enforce it, and we strike to enforce it, I am sure we will be in a very desirable position. I believe it can be agreed that in the big miners' strike in Colorado, where they suffered so terribly, one of the best arguments on the miners' side of the question was the fact that Colorado had an eight-hour law that had not been enforced. I got into many arguments in reference to the Colorado strike, and when I could not get a man to agree the miners were right in Colorado, or that they had any rights in Colorado, I would finally say to him: "There is an eight-hour law in Colorado and those men struck to try to enforce that law. Don't you believe they ought to have what the law gave them? Don't you believe they were right in laying down their tools when their State had a law that they were only to work eight hours and the mine owners would not obey that law?" That was one of the best arguments they had in their troubles in Colorado. We get eight hours on the economic field very often in a great many industries; not

in all, but in some of the shops in large industries. Sometimes we capture a whole industry for the eight-hour day, but there isn't a man in this hall that does not know that where there are eight-hour workers and ten-hour workers there is trouble. The machinists very often, when sent out on the road, have had trouble to enforce the eight-hour day in ten-hour shops. In every instance where they are men with the eight-hour day they are not permitted to work side by side with other workers in a ten-hour shop. If the machinists had a general eight-hour day and one of them got into a big sawmill where everybody was working ten hours, they would not let the machinist work the eight hours. They would say, "If you do not want to work the ten hours, get out." It means that a non-union machinist will get and hold that job. And that is being done in every other trade and it keeps them from organizing.

Delegate Ryan, Plate Printers: Do you believe if Congress enacted a law saying that all railroad telegraphers should work only eight hours a day, it would be constitutional? Congress has the right to regulate interstate commerce. Do you think that law would stand the test of the supreme court?

Delegate Van Lear: I have known the supreme court to rule a law was unconstitutional and then over night change its opinion and make another guess. I could not answer your question. It has been inferred, and I believe it was stated in Philadelphia, that if eight hours is obtained by legislation it will have a tendency to make working people depend upon legislation; that it will interfere with the work of organization—practically inferring that if we get eight hours by legislation, we will have everything we want and the workers will no longer be interested in their trade unions; that they will drop out, or at least those not organized will not come into the organization—they will be too well pleased with their eight-hour law. If that were true, the organizations that have obtained eight hours and have had the eight hours for such a very long time would have shown signs of disintegration long ago. They have obtained the eight-hour law, they enjoy all the beauties of the

eight hours, they have all the things the eight hours can bring them. Do we find that it keeps the workers from organizing? Isn't it a fact that we find, in those trades where they have the eight-hour day generally, they are the best organized trades and that they bring the most of their people into their organization and retain them there? Isn't it a fact that there are many other things for organized labor to do after it has obtained the eight hours? We have had some experience with legislation. We fought in the State of Minnesota on the industrial field. In every agreement we brought up for the last ten years on railroads that I have had anything to do with we not only demanded eight hours, but we fought out a demand for eight hours. Every time we fought out the demand for eight hours we have gone to the limit, and took a strike vote on it, and we have been on the verge several times of striking for the eight hours and an increase of wages, but we came to the conclusion that we could not swing it and we had to desist. We did, however, through concerted action get it down from ten hours to nine, and we hope through another effort to get down to eight hours. In every agreement we have submitted for an eight-hour day we have had a clause that the machinists on the job should be paid semi-monthly. In every instance that has been denied, just as the eight-hour day has been denied. Finally we went to the legislature and demanded that the Legislature of Minnesota enact a law for a semi-monthly pay day. We urged that it be adopted in every State the railroads traveled through. We got it in Minnesota but they did not get it in other States. Let us get the eight-hour day, either by industrial action or by legislation. We don't want the convention to go on record, as it did in Philadelphia, that you can only have the approval of the American Federation of Labor to secure an eight-hour day by industrial action. We want this convention to go on record as being agreeable to an eight-hour day established by the industrial activity of the labor organizations, or if they see fit, by their political activity in their own States. We believe that is absolutely fair. I know the men of our trade,

and I have talked to the men of other trades while traveling from St. Paul to Portland. We want an eight-hour day by legislation or otherwise, and I could not explain satisfactorily to the people I met why the American Federation of Labor went on record as not favoring eight-hour legislation. I tried to present it fairly, but they could see no justice in it and hoped it would be reversed, as I hope it will be, by this convention.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen in the chair.

Vice-President Duncan: There have been six speakers against the report of the committee and but one for it, and he was not a member of the committee. I hope that following this convention the statements will not be made that were made after the Philadelphia convention, that delegates who were opposed to the report of the committee at that time were not given a hearing. In the Philadelphia convention ten men spoke on this subject—seven against and three for—yet the charge was made that they were choked off because they were in opposition, or supposed to be, to the report of the committee. I will not have much to say on the subject, because I made my speech upon it at the last convention and it is in the record. I have been badly interpreted by some of those who have different views, but as this phase of it will be dealt with by President Gompers, who has some documents on the subject, I will not go into it. We have been asked to change the position of the convention because of things that have taken place since the declaration by the Philadelphia convention; and the two things named that have taken place to cause us to change our position consist of a declaration by the State branches of two States that those State branches favor establishing the eight-hour day by legislation! I wonder if those delegates have in mind some of the things that have happened since the last convention. What I have to say is not limited to the Pacific coast, because it is known on the Atlantic coast as well. We had in Massachusetts a liberal Governor, a man who had taken a forward position in regard to labor, a Democrat, with a Republican legislature. Although the working people of Massa-

chusetts had tried for years—and eventually succeeded—to put on the statute books of Massachusetts some excellent legislation in behalf of working people, this progressive Governor made a statement, and did everything possible that he could do to wipe out the legislation to which I have reference, so that manufacturers in that State could employ men to work any hours they pleased simply because there was a chance to make shoes, textiles and war munitions on account of the war in Europe. Other States had similar experiences, either with the governor or the legislature, and it shows upon what a slender reed you would be leaning if you were to rely upon the legislatures. Delegate Johnston twitted Delegate Furuseth for not looking to trade-union activity instead of looking to Congress for the seamen's legislation. His argument recalls upon Delegate Johnston, for it was because the law had put its nippers on the seamen and they could not do anything but work under the law or be thrown into prison; and because the law was on them and they were bound by it, the sailors sought freedom in the only way they could. If it had not been for the law the preceding speakers have talked of, it would not have taken the seamen twenty-five years to get a little bit of relief through their bill.

Delegate Smith, Portland: Did that same law apply to the seamen on the Great Lakes, that same slavery law?

Vice-President Duncan: The laws upon the Pacific coast and Atlantic coast, as far as I know, are the same.

Delegate Smith: I asked about the Great Lakes.

Delegate Furuseth: Yes, they applied for a time.

President Gompers: They applied until 1895, when the American Federation of Labor came to the assistance of the Seamen's Union and secured the right of the seamen on the Great Lakes and in the nearby foreign countries to quit their ships when the ships were in safe harbor. Until March 4th, 1914, when the law was passed which went into effect on November 4th, the seamen who quit their vessels in any foreign port, if they refused to return to their ships, could have been and were hunted and arrested and made to work against their will.

Vice-President Duncan: Delegate Taylor refers to the carpenters' resolution for six hours with which the committee dealt in the Philadelphia convention. That resolution and the resolution about the women's eight-hour day came to the Committee on Resolutions and those people with whom Delegate Taylor was in concert in that convention favored the eight hours for women, because they introduced the resolution. As far as that point was concerned, those who introduced the resolution were in unity with the action of the committee, yet it is made to appear here that there was radical difference between the two. Really and truly, the agitation upon this subject at the present time does not deal with the fundamental method by which it can be secured. In nearly every State in the Union the first thing that would be essential in connection with this legislation would be a constitutional amendment giving to the legislature authority to pass this kind of legislation, because to the present time they have not been given that authority. We would first have to endeavor to have constitutional amendments passed wherever they are needed, and they are needed in nearly every State, and if we were successful we would endeavor to enact laws calling for eight hours for all the people. There have always been certain progressive States and certain reactionary States. We would get it passed quicker in some States than in others. What, then, is to become of your activity through your trade union when you declare that on and after a certain day your members are not going to work more than a certain number of hours for a certain amount of wages? In one State you have no law and in another you have a law different from other States. Your activity in that direction would be nil, because there would be different laws in different States. Delegate Germer says this does not state that eight hours must be worked. Suppose you have your constitutional amendments passed, and you had the laws passed, and it came to the enforcement of the law and some of you did not desire to work the eight hours a day, who is going to arbitrate that question? It has become a State law; it must go into the courts and the judge must decide upon the affair. And when the judge

gives his decision and you do not obey—what then? Jall, what else? Is that a safe thing for trade unionists to follow? And, believe me, the judges in dealing with questions of this kind in most instances, exact everything the law allows. The judge will say, "This legislation says the hours shall be only eight. The employer has a right to eight hours from you," and you would be putting a rope around your neck. Reference was made by Delegate Barnes to Henry Ford's philanthropy. Would we turn over to Mr. Ford to say that eight hours shall be the number we shall toll? The committee stands for its report, and in this instance it is by unanimous vote. No delegate has as yet stood on the floor at this convention and made any reference to the Industrial Commission, but one has lauded the chairman of the commission as much as his vocabulary could be called upon. I find that in this city last Labor Day this same Frank P. Walsh, having this very subject we are discussing in mind, gave the trade unionists and the people of this country this warning: He told an audience that as a result of his experience and investigation he was convinced labor should pin its faith to trade unions in the industrial field and not place too much faith in legislative enactment. He said in substance: "I am not a believer in the efficacy of law to help the workers. If the workers will arise in their economic strength they can get anything. If I were a working man I would be very careful about trusting any part of my economic welfare with a legislative body."

Delegate Green, United Mine Workers: I feel it a duty to express my opposition to the committee's report. I do so, first, because the organization which I have the honor to represent in this convention is almost unanimously opposed to the position taken by the American Federation of Labor upon this subject. This I regret very much for two reasons: first, because I would like to have the great organization I represent in thorough and hearty accord with the fundamental principles of the American labor movement; and, secondly, because in opposing the committee's report I know as a member of the Executive Council that I am not in accord

with the opinions of my friends and colleagues thereon. I know that the position of the American labor movement, as expressed through the American Federation of Labor, regarding the shorter work day is clear and concise. The position of our organization and the labor movement is that we shall strive earnestly and conscientiously for the establishment of a shorter work day. The only difference that can exist between those in accord with the committee's report and those who are opposed thereto, is as to the methods to be employed to obtain the shorter work day. I feel there is nothing that will hurt the great organized labor movement of this country as much as the declaration made in the Philadelphia convention, in which we place ourselves in opposition to securing the eight-hour workday by any other method than our economic strength and influence. Why? Because our position has been misunderstood, and I believe there are those who have attempted to place the position of the American labor movement in a false light on this proposition when they knew they were placing the movement in a false light. Attempts have been made to emphasize the fact that the American labor movement is opposed to an eight-hour day. In support of that claim, the argument has been used that the Philadelphia convention most emphatically declared itself in opposition to the eight-hour day by legislation. But nothing could be farther from the truth. It is true the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia declared itself as being opposed to efforts being directed to secure an eight-hour day by legislation, and at the same time declared in most positive and emphatic terms that they favored the shorter workday in every trade and in every industry. I cannot conceive by what process of reasoning we can rightfully arrive at the conclusion that the workers are not entitled to, and should not direct their efforts towards, securing an eight-hour day by every legitimate means at their command. Is there any one here who believes that the man who enjoys the benefit of the eight-hour day through the strength of his economic organization, appreciates and enjoys it more than the man who secures the

eight-hour day through legislation. Is there any difference in the degree of appreciation? Is there any difference in the direct results? If I understand the aim and object behind every move toward the adoption of a shorter work day it is that we may be able to give the fagged brain and tired body of the worker who, through long hours of toll, is reduced in physical strength, an opportunity to study and develop mentally and physically. If that is the aim and object of the shorter work day, then we ought to secure it for him by any honorable means at our command. Our organization has been active in attempting to promote the welfare of our membership, both by legislation and by the use of economic strength. In Illinois we secured the mine-run method of weighing coal through the power and influence of our union. The miners in that State who enjoyed the benefits of the mine-run system appreciate it just as fully as it is possible for mine workers anywhere to appreciate it. In the States of Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri and Ohio we have secured the mine-run method by legislation, and the miners in these states are just as active in behalf of their unions as are the miners in Illinois. It has not lessened their interest in their trade unions, and it has not in any way interfered with their loyalty to their organization. My experience has been such that I believe the men who can secure these things by law are just as true and loyal to the organizations as though they obtained them on the economic field; and for that reason I believe honestly that we are justified in securing shorter hours of employment by any legitimate means at our command, either through legislation or on economic field.

President Gompers: Supplementing the statement made by Delegate Duncan as to the delegates who occupied the time of the convention in this discussion, I have kept memoranda and find that seven delegates have spoken against the proposition and occupied one hour and forty-two minutes, while two delegates, one the chairman of the committee and the other Delegate Furuseth, occupied jointly twenty-three minutes. I wish we had time to go into this fully so that we might have a real un-

derstanding of it. All I can do is to mention a few things at random rather than to follow the subject sequentially.

I want to take cognizance of the statement of Delegate Johnston when he said that during this year a shorter workday has been secured for one hundred and seventy-five thousand men in his trade. Why, he hasn't half of that membership in the International Association of Machinists.

Delegate Johnston: I did not wish to imply that we benefited one hundred and seventy-five thousand organized machinists, but that we benefited one hundred and seventy-five thousand working people in the factories where we made demands.

President Gompers: How many union machinists were engaged in that movement in the aggregate?

Delegate Johnston: Very few.

President Gompers: And that very few union men by trade-union activity secured the shorter workday and other benefits for one hundred and seventy-five thousand workers. Delegate Fitzpatrick of Illinois said there were one hundred million people in the United States and two million organized workers, about 2 per cent. organized. That is repeating the accusations made by the worst enemies of our movement, and it is not true. In speaking of one hundred million people you count men, women and children, and when you say two million union people you speak of adults, nearly all men, and counting what is usually regarded as the average of an American family, five to the family, you have not two millions in the labor movement of America but ten millions. And that does not count the railroad brotherhoods and other international organizations and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and it does not count the farmers. As a matter of fact it is not 2 per cent., it is approximately 18 per cent. or 20 per cent. of the population of the United States.

I want to deal with some phases which Mr. Germer anticipated in his talk, and I suppose the statements were predicated in anticipation upon a guilty conscience. I hold in my hand the pamphlet to which Mr. Germer referred, but before I speak of the pamphlet and its contents I want to

call attention to the advertisement which was published by Mr. Germer and his four associates as the Executive Committee of the Socialist party of America, in which it was declared that they wanted to circulate this pamphlet by the millions. Under date of June 4, 1915, the editor of the official journal of that party sent a circular note to the editors of the Socialist and labor press for immediate release.

"Note to editors, not for publication. You can aid in bringing about good results by publishing the following short notice. The Socialist Party is anxious to get the names of Socialists who are members of labor unions. It wants the help of the Socialists in the unions to get them. You have all heard of the pamphlet, 'Are the workers of America opposed to the Eight Hour law?' If you will send us a list of five or more Socialists or Socialist sympathizers who are members of your union, giving the name of the union and the full names and address of the members, we will send you free a copy of this great pamphlet. You can get the names from your union Secretary."

The pamphlet is signed by Victor L. Berger, Louis J. Duncan, Adolph Germer, James H. Mauer, J. Stitt Wilson, and in the foreword it is declared that the purpose is to have it percolate through the minds of the uninformed and the ignorant union men.

In that pamphlet Mr. James Duncan is referred to and it is asserted that a fair excerpt or quotation is given of his address before the Philadelphia convention. During his address he said, "we" do not want to surrender our right to secure the still shorter work day by our trade union activity. The pamphlet goes on to say that Mr. Duncan was so narrow and selfish that he wanted that activity confined to the Granite Cutters of America, when, as a matter of fact every man there and every delegate at Philadelphia who was not prejudiced enough to place a false construction on what he said knew that when he used the term "we" he referred to the working people of America, to the trade unionists. And, by the way, the trade unionists do not want to secure the eight-hour work day for themselves alone. Proof—Mr. Johnston's statement upon the floor of this convention that

there were few machinists members of the International Association of Machinists in the shops he mentioned, and yet they secured in a very brief time a shorter work day and improved conditions of wages and treatment for one hundred and seventy-five thousand workers.

I remember in St. Louis some twenty-five or more years ago the officers of a local union of carpenters, less than two hundred men organized at the time, conceived the idea that it would be well to try out a movement to secure the eight-hour work day, and the union called a meeting of all carpenters of St. Louis. One of the largest halls in the city was rented and it was crowded to its complete limitations and there were hundreds who could not gain admission. There were not more than two hundred union carpenters in the hall. They mingled with the non-union workers and the non-union workers with them. No one knew who was a union man or a non-union man, but there and then a declaration was made that they would stand out for the eight-hour day. Within forty-eight hours the contractors in St. Louis ran over each other in order to sign up the agreement for the eight-hour day, and from that time until today the eight-hour day in the carpenters' trade has prevailed. The influence of it went broadcast and the Building Trades secured the eight-hour day. Not only did they secure it in St. Louis, but through the effort of the American Federation of Labor to concentrate the minds of the toilers of America upon the eight-hour day, the declaration made in Chicago for the campaign to inaugurate the eight-hour day in 1886, secured it in several trades and secured a reduction in the hours of labor in nearly all trades and callings. The movement for the shorter work day gained momentum every year and every month and every week and every hour.

I grant you that we did not secure the eight-hour day nor the shorter work day as fast as we wanted it. I am as impatient as any man can be at the slowness of the progress, but the thing is of slow growth, slow success, but of natural success, natural development and natural achievement. The whole case was given away by one of the delegates who favors the eight-hour work

day by law, when he said, "It is so much easier!" Somehow or other there are people who think they can find the easy way in the travail of the world; they fail to understand that there must be struggle and travail in the natural growth of human development. There are people who are afraid of the battle and the battle scars; they want to run away from them and think they can do it by dropping a ballot in the ballot box, forgetful of the fact that power is gravitating from the ballot box in politics to the industrial field of human activity.

Year after year and decade after decade you will find that that gravitation has gone on and will go on. I am unwilling as one to place within the power of a political agent, call him what you please, the right to govern my industrial liberty, or the industrial freedom of my fellow workers. There never was a government in the history of the world and there is not one today that, when a critical moment came, did not exercise tyranny over the people. The second premise of the advocates of the eight-hour law is this: They imagine, or back in their brain is this thought, that these working people are unorganizable, that the working people are unorganizable and therefore the strong arm of the law should come in and "protect" them.

Now, there is nothing more unstable and untrue than that any working people are unorganizable. You may work for weeks and months and years upon some workers and apparently not move them, not make an impression upon them; but there comes a time, through the exercise of some special injustice by a great corporation or employer, when the spark that had remained untouched in the human is stimulated and they organize and fight as people in their mood and condition will fight, and they organize and struggle and bear burdens and make sacrifices in order to secure the best conditions of hours, wages, and treatment—and their rights.

No country has been so blessed (?) with legislation governing the working man as Australia and Australasia. I have been in constant touch with the men in the Australasian labor movement. While in this convention I have received a letter from Melbourne in which it is declared that the trade union movement

is becoming weakened and enfeebled and that only here and there, when the workers either strike or threaten to go on strike, do they receive any consideration. But when they do strike or threaten to strike they lay themselves open to lashing and whipping and incarceration in prisons.

On August 14th I received a letter from brother John Fitzpatrick in which he recounted several of the conditions prevailing and the activities of the workers to secure a day of rest in each week for the workers in some of the institutions in the State. After recounting the successes of himself and his associates he says: "So what we failed to get by law we got through our unions."

If to secure the eight-hour day by law has any merit in it at all it must of necessity mean that the eight-hour work day limitation would apply to all workers, not a few, not a majority, not two-thirds, not nine-tenths, but to all.

One of the best writers for labor journals is Mr. Wallace of the United Mine Workers, who I think must stand in the front rank. He published an editorial a few months ago in which I think he put the best foot forward that could be put forward in behalf of that proposition. And because it was done in so courteous and kindly and intelligent a way, despite the fact that I was crowded with work, I undertook to write a reply which was published in the Mine Workers' Journal. In publishing my reply in the same issue, and following it, he made this comment: "I do not believe there are many who hope or expect to bring about the eight-hour day through the mere passage of a law to the effect that eight hours shall constitute a day's work." In other words, the very thought upon which such a law is predicated is that they do not expect the eight-hour day, even if they secured it by law, to be for all workers.

If the movement for the shorter workday were confined to the trades fighting for it and securing it, and that was the limit of the activity and influence, I might be persuaded to yield my judgment; but I ask whether it is not a fact that the trade-union movement has secured a shorter workday, not only for its members, but that in the past twenty

ty-five years, in every field of human activity, there has been a constant diminution in the hours of labor, of work, of service by every human being in the entire confines of America. The decrease has reached the mines, it has reached even to the steel trust, it has reached the workers of great corporations, it has reached the clerks in the stores, it has reached the domestic servants, it has reached business men, it has reached employers, it has reached professional men. There is no comparison between the hours of work and service performed now by the people of the United States and the hours of a third of a century ago—all through the activity of the trade-union movement.

Delegate Barnes referred to Mr. Ford. I shall not undertake to criticize that statement except to say this: Does he or any one else imagine the idea of putting into force the eight-hour day originated with Henry Ford? Say it is good, if you please, for him to have done it, but the thought behind it was the propelling force, the trade-union movement. I sometimes hear men say that this employer or that voluntarily increased wages when there is a great wave in the movement going on among organized workers to secure higher wages. Do you think the increases in wages are voluntary action, unprovoked or caused by nothing other than the philanthropy of the employers? It is the trade-union movement, the activity and the spirit and the militancy and the aggressiveness of the trade-union movement.

I ought to correct one part of the record of last year, at least for the edification of the delegates here. Last year I called attention to a pamphlet issued by those who were advocating the eight-hour workday by law and undertook to describe hurriedly as best I could the picture presented in that pamphlet—on the one side a ballot box, a beautiful calm ballot box; on the other a scene where people were being killed and shooting at each other, and behind them the smoke of factories. When I described that Delegate Germer said: "Ludlow." I had never been, and I have not yet been to Ludlow, but information given to me from reliable

sources is that there are no stacks and workshops and mills around Ludlow.

I refer to a pamphlet issued by our fellow delegate together with four of his associates. As soon as I received a copy of the pamphlet I wrote an editorial reply. It was contained in twenty-eight pages of the American Federationist. It was rather comprehensive, even if it did not suit our critics. They stated that I had taken twenty-eight pages of the American Federationist to answer or undertake to answer the pamphlet. I want to state that the pamphlet issued by them has thirty-two pages. In my reply I made one statement which I want to repeat here. The truth is it was the Socialist party that first made that declaration to secure the eight-hour day by law. It was predicated upon the motion of ballot-box mania, and it was for the purpose of injecting into the conventions and into the labor movement of America such questions as may tend to divide us so that we can scarcely work in harmony upon the noncontroversial questions of wages and hours and conditions of employment, and drive home every day, not once a year, but every day, the demands of Labor for a higher and better life.

I ask this question now: Supposing the American Federation of Labor at Philadelphia had declared for the eight-hour work day by law would the Socialist party have stood behind the American Federation of Labor in trying to secure that law from Congress? I will challenge any Socialist in this convention to answer that question in the affirmative.

Delegate Johnston: Mr. Chairman, I will say that we would.

Delegate Germer: I want to supplement Delegate Johnston's statement that the Socialist party will stand by the American Federation of Labor in securing the eight-hour law the same as they have other things.

President Gompers: And then nominate candidates against the men that are pledged to secure it. If we had waited for the support of the Socialist party we would never have secured the enactment of the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust law. Because we stood for that law we were denounced as capitalists' tools because we could not be swerved and side-tracked, and

the foremost of us who dared to stand true to our demand were stigmatized as if we were freebooters or traitors to the cause of Labor. And perhaps in the innocence of Delegate Johnston's mind he may be speaking what is in his heart, but he would be so disappointed because while he may be innocent others are not. There may be some who are not and who know, who would let you into the trap.

The miners' organization for the miners of Colorado, the metalliferous miners and the coal miners, tried to secure an eight-hour work day for their trade. The American Federation of Labor and its officers helped to the fullest of their ability. When the telegraphers asked for regulation of their hours of labor by law we aided them to the fullest extent of our ability. If the the miners want that regulation by law, if the telegraphers want that regulation by law, let them have it, but you cannot force it down the throats of other trade unionists and working men who understand the history and the tendency of such legislation. You cannot foist it upon us.

I am not afraid of a fight. I am not afraid of a struggle. I am not afraid of what the intensity of the struggle for right, for justice, for freedom, for a shorter work day means. I think I have a good understanding of the enemy of Labor. I think I understand a little more than some, the subtlety of their action and the knavishness of their activities. I am not willing to go into the spider's web with all the spider's golden trimmings or all his allurements.

I want freedom to act, and the only demand which I will make of Congress is to do for the workers what we cannot do for ourselves—where the Government is the employer to secure the shorter work day by law, because it can be secured no other way. But primarily I want the Government to secure to us by law the right to exert and exercise the normal human activities of self-development and associated effort, and to bear the burdens of the struggle for industrial improvement and freedom, and so that we may fight the battles, not by a piece of paper dropped in an urn or a beautifully carved ballot box, but by scars of battle, by the hunger of the stomach, of the weeping and the wailing of life, and still stand true to the

battle line of Labor. That is the fight I am making. I want freedom to fight and freedom to achieve and I will never consent to anything else.

A motion was made, seconded and carried that the debate be closed,

A roll call vote was requested on the motion to adopt the report of the committee. The request was supported by a sufficient number of delegates to require the calling of the roll.

Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

Ayes—Myrup, Goldstone, Schneider (R. C.), Noschang, Fischer, Felder, Shanessy, Tobin (J. M.), McGuire, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Metz, Howlett, McCarthy, Post, Swartz, Perkins, Gompers, Tracy, McNulty, Grimblot, Singer, Ford, Sweek, Feeney, Comerford, Hannahan, Glass, Moser, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Rickert, Larger, Schwarz, Altman (Victor), Daley (Margaret), Hayes (D. A.), Baxter, Campbell, Duncan, Garvey, Smart, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Flore, Sillesman, Farrell, Koveski, Raleigh, McSorley, Taggart, O'Connor (T. V.), Kean, Chlopek, Butler, Irwin, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers' Delegation (753 votes). Wilson (James), Forrest, Deviny, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson (Chas.), Menge, Duffy (J. P.), Printing Pressmen's Delegation (171 votes), Furuseth, Carney, Steidle, Hylen, Fleming, Griggs, Short, Clohessy, Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Casey (M.), Decker, Golden, Williams (T. J.), International Typographical Union Delegation (591 votes), Marks, Broden, Ryan (P. J.), Alden, Ogletree, Corcoran, Lortsen, Alleen, Rist, O'Dell, Hall, Townshend, Batchelor, Dale, McAndrews, Gles; representing 8,500 votes.

Nays—Foley (C. F.), Proebstle, Kugler, Raeder, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, McClory, Barnes (J. B.), Tobin (Sam), Barnes (J. M.), Johnston, Taylor, O'Connell, Wharton, Van Lear, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Hynes, Redding, Frayne, Moriarty, White (J. P.), Mitchell, Hayes (Frank J.), Green (Wm.), Walker, McDonald, Germer, Moore, Riordan, Roberts, McManus, Cannon, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Lent, Dunachie, McGliven, Gunther, Donlin, O'Connor (James), Printing Pressmen's Delegation (56 votes), Sultor, Weeks, Ware, Adams, Riley (J. F.), Guscetti, Gaviak, Shay, Barry, Suarez, Dolliver, Funder, Burk, Ernst, Fitzpatrick, Blakeley, Bourne, Lennon, Mayo, Smith (E. E.), Cotterill, Kennedy, Johnson (S. P.), Matheson; representing 6,396 votes.

Not voting—Mullaney, Abernathy, Kline, Kramer, Franklin, Hinzman, MacGowan, Sovey, O'Brien, Collins, Baine, Tobin (J. H.), O'Hare, McKenna, Beasley, Butterworth, MacPherson, Mueller, Kiernan, Conway, Christman, Zuckerman, Boyden, Gurney, Scoby, Schlesinger, Polakoff, Rowe, Clarke (W. P.), Mahoney, Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), O'Hara, Marshall, Ryan (P. F.), Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Brock, Morrison (H. L.), Letroadec,

Bock, Call, Miller (Owen), Slissman, Carey (D. A.), Schneider (G. J.), Quinn, Bergstrom, Woll, Wessel, Flaherty, Perham, Ramsay, Bode, Alexander, Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Hurley, Pettit, Hanley, Dolan, Freel, Sumner, Brown (J. G.), Evans (E. Lewis), Carraher, Hatch, Spiegl, Hansen, James (C. E.), Allen, Donoghue, Coffey, Cozzolino, Hayward, Casey (P. F.), Gossett, Kempton, Case, Weber, Schneider (H. R.), Harris, Ferguson, McGinley, Warden, Jennings, Farrow, Abrahams, Doyle, Neary, Hart, Sachs, Boswell, McGinley (Clara), Cavanagh, Keller, Smith (J. T.), Skemp (Meta), Porter, Holland, Spooner, Kraft, Hoehn, McGarry, Anderson (Ed), Leber, Reagan, Severance, Hauser, Lawson, Sleeman, Camomille, Gallagher, Castro, Ives, Dempsey, Kranefeld, Miller (E. D.), Fletcher, Woodmansee, Dean, Triska, Spear, McFarland, Dowler, Merchant, James (N. A.), Higgins, Voll, Sullivan (John), White (J. J.), Milton, Bomar, Holm, Alnsworth, Brown, Quesse, Driscoll, Hammerschlag, Bohm, Harrison, Corbley, Carter, Galvin, Foley (D. F.), Lamoreux, Joss, Riley (T. G.), Thompson, Ammon, Bevin, Bancroft; representing 4,061 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the result of the roll call: For the committee's report, 8,500; against the committee's report, 6,396.

The chair declared the report of the committee adopted.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee, as follows:

The committee reports and recommends the adoption of the following:

That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use its endeavors to have the various heads of departments of the United States see to it, through their respective subordinate officials and inspectors, that the Federal eight-hour law is observed by the contractors doing work for the Federal Government, so that all infractions of this law can be prosecuted by the Department of Justice, through the evidence submitted by the aforementioned subordinate officials and inspectors connected with the office of supervising architects, the Secretary of the Treasury and any other official that has charge of contract work for the Federal Government.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 162—By the Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The year 1915 has been made memorable in the history of our country by the presentation to the world by the people of San Francisco, of Cali-

fornia, of states of the Union and foreign countries, of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, an exposition unparalleled in magnificence and unsurpassed in architectural and artistic beauty, education and fraternal advantage; and

WHEREAS, The people of San Francisco, when seeking national and state recognition, through their representatives, made certain promises as to the manner in which this exposition would be builded and maintained, which promises could only be fulfilled by a people of undaunted courage and unlimited resourcefulness; and

WHEREAS, The people of San Francisco, through the exposition management, controlled by the directors of the exposition, have shown to the world the effectiveness of the conceptions of master minds executed by skilled artisans under the general atmosphere and support of a patriotic, harmonious and peace-loving people; and

WHEREAS, It has been conducted as the people's exposition, in which every detail and feature has been worked out to the last degree in order that all persons, regardless of position, class or station, rich or poor, great or small, have felt a just and patriotic pride in its being; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the most earnest and hearty congratulations of the Federation be and hereby are extended to the directors and officers of the exposition, to the city of San Francisco and State of California, and especially to the people of our country, upon the successful outcome of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, for the tremendous influence for good which it will exert generally and through it the advancement which will be attained in the social, fraternal and commercial relations among and between the peoples and nations of the whole world.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 163—By the Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That the ladies in attendance as delegates and the other ladies present in connection with the convention adopt this method of expressing their sincere appreciation for the unflinching kindly and thoughtful consideration for their comfort and pleasure which has been shown by the ladies of San Francisco and the Committee on Entertainment of the San Francisco Labor Council.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 164—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, hereby express our unqualified

praise for the generous spirit of welcome to California and San Francisco which was extended to us by Gov. Hiram Johnson and Mayor James Rolph, Jr., and the official representatives of the State Federation of Labor, the Labor Council and the Building Trades Council, and that we express our gratification and sincere approval for the masterful, comprehensive and emphatic endorsement given to the ideals, accomplishments and value to the nation's welfare of our trade-union movement by Governor Johnson, Mayor Rolph and President Moore of the Panama-Pacific Exposition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the local Committee on Arrangements and Entertainment has fully earned our unqualified and unstinted approval for the many provisions which it made for our enjoyment and for the various entertainments which were provided, including the automobile ride and the visit to the most magnificent exposition grounds which the genius and energy of man has yet provided, the buildings of which were constructed by the trades unionists of San Francisco; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we express our heartfelt appreciation for the bounteous hospitality extended to us by the trade unionists of Vallejo; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we express our sincere admiration for the kindly and cordial interest which has been shown by the wives and daughters of San Francisco trades unionists and for the spirit of generous sociability which they have at all times manifested for the comfort and enjoyment of our lady delegates and the other delegates in attendance at the convention.

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention throughout the discussions of the subjects which came before them have again given indication of that manly spirit of forbearance and true courtesy towards each other which makes it possible to accomplish constructive work in the interests of our movement and which develop the intellect and broaden the mental horizon of those who attend, better qualifying them to labor more effectively and with still greater success for the growth of our trade union organizations and their efforts to establish a larger measure of social and industrial justice.

The resolution was, adopted unanimously.

Respectfully submitted,
 JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman;
 MATT COMERFORD,
 G. W. PERKINS,
 B. A. LARGER,
 E. M. WARE,
 J. FISCHER,
 J. A. FRANKLIN,
 HUGH STEVENSON,
 A. P. SOVEY,
 JOHN A. VOLL,
 J. W. MORTON,
 EDWARD J. MCGIVERN,
 J. J. DEVINY,
 J. J. GLASS,
 JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

Upon motion the report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Secretary Frey: It was my pleasure to serve as the labor representative in the investigation that was made of scientific management. I had the opportunity of going into the principal establishments where the so-called scientific system has been introduced to study its injurious effects upon the workers, organized and unorganized. The investigator of the Commission on Industrial Relations has made a report with which I am in accord, but I felt it my duty to prepare a report for the benefit of the labor movement. I will present to President Gompers my report upon scientific management of labor.

President Gompers: The pamphlet as such is presented to the American Federation of Labor for its use in the interests of truth. If there be no objection, it will be so accepted. It is so accepted.

Delegate Alden moved that the entire discussion on the question of the eight-hour day by trade union activity be printed in the proceedings. Seconded.

Delegate Fitzpatrick: The chair made a statement that Delegate Fitzpatrick used the language of the enemies of the labor movement. I want to resent that and say it is undeserved. I don't think the chair intended it, but if this matter is going to be published it is unjust that that language be used in the way it was presented by the chair.

President Gompers: I think I said Delegate Fitzpatrick innocently used the argument of the enemies. I think John Fitzpatrick knows I would not attribute to him anything that would be unjust to his position, or to his character, or to his manhood. It is a common thing for the enemies of the movement to say that we represent only two per cent. of the people of the country. Brother Fitzpatrick made that statement and I wanted to take cognizance of it and make clear in his mind, as well as the minds of others, the truth, so that it would not be repeated again by those who now know.

Delegate Barnes moved that the statements of Delegate Fitzpatrick and President Gompers be inserted in the proceedings immediately following the discussion on Resolutions 80 and 152.

After a brief discussion the motion offered by Delegate Barnes was lost.

The motion to print the discussion in full was carried.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.) moved that the convention adjourn *sine die*.

President Gompers: Before putting the motion, the chair desires to express earnest hope for the safe return of the delegates. Despite feeling here and there, which men entertain in sincerely pressing upon the convention their thoughts and their views and their hopes, and which no assemblage of real red-blooded men can avoid in fighting for that in which they believe, there is not in my whole make-up a feeling or thought of resentment, even of criticism when undeserved. My thoughts and hopes for the labor movement are for a constant

growth and progress and triumph for all our present ideas and ideals, and that the coming year in our movement may be more prolific of success in bringing hope, and cheer, and comfort, and independence, and character among the toilers of our country and of the world. That is my earnest and fervent hope. All success to our movement, the American Federation of Labor, which has weathered so many storms and has come out of them stronger and more virile than before.

The motion to adjourn was put to the house and carried, and at 8:30 p. m., Monday, November 22nd, the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco, Cal., was adjourned *sine die*.

Frank Morrison

Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

J. J. Bonnington

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION

OF

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

November 13 to 25, Inclusive

1916



THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1916

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1917

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Thirty-Sixth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	10	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Eleventh st., Elmhurst, L. I.
		59	A. A. Myrup, 212 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	58	R. C. Schneider, 29 Oakland st., Salem, Mass.
		58	J. Goldstone, 326 Bushwick Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		72	Frank X. Noschang, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		72	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	72	James C. Shanessy, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		72	C. M. Felder, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.
		71	C. F. Foley, 240 N. Second st., Pottsville, Pa.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	15	Leon Reeves, care of Room 809, Fitzgerald Building, New York, N. Y.
		33	James W. Kiline, 1270 Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....	3	32	Wm. F. Kramer, 1270-1285 Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		32	J. F. McGrath, 518 W. Third st., Sedalia, Mo.
		46	J. A. Franklin, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		46	A. Hinzman, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of.....	4	45	M. J. McGuire, 288 Guerro ave., San Francisco, Cal.
		45	Charles McGowan, 2104 Third ave., Rock Island, Ill.
		31	A. P. Sovey, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31	James Bruff, 1915 E. Federal st., Baltimore, Md.
		31	Mary Conroy, 700 E. Biddle st., Baltimore, Md.
		78	John F. Tobin, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		78	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	78	Collis Lovely, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		78	Gad Martindale, 10 Elm st., Rochester, N. Y.
		78	George McCarthy, 170 Campbell st., New Bedford, Mass.
		100	Joseph Proebstle, Station E, Box 29, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		99	Albert J. Kugler, 135 Wegman Parkway, Jersey City, N. J.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United.....	5	99	John Rader, Station E, Box 28, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		99	John Sullivan, 126 E. 98th st., New York City.
		99	Joseph Obergfell, Station E, Box 28, Cincinnati, Ohio.

ORGANISATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union.....	5	140 140 140 140 140	William J. Bowen, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind. William Dobson, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind. Thomas R. Preece, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind. Peter S. Shaughnessy, cor. Monroe and Peoria sts., Chicago, Ill. George Jones, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International.....	1	32	Frank Butterworth, 2341 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of.....	3	34 33 33	Jos. E. McClory, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind. Sam Tobin, American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind. P. J. Morrin, 1102 Morrison ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union.....	1	8 77	W. R. Boyer, 851 King Place, Chicago, Ill. Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	77 77 76	W. J. Adames, 508 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo. Theodore Thompson, Route 4, Box 42, Fort Worth, Texas. George A. Nolte, 2219 N. Delaware st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	7	283 283 283 282 282 282	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind. Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind. O. E. Woodbury, 444 E. Forty-third st., Chicago, Ill. W. E. Hemsell, Labor Temple, Fort Worth, Texas. E. W. Van Duyn, 517 Franklin ave., Des Moines, Iowa. Bob White, 1614 W. Thirty-second st., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, International Union of.....	1	282	J. A. Ross, 813 Oakwood st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	5	40 76 76 75 75	Wm. MacPherson, 839 Lyman ave., Oak Park, Ill. G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill. Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Phil H. Mueller, 615 Chestnut st., St. Louis, Mo. J. Mahlon Barnes, 355 N. Tenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	1	75	W. A. Campbell, Room 940, Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	2	42 26	Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 400, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. W. V. H. Bright, Room 407, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clerks, Railway Postal.....	1	25	Charles E. Myers, 1918 Waite ave., Toledo, Ohio.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	3	27 50 50	Carl Freeman, Room 411, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. E. E. Baker, New Philadelphia, Ohio. H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind. Jacob Koch, 238 Houston ave., Evansville, Ind.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANISATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.....	1	14	Henry Kuhlmann, 304 Rodney st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	36	Frank A. Scoby, 755 E. Seventh st., Red Wing, Minn.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....	1	3	Andries Meyer, 323 Washington st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		91	F. J. McNulty, Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
		91	James P. Noonan, Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	90	Edw. F. Kloter, 214 Reliance Building, 32 Union Square, New York City.
		90	Frank Fisher, 403 Park ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	1	28	Frank Feeney, 708 S. Fifty-second st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		53	Milton Snellings, 6334 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....	4	53	James G. Hannahan, 6334 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
		52	E. L. Edgerton, 211 Post Standard Building, Syracuse, N. Y.
		52	Herman M. Comerford, 696 Washington st., Boston, Mass.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	2	26	Matthew Wolf, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
		25	Louis A. Schwarz, 5609 Germantown ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
		43	Timothy Healy, 226 E. Thirty-fifth st., New York City.
Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....	4	43	C. L. Shamp, 3615 N. Twenty-fourth st., Omaha, Nebr.
		42	Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		42	William J. Brennan, 66 S. Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, International.....	1	57	Albert W. Miller, 1181 Broadway, New York City.
		86	T. A. Rickert, Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Ill.
		86	B. A. Larger, 116 Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	86	Victor Altman, 750 Ashland ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		86	Frank Doyle, 116 Bible House, New York City.
		86	Margaret C. Daley, 2825 W. 24th st. Coney Island, L. I., N. Y.
		142	Benjamin Schlesinger, 32 Union Square, New York City.
		142	Sarah Shapiro, 16 W. Twenty-first st., New York City.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	6	142	Morris Detch, 40 E. Twenty-third st., New York City.
		142	Jacob Heller, 33 Union Square, New York City.
		142	Max Gorenstein, 7 W. Twenty-first st., New York City.
		141	Abraham Rosenberg, 32 Union Square, New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	3	34	Denis A. Hayes, 930 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
		33	Jeese Steelman, Salem, N. J.
		33	George S. Lawson, 101 Sheridan ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.	3	32	Wm. F. P. Clarke, 738 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
		31	Geo. G. Roberts, 816 Ridgely st., Baltimore, Md.
		31	John F. Kennedy, 212 N. Henry st., Brooklyn N. Y.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	1	10	Elizabeth Christman, Room 709, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Granite Cutters, International Association of America, The	3	44	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass.
		44	Alex. W. Russell, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass.
		43	Henry Alexander, 13 Branch st., Barre Vermont.
Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United Cloth.	2	32	Max Zaritsky, 16-20 Seventh st., New York City.
		31	Ella Reeve Bloor, 130 E. Nineteenth st., New York City.
Hatters of North America, United	3	29	Martin Lawlor, 72-73 Bible House, New York City.
		28	Michael F. Greene, 45 Freeman st., Orange, N. J.
		28	Cornelius McCue, 251 Main st., Danbury, Conn.
Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	5	65	D. D'Alessandro, Box 597, Albany N. Y.
		65	J. B. Etchison, 551 Indiana ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		65	Joe Mareschi, 1055 N. Richmond st., Chicago, Ill.
		65	Alfonso D'Andrea, 820 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
		64	W. F. Dwyer, 200 Guerro st., San Francisco, Cal.
Horseshoers of the United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	2	29	Hubert S. Marshall, 809 Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		29	Lawrence Keefe, 37 Linden st., Allston, Mass.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	5	118	Edward Flore, 375 Oak st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		118	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		118	Edmond Raleigh, P. O. Box No. 893, Springfield, Mass.
		118	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
		118	Thomas S. Farrell, 310 Prospect ave. Southeast, Cleveland, Ohio.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of	2	34	John Williams, Room 506 House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		33	John J. Sullivan, 4532 Magoun ave., East Chicago, Ill.
Lace Operatives of America, The Chartered Society of Amalgamated	1	11	David L. Gould, 545 W. Lehigh ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	2	30	William J. McSorley, 406 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		30	John T. Taggart, 320 Highland ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union	1	43	James F. Brock, 799 Second ave., Troy, N. Y.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of	1	18	W. E. Bryan, 504-505 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada	2	21	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		21	James M. O'Connor, 141 Rockaway ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	4	63	Thos. V. O'Connor, 704 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		63	Paul A. Vaccarelli, 1475 Broadway, New York City.
		62	Thomas Harrison, 618 Phillip st., New Orleans, La.
		62	John T. Joy, 59 Upper Water st., Halifax, N. S.
		202	Wm. H. Johnston, 310 McGill Building, Washington, D. C.
		202	Thos. Van Lear, 2395 University ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	202	A. O. Wharton, Ghio Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		202	James O'Connell, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		201	J. A. Taylor, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of.....	2	45	Hy. Irwin, Cotter Hotel, Kansas City, Mo.
		44	W. B. Nichols, 517 Third st., Hinton, W. Va.
Marble Workers, International Association of.....	1	6	Stephen C. Hogan, 406 E. One Hundred and Forty-ninth st., New York City.
Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of.....	1	40	R. S. Lavender, 505 E. Baltimore st., Baltimore, Md.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	2	37	Homer D. Call, 214 May ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
		36	Dennis Lane, 532 W. Forty-third place, Chicago, Ill.
		44	John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		44	Thos. Redding, 5019 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....	4	44	Jas. T. Moriarty, 9 Appleton st., Boston, Mass.
		43	Hugh Frayne, Bartholdi Building, 2 E. Twenty-third st., New York City.
		398	John P. White, 1106 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		398	Frank J. Hayes, 1109 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		398	William Green, 1107 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		398	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	397	Duncan McDonald, 505 Farmers' Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		397	John H. Walker, Danville, Ill.
		397	John Moore, 77 Ruggery Building, Columbus, Ohio.
		397	Frank Farrington, 508 Farmers Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		41	Charles H. Moyer, 503-510 Denham Building, Denver, Colo.
Miners, Western Federation of.....	4	40	P. T. Beardon, Box 473, Anaconda, Mont.
		40	Joseph D. Cannon, 63 W. Ninety-first st., New York City.
		40	Augustus F. Lindemann, P. O. Box 156, Route 1, Wharton, N. J.
		100	Joseph F. Valentine, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	5	100	J. C. McCormick, 810 Chestnut st., Room 302, St. Louis, Mo.
		100	Chas. B. Torpey, 322 Perry Building, Sixteenth and Chestnut sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
		100	Fred Prudhomme, 723 Cass ave., Detroit, Mich.

ORGANISATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	4	150	Joseph W. Weber, 110-112 W. Fortieth st., New York City.
		150	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.
		150	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		150	Charles A. Carbon, 1123 Moore st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		131	Geo. F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	131	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		130	John J. Lynch, 114 Sudbury st., Boston, Mass.
		130	P. J. Guerin, 318 Fourth st., Troy, N. Y.
		130	Al. J. McKeon, P. O. Box 914, Bridgeport, Conn.
		130	Emil Arnold, 5023 Strong st., Chicago, Ill.
Papermakers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	26	J. T. Carey, 127 N. Pearl st., Albany, N. Y.
		26	George J. Schneider, 941 State st., Appleton, Wis.
Patternmakers' League of North America.....	2	33	James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		32	James L. Gernon, 411 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	15	Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. Fifty-seventh st., New York City.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	33	Carl Bergstrom, Lock Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
		46	Ed. J. McGivern, 1 Harvard st., Arlington Heights, Mass.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	46	John Donlin, 302 W. Twelfth st., Chicago, Ill.
		46	Peter G. Cook, 36 Union Road, Roselle Park, N. J.
		46	Wm. A. O'Keefe, 3903 Juniata st., St. Louis, Mo.
		80	John R. Alpine, 411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Thomas S. Kearney, Room 602, 64 W. Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	4	80	Charles M. Rau, 112 N. LaSalle st., Room 37, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Charles Anderson, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		107	W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		107	George Leary, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		106	H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard ave., W. Pullman Station, Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	39	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		38	George Chadwick, 314 Ogden st., E. Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers Union of North America, Steel and Copper Plate.....	1	12	John J. Deviny, Star Building, Washington, D. C.
		73	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, International.....	4	73	Henry J. Hardy, 12 N. Liberty st., Baltimore, Md.
		72	George Scheid, 1520 N. Rose st., Baltimore, Md.
		72	Henry Nau, 16 E. Hamilton ave., Baltimore, Md.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	35	Fred W. Sultor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
		182	W. D. Mahon, 104 E. High st., Detroit, Mich.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	4	162	Rezin Orr, 104 E. High st., Detroit, Mich.
		161	William Taber, 138 N. La Salle st., Room 55, Chicago, Ill.
		161	John T. McGrath, 130 Stone ave., Scranton, Pa.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	1	12	Jeremiah T. Hurley, 413 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.
Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile.....	1	6	J. M. Gaviak, 3643 W. Forty-seventh st., Cleveland, Ohio.
		55	Andrew Furuseth, 57 Clay st., San Francisco, Cal.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	4	54	Patrick Flynn, 58 Commercial st., San Francisco, Cal.
		54	Paul Scharrenberg, 59 Clay st., San Francisco, Cal.
		54	Harry P. Griffin, 422 Avenue C. W., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	1	9	A. E. Adams, Hotel Warner, Thirty-third and Cottage Grove ave., Chicago, Ill.
Spinners' International Union.....	1	22	Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman st., Holyoke, Mass.
		46	Charles C. Shay, 107 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
Stage Employees of America, International Alliance Theatrical.....	4	45	Wm. J. Canavan, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
		45	L. G. Dolliver, 68 Haight st., San Francisco, Cal.
		45	John Suarez, 16 S. Sixth st., St. Louis, Mo.
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of.....	1	20	W. M. Welsh, Room 303, 39 Cortland st., New York City.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	25	James J. Freal, 1839 Eighty-fifth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		24	Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive st., Kansas City, Mo.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	22	Sam Griggs, American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		21	James A. Short, 1245 Farwell ave., Chicago, Ill.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	12	W. L. Funder Burk, 1210 Jefferson ave., East, Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	47	W. H. Burt, 3321a Cherokee st., St. Louis, Mo.
		46	F. J. Sheehan, 326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		40	Thos. Sweeney, cor. E. Sixty-seventh st. and Stony Island ave., Chicago, Ill.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	40	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	D. G. Biggs, 250 Twelfth st., Portland, Ore.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	27	Ida L. M. Fursman, 4465 N. Kildare ave., Chicago, Ill.
		118	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	118	Thos. L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		118	John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline st., Boston, Mass.
		118	Wm. A. Neer, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		118	James E. Wilson, 536 Bryant st., San Francisco, Cal.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	4	63	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		63	H. G. Alexander, Greensboro, N. C.
		62	D. G. Ramsey, Unity Building, Chicago, Ill.
		62	J. B. Bode, care of B. & M. Ry., Chelsea Station, Boston, Mass.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	1	10	S. J. Konenkamp, 669-71 Transportation Building, Chicago, Ill.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	4	64	John Golden, 86-87 Bible House, New York City.
		64	Sara A. Conboy, 86-87 Bible House, New York City.
		64	Jesse Walker, 152 Lehigh ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
		63	Tobias Hall, 2063 E. Letterly st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic.....	1	28	Thos. J. Williams, Room 500 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of.....	1	2	Louis A. B. Agethen, 547 Chauncer st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	34	E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Building, Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....	1	27	Thomas J. Curtis, 3067 Hull ave., New York City.
		122	Marsden G. Scott, 635 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		122	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
Typographical Union, International.....	5	121	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		121	H. W. Dennett, 748 W. Seventeenth st., Los Angeles, Cal.
		121	Hugh Stevenson, 97 Leuty ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	1	39	James H. Hatch, 229 E. Sixty-seventh st., New York City.
White Rats Actors' Union of America.....	2	45	James William Fitz Patrick, 13 Wall st., Waterbury, Conn.
		45	Harry Mountford, 673 Broadway, New York City.
Arizona State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. S. McCluskey, P. O. Box 956, Miami, Ariz.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	D. P. Haggerty, 1071 Treat ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Julius C. Stremblau, 9 Gladwin place, Meriden, Conn.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	O. A. Cone, Box 14, La Grange, Georgia.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robt. G. Fitchie, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William Mitch, 210-214 Odd Fellows' Building, Terre Haute, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Crellin, Marshalltown, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank B. Brown, 1244 Polk st., Topeka, Kans.
Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Norman Sprague, 1523 Twenty-second st., Northwest, Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph J. Hunt, 44 I st., Boston, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Claude O. Taylor, Observer Office, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles E. James, 309 Wabasha st., St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles A. Patterson, 111 E. Eighth st., Joplin, Mo.

DELEGATES TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 531 Diamond st., Butte, Mont.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. J. Cozzolino, 262 Washington st., Newark, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James P. Holland, 211 E. Forty-fifth st., New York City.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	O. R. Jarrett, 18 Olive st., Asheville, N. C.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry W. Ralsse, 1200 Ansel rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ben Osborne, care of 302 Oregonian Building, Portland, Ore.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Daniel A. Post, 416 S. Main st., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Porto Rico, Free Federation of Workmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, P. O. Box 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Albert E. Hohler, Pawtucket, R. I.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Albert Rich, Box 442, Port Arthur, Tex.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	P. W. Dowler, 1620 Fourth ave., Seattle, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Walter B. Hilton, 1506 Market st., Wheeling, W. Va.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, Room 4, United Mine Workers of America Building, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Anaconda, Montana, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. C. Lucey, 613 E. Seventh st., Anaconda, Mont.
Atlanta, Georgia, Federation of Trades	1	1	Joseph A. Shearer, Atlanta, Ga.
Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John S. Bennett, 265 Mt. Vernon ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Ferguson, 2715 Jefferson st., Baltimore, Md.
Bisbee, Arizona, Warren District Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Frank L. Homan, Box 1773, Bisbee, Ariz.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	P. H. Jennings, 39 Sixth st., S. Boston, Mass.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. Gerry Brown, 22 Brett st., Brockton, Mass.
Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	S. A. Hayward, care of 312 Law Exchange Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Champaign and Urbana, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. L. Kiser, 506 S. Third st., Champaign, Ill.
Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. L. Pauley, 610 Ohio st., Charleston, W. Va.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jake Cohen, care of 11 Market Square, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas F. Kennedy, 605 S. East ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Andrew McAndrews, care of 31 E. Twelfth st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cle Elum, Wash., Roslyn Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert Harlin, Cle Elum, Wash.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Hahn, 2067 W. Fifty-Third st., Cleveland, Ohio.
Decatur, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Emil Seidel, 974 E. Prairie ave., Decatur, Ill.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John A. McDonald, care of 205 Equity Building, Detroit, Mich.
El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lee Alexander, P. O. Box 301, El Paso, Tex.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Fort Edward, N. Y., Trades Assembly	1	1	James G. Young, 43 McCrea st., Fort Edward, N. Y.
Granite City, Ill., Tri-City Trades Council.....	1	1	William H. Ballard, 2050 E st., Granite City, Ill.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. D. O'Dell, 171 Young st., Hamilton, Ont., Can.
Herrin, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	Hugh Willis, 612 S. Twenty-second st., Herrin, Ill.
Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. S. Alden, 189 High st., Holyoke, Mass.
Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Theo. M. Brandle, 642 Newark ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Joplin, Mo., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	John H. Boos, Box 402, Joplin, Mo.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council.....	1	1	John T. Smith, New Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	T. L. Gregson, 1448 E. Sixty-ninth st., Chicago, Ill.
Lansford, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John B. Breslin, Lansford, Pa.
Linton, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. L. Sims, Box 161, Linton, Ind.
Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Andrew A. Hill, 1113 Ringo st., Little Rock, Ark.
Los Angeles, Cal., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John Murray, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Phil Ossmann, 205 Franck ave., Louisville, Ky.
Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Connell, 125 Crown st., Meriden, Conn.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	James P. Ogletree, care of 319 Deaderick st., Nashville, Tenn.
Millinocket, Me., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Walter E. Gagnon, Millinocket, Me.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Henry F. Hilfers, 68 S. Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union.....	1	1	Robert P. Brindell, 1890 Daly ave., The Bronx, N. Y.
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	D. J. O'Shea, Erickson place, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. A. Davis, Norfolk, Va.
Oatman, Ariz., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. C. Stephens, Box 395, Oatman, Ariz.
Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	Henry Betcher, 420 Main St., Olympia, Wash.
Orange, N. J., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Ed. J. Henry, 96 Hill st., Orange, N. J.
Ottawa, Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, Box 515, Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Philadelphia, Pa., and vicinity Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Ben Harrison, 809 N. Eleventh st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron City Trades Council.....	1	1	Edward F. Bauldauf, 3023 Vancroft st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pittston, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	I. N. Cathrall, 310 Exeter st., Pittston, Pa.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Bradley, 186 Mill st., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Port Chester, N. Y., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William Rander, 562 Willett ave., Port Chester, N. Y.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Richard A. Cooney, Portsmouth, N. H.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Richmond, Ind., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert E. Graham, Richmond, Ind.
Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Adams Wilkinson, Box 1257, Billings, Mont.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred A. Heller, 3922 Michigan ave., St. Louis, Mo.
San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. O'Connell, Labor Temple, Sixteenth and Capp sts., San Francisco, Cal.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Arthur G. Lewis, Scranton, Pa.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Edward W. Leonard, 335 Avenue B, Schenectady, N. Y.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	R. L. Brazzle, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Sharon, Pa., United Labor League.....	1	1	David Niven, Box 424, Sharon, Pa.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Sam Grimblot, care of 7750 Bond ave., South Chicago, Ill.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 407 Myers Building, Springfield, Ill.
Temple, Texas, Central Trades Council.....	1	1	H. S. Newland, 506 S. Eleventh st., Temple, Tex.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	John H. Kennedy, 588 Gladstone ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Lemke, 160 Third st., Troy, N. Y.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John H. Lorch, 1228 B st., Southeast, Washington, D. C.
Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Louis Leonard, 111 Nineteenth st., Wheeling, W. Va.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John T. Windell, Box 277, Yonkers, N. Y.
Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress.....	1	1	M. C. Higgins, 299 Scott st., Youngstown, Ohio.
Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. Voll, 134 Hamline ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Apartment House Janitors and Elevator Operators' Union, No. 14936.....	1	1	William P. O'Donnell, 25 Aberdeen st., Boston, Mass.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union, No. 12646.....	1	2	Raymond Wilcox, 444 Pearl st., care of The New York Call, New York City.
Bottle, Cap, Cork and Stoppers Workers' Union, No. 10875.....	1	3	Edmund P. Walters, 2416 E. Biddle st., Baltimore, Md.
Celluloid and Tortoise Shell Workers' Union, No. 15189.....	1	3	Harry Kritzer, 60 Graham ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union, No. 11959.....	1	10	James J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Employees' Union No. 14374.....	1	1	Roy E. Peabody, care of 748 Pacific Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Federal Employees' Union No. 14632.....	1	6	H. M. McLaren, 410 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Federal Labor Union, No. 11796.....	1	1	Charles H. Ernst, 514 19th st., Pacific Grove, Cal.
Federal Labor Union, No. 12776.....	1	3	Miss Gertrude M. McNally, 1242 Jackson st., Northeast, Washington, D. C.
Federal Labor Union, No. 12985.....	1	5	G. H. Curry, care of 1311 Schley ave., Butte, Mont.
Federal Labor Union, No. 14781.....	1	6	Clifford C. Dane, Federation Hall, New Glasgow, N. S.
Federal Labor Union, No. 14949.....	1	6	William Zaranko, 64 E. Fourth st., New York City.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Federal Watchmen's Union, No. 14964	1	1	Henry A. Raines, 238 Thirteenth st., Southwest, Washington, D. C.
Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union, United, No. 14569	1	3	Melinda Scott, 43 E. Twenty-second st., New York City.
Grain Workers' Association, No. 11407	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City.
Grocery Handlers, Porters, and Warehousemen's Union, No. 14960	1	2	Michael A. Murray, 86 Horatio st., New York City.
Hair Spinners' Protective Union, No. 12353	1	1	Joseph A. Wieber, 3704 Old Frederick road, Baltimore, Md.
Hospital Nurses and Attendants' Union, No. 14714	1	2	James Coen, Kankakee, Ill.
Laborers' Protective Union, No. 14953	1	1	John J. Coleman, 253 Green st., Schenectady, N. Y.
Laborers' Protective Union, No. 15037	1	1	Richard Taylor, 318 Oakdale st., Northwest, Washington, D. C.
Marble Mosaic, Terrazzo and Composite Workers' Union, No. 14668	1	1	Ignatius McNulty, 90 O st., South Boston, Mass.
Mineral Water Workers' Union, No. 12674	1	1	Sam Leibowitz, 175 E. Broadway, New York City.
Newsboys' Protective Union, No. 10952	1	1	Michael Morris, 1627 St. Dominique st., Montreal, Can.
Office Employees' Association, No. 12755	1	1	Mabel H. Hudson, 803 W. Madison st., Chicago, Ill.
Optical Workers' Protective Union, No. 15015	1	1	Louis A. De Sautis, 183 Sullivan st., New York City.
Paving Inspectors' Union, No. 14883	1	1	William F. Peters, 1011 Rush st., Chicago, Ill.
Pipe Caulkers and Tappers' Union, No. 7348	1	1	Frank A. Byrne, 1428 E. Tenth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Saw Mill and Timber Workers' Union, No. 15311	1	1	T. M. Master, Johnson City, Tenn.
Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union, No. 14872	1	1	George Rincker, R. F. D., No. 1, Elmhurst, Ill.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 11597	1	1	Harry Hollis, 435 Bancroft st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 11773	1	2	W. M. Pollock, 2006 Columbia road, Northwest, Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 13188	1	1	Frederick W. Ely, 1215 Lombard st., San Francisco, Cal.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 14268	1	1	E. R. Browder, Curtice Building, 813 Walnut st., Kansas City, Mo.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 14965	1	1	Stuart Chase, 84 State st., Boston, Mass.
Sugar Workers' Union, No. 15019	1	2	Charles Meinert, 2401 Twenty-third st., San Francisco, Cal.
Yeast Workers' Union, No. 14639	1	1	F. L. Rodgers, 2806 Douglas st., Washington, D. C.
British Trades Union Congress	2	1	H. Gosling, 31 Great Prescott st., London East, England.
		1	W. Whitefield, care of C. W. Bowerman, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W. C. England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	Thomas W. Stevenson, Labor Temple, Toronto, Ont., Can.

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
National Women's Trade Union League	1		Mary Anderson, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Women's International Union Label League.....	1		Anna Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan ave., Chicago, Ill.
Farmers' National Congress.....	3		J. H. Kimble, Port Deposit, Md. L. B. Strayer, Rock Island, Ill.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.....	2		J. H. Patten, Belton, S. C. Rev. Shaller Matthews, School of Divinity, University of Chicago, Ill. Rev. Charles Stelzle, Fifth Avenue Building, New York City.

Number of Unions.	NAME.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
95	National and International.....	255	20,973
26	State.....	26	26
67	Central.....	67	67
36	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	36	77
6	Fraternal Organizations.....	10	3
230		394	21,146

List of Fraternal Delegates

To British Trades Union Congress.	From British Trades Union Congress.
1895 Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire. 1896 J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser. Martin Fox. 1897 Geo. E. McNeill. James Duncan. 1898 Harry Lloyd. James O'Connell. 1899 Thomas F. Tracy. J. M. Hunter. 1900 Sidney J. Kent. Daniel J. Keefe. 1901 Eugene F. O'Rourke. Patrick Dolan. 1902 Henry Blackmore. Max S. Hayes. 1903 Martin Lawlor. W. D. Ryan. 1904 D. D. Driscoll. John A. Moffitt. 1905 James Wood. Frank K. Foster. 1906 James Wilson. John T. Dempsey. 1907 W. E. Klapetzky. Andrew Furuseth. 1908 James J. Creamer. John P. Frey. 1909 B. A. Langer. W. B. Wilson. 1910 T. V. O'Connor. Wm. B. Macfarlane. 1911 Daniel J. Tobin. George L. Berry. 1912 John H. Walker. Chas. L. Baine. 1913 Louis Kemper. W. D. Mahon. 1914 Matthew Woll.* W. D. Mahon. 1915 Matthew Woll.*** W. D. Mahon. 1916 Matthew Woll. John Golden. 1917 Frank Farrington.	1894 John Burns. David Holmes. Edward Cowey. 1895 James Mawdaley. Sam Woods. 1896 John Mallinson. Edward Harford. 1897 J. Havelock Wilson. William Inskip. 1898 William Thorne. James Haslam. 1899 Alexander Wilkie. John Weir. 1900 Pete Curran. Frank Chandler. 1901 Ben Tillett. M. Arrandale. 1902 E. Edwards. William Mullin. 1903 James O'Grady. William Abraham. 1904 James Wignall. William Moses. 1905 David Gilmour. Allen Gee. 1906 J. N. Bell. David J. Shackleton. 1907 John Hodge. John Wadsworth. 1908 H. Skinner. A. H. Gill. 1909 J. R. Clynes. W. Brace. 1910 Ben Turner. G. H. Roberts. 1911 J. Orinon. J. A. Seddon. 1912 R. Smillie. I. H. Gwynne. 1913 T. Greenall. ** 1914 C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin. 1915 H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.
To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
1898 Thomas I. Kidd. 1899 James H. Sullivan. 1900 W. D. Mahon. 1901 John R. O'Brien. 1902 D. D. Driscoll. 1903 John Coleman. 1904 John H. Richards. 1905 Frank Feeney. 1906 Thomas A. Rickert. 1907 Robert S. Maloney. 1908 Hugh Frayne. 1909 Jerome Jones. 1910 John J. Manning. 1911 Wm. J. Tracy. 1912 John T. Smith. 1913 Wm. J. McSorley. 1914 M. M. Denoghue. 1915 H. J. Conway. 1916 Harry P. Corcoran. 1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1898 David A. Carey. 1899 David A. Carey. 1900 David A. Carey. 1901 P. M. Draper. 1902 John H. Kennedy. 1903 James Simpson. 1904 John A. Flett. 1905 William V. Todd. 1906 Samuel L. Landers. 1907 W. R. Trotter. 1908 P. M. Draper. 1909 F. Bancroft. 1910 R. P. Pettipiece. 1911 Wm. Glocking. 1912 John W. Bruce. 1913 Gus Francq. 1914 R. A. Rigg. 1915 Fred Bancroft. 1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.

*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year.	City and State.	Date.
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.]
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Cal.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Cal.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1917

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the tolling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local or Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have

no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than September 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention

a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on September 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the *American Federationist*, and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn

on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council, organizers, or speakers engaged by them, shall be \$6.00 per day, hotel expense and actual railroad fare.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of three-fourths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1 of this Article has been paid in full to September 30 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates

from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

Sec. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

Sec. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

Sec. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated,

as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall

Immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four (\$4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than sixty

(60) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$1.00 or more than \$10.00, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax. In addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamp.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation: provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more

than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the union or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions: they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of that American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Rail-

way System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railroad, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their

executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

of the

American Federation of Labor

1916

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY—Monday Morning Session

Garden Theatre Roof Garden,
Baltimore, Md., Nov. 13, 1916.

Pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 a. m. by Mr. John H. Ferguson, President of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and of the Baltimore Federation of Labor.

An orchestra composed of union musicians of the city entertained the delegates at the opening of the convention and played selections during the session.

Mr. Ferguson introduced as the temporary chairman for the opening session Mr. Robert E. Lee, secretary to Mayor Preston of Baltimore.

The invocation was pronounced by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, of the Roman Catholic Church.

The opening prayer was offered by Bishop

John Gardner Murray, of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Chairman Lee made a brief address, expressing the pleasure and gratification of the people of Baltimore in having the great convention of the American Federation of Labor meet within the gates of their city. He stated that the people of Baltimore were glad to be able to entertain the convention in a city that is peaceful, prosperous and happy. In speaking of recent changes of sentiment throughout the country the speaker paid a glowing tribute to the States on the Western Coast, mentioning in particular California and Washington.

Hon. Emerson C. Harrington, Governor of Maryland, was introduced by Chairman Lee. The Governor extended to all the officers, delegates and visitors of the American Federation of Labor Convention a cordial greeting and a hearty welcome to the State of

Maryland. He stated that in welcoming them the welcome was extended on behalf of a State that has a glorious history, and referred at some length to the noted men of the past who have been prominent in the affairs of the State, the church, the army, at the bar and in business life. He called attention to the fact that in Maryland was founded the first State in the world where true civil and religious liberty was established, and that it was established by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power. He referred to the glorious record of the men of Maryland in the War of the Revolution and the War of 1812, and declared that the same spirit survived among the hospitable, brave and generous people of Maryland today.

In closing Governor Harrington again assured the delegates of the welcome that he extended in behalf of all the citizens of the State, and in doing so spoke of the fine climate, beautiful scenery and other advantages of Maryland.

Miss Helena Peet entertained the delegates by singing "Baltimore," and several other selections.

Mr. A. S. Goldsborough welcomed the delegates to Baltimore, on behalf of Mayor Preston, who was out of the city. He said that it was fitting that a body with the high ideals and humanitarian purposes of the American Federation of Labor should meet in a city like Baltimore, whose feelings and aspirations were in harmony with it. He stated that in Baltimore an exceptional cordiality existed between the laboring element and other elements of the community, due to the fact that the people recognize the importance and the dignity of labor and are in sympathy with those who toil. He asserted that the world is beginning to understand the value of organized labor more and more every year, and that one class is no more entitled to enjoy happiness and privileges than another. In referring to the aims of the powerful organized-labor movement the speaker stated that, while ostensibly it was for the purpose of taking care of the material phases of the working-men's lives, underneath there is continually pulsating an ideal which in its general result has been of immeasurable value to the nation. In closing Mr. Goldsborough expressed the hope that the convention would be so successful that in the future when the great results of its deliberations would accrue to the movement the city of Baltimore would be remembered kindly as the place in which those deliberations took place.

At the close of the address of Mr. Goldsborough, the representative of Mayor Preston, he presented to the chairman of the convention a large key handsomely decorated with red, white and blue ribbons, and ribbons of the Baltimore colors.

Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Labor, was introduced by Chairman Lee and addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Trade Unionists: I have not come here this morning for the purpose of making a speech. I am very much in the position that Granny Murray was in my little home mining town of Blossburg, Pa., a great many years ago, when her son Jack went out one evening and shortly afterward Granny was informed that he was engaged in a fistie encounter with several young men down the street. She was excited at the news, and immediately grabbed a broom and started for the scene of the conflict. Her neighbors endeavored to hold her back, saying: "Granny, there is no use of you going down there; you cannot help Jack out any." She said: "Let me go! Let me go! I can at least show which side I am on!" And I am here today, not to make a speech, but for the purpose of showing which side I am on.

The allegation has frequently been made that trade unionists are selfish; that they are seeking to promote their own welfare, to advance their own interests to the exclusion of those who are unorganized; yet everyone who has observed and studied the trade-union movement of our own times, and of the times gone by, knows that the most altruistic movement the world has ever produced is the trade-union movement.

Reference has been made to the splendid legislative measures that have been enacted in the State of Maryland, in other States and in our Federal Government. Everyone familiar with the fact knows that legislatures are not prone to act on humanitarian legislation, on legislation for the promotion of the welfare of the great mass unless there is some pressure at home to cause them to act. With an unorganized body of workers at home, with the workers acting only as individuals, they are ineffective in bringing that pressure to bear upon legislatures which is essential in order to secure the humanitarian legislation necessary for the welfare of our people. It has been only by virtue of the association together of numbers of the workers in organization and the concentrated pressure that organization has enabled them to exercise that we have been able to secure remedial legislation in the State of Maryland, in the other States and from our Federal Congress.

The remedial legislation we have secured was secured as a direct result of organized wageworkers' efforts, and when it is brought about the non-union man—nay, the man we speak of not simply as a non-union man but the man who deserts and betrays the union movement that we speak of as a "scab"—secures the benefit of the legislation as well. And what more altruistic movement could we have than the movement that hands out improvement to its enemies?

The probability is that I would not be here on this platform today, but I might

be one of the delegates from my trade union were it not for the fact that the organized labor movement, after nearly fifty years' agitation succeeded in securing the creation of a Department of Labor. Away back in 1865 the old National Union, in existence at that time, at a convention in Louisville, Ky., declared for a department of labor. We had numerous other departments; almost every other industry in our country was represented in the councils of the President of the United States, but labor was unrepresented.

We had our foreign affairs represented by the Department of State, our financial affairs represented by the Treasury Department, our legal affairs represented by the Department of Justice, our military affairs by the Department of War and the Department of the Navy, our transportation of intelligence, and to some extent of freight, by the Postoffice Department, our educational facilities and our interior development by the Department of the Interior, our agricultural interests by the Department of Agriculture, our commercial interests by the Department of Commerce; but that great body of our citizenship comprising more than one-half of the workers of our country was unrepresented in the councils of the President of the United States.

In 1865 the old National Union declared for the establishment of such a department, and after nearly twenty years' agitation in the early part of the eighties a department of labor was created. The department of labor at that time created had a commissioner as its executive head. There are many people who imagine that somewhere in our Constitution or in our statutory laws a body has been created known as the Cabinet of the President of the United States. No such body exists by virtue of any written law, constitutional or otherwise; it is in existence purely by virtue of the fact that the first President of the United States called into his councils the heads of the five departments then in existence. From that precedent the Cabinet was established, and it had been further established that no one would be called into the councils of the President as an executive adviser who did not hold the status of the secretary of a department. When a department of labor was created in the early eighties, with a commissioner as its head, organized labor believed the commissioner would be called into the councils, while the President took the opposite ground—that he had not the status that entitled him to go into the councils.

The labor movement continued to agitate for a change in the status of the commissioner to a secretary, but instead of getting that change some ten years later a new department was created, a Department of Commerce and Labor, with a secretary at its head. The organized workers at that time believed that with a Department of Commerce and Labor created it would be only a question of time—and a very short time—until the labor end of it would be the tail of the dog—and a very small tail at that. Their belief in the matter was warranted. The Department of Commerce and Labor became in reality a Department of Commerce, and the agitation still continued until 1913, when another new depart-

ment was created, the Department of Labor, with a secretary at its head, a secretary having the status that gave him the opportunity of being called into the councils of the President of the United States.

In creating the new department four bureaus were attached to it. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, as a matter of course, everybody recognizes properly belongs to the Department of Labor, although its title is a misnomer. It is not purely a bureau of labor statistics; it is more properly a bureau of labor information. The Bureau of Immigration was also attached to the new department, and there are many who wonder why a bureau of immigration should be attached to the Department of Labor. There are many people coming to our country who are not laborers, but the great bulk are laborers.

Prior to the opening of the great war now going on in Europe we had coming into our country approximately 1,200,000 aliens annually. Most of those who came were people who had on the other side sold all of their little belongings and turned them into cash in order to raise sufficient funds to come to this country. When they came here they were not in a position to engage in the professions, not in a position to engage in business enterprises for themselves, not in a position to go out on our land and cultivate it. In the first place, they had not the means to acquire the land; in the second place, they had not the means to equip themselves to cultivate the land, and, in the third place, they had not the means to live upon the land until they could get a living thereon. The only thing they could do under the circumstances was to get into some kind of occupation where they could get quick even though meager returns for their labor. They therefore became the competitors not only of the native Americans and the naturalized Americans, but also of the other aliens who had preceded them into the United States. The question of immigration, becoming a great economic question, the administration of the immigration laws therefore properly belongs under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor.

Then there is the Children's Bureau attached to the Department of Labor, and again the same question was asked: "Why attach a children's bureau to the Department of Labor? Other people have children as well as workmen?" And that is true, although my experience is that workmen have a great many more children than those who are well-to-do. We had eleven children in our own family, so I speak from experience. But it is the wage-workers—nay, the workers generally, whether the wage-workers or the workers on the farm—who need the collective influence, the collective power, the collective means of taking care of the children.

Those who are well-to-do, those who are provided with sufficient means of their own to take care of their children, can furnish them with the finest of home surroundings, furnish them with splendid sanitary arrangements, the means of education, with outings when outings are required; but when it comes to the wage-workers individually they are unable to do so. The only way they can do so is through the collective functions of an association as represented in our government.

And so the Children's Bureau is dealing with problems that are purely labor problems, and the bureau properly belongs to the Department of Labor.

Then there is attached to the department the Naturalization Bureau, and for a very simple reason. No one can become a naturalized citizen of the United States who has not at some time been an immigrant into the United States, and as the Bureau of Immigration is in the Department of Labor, so the Bureau of Naturalization properly belongs there, because all the records of the admission of immigrants are in the department.

Those four bureaus were attached, and then two other functions were attached—mediation in labor disputes and bringing the man and the job together. We have in the short period of the existence of the Department of Labor endeavored to develop those two functions. Of the 300 labor disputes we have handled before they reached the strike stage 275 of them have been settled in a manner satisfactory to both employers and employees. In the work of bringing the man out of a job in touch with a job we have so developed the work that it cannot at any time be used as a strike-breaking machine. But the greatest of all functions—and I say it without any personal reference to myself—the greatest of all functions of the department is that of carrying the hopes, the aspirations and the philosophy of the wage-workers of our country into the inner councils of the President of the United States.

The great mass of work growing out of the Department of Labor, these great remedial measures having been placed upon the statute books of the various States and our Federal Government as the direct result of the organized labor movement of our country, it is a pleasure to me to have the opportunity of being here upon this platform this morning to welcome you here to the performance of your work and to bid you God-speed in the development of the different policies that will move to still greater advancement. I thank you.

Mr. John H. Ferguson, President of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor and of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, was introduced by Chairman Lee, and said:

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Visitors, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: I bring you greetings from the organized labor movement of our city and State. We trust your deliberations will be fruitful. We are extremely happy to have you among us; happy for many reasons, but chiefly because we believe you will teach the public of the city of Baltimore what trade unionism really is. We want you to show them it is a protest against existing social conditions, against the avarice and greed that thinks more of coupons than it does of human happiness; that robs our children of their joy, wantonly sitches from them the years that ought to be spent on the playground, and places them in the mills and factories to be sweated and dwarfed. We know your deliberations will teach the public just what trade unions are.

Let every act of yours be such that you will not have to make an apology for your

existence, for what you are or for what you intend to be. Glory in the good you have done and be more than hopeful for the future and what may yet be accomplished. Move with serenity and confidence in the purity of your motives and the divinity of your mission. Work for peace, though at times you may fight; work for harmony, and sweep aside the man who would spread the seeds of dissension; work for universal brotherhood and sisterhood and keep your eyes directed to the time when happiness will be the heritage of all and discord will cease to exist.

In resigning the chair to the President of the American Federation of Labor Chairman Lee made a short but eloquent address in which he spoke of the work done by the American Federation of Labor, the important place it occupies in the affairs of the country, and the splendid achievements of its President.

President Gompers, in responding to the addresses of welcome, and in dealing with questions of interest to the labor movement, said in part:

Since our meeting in California last year many important events have transpired. It is not fitting that at this time I shall attempt to even mention them, much less discuss them. Indeed, time forbids even a reference to them. They have been big events, events of momentous character, events that are epoch-making, not only in the affairs of our nation, not only in the affairs of industry, but in the affairs of the great masses of our people as represented by the workers.

When we pause for a moment to cast our vision across the Atlantic and see the awful, the titanic struggle going on, waged now for more than two years, it is enough to cause us to pause and ask ourselves whether, after all, we are so sure of our civilization. Who among all of us here believed three years ago that in the year 1914 a war would be inaugurated of such gigantic proportions, or that it could continue for more than two years? Yet it has come. Men of all nations fathoming the secrets of nature in order to alleviate the slightest pain or pang of a single individual, the men of labor swearing allegiance and pledging their faith to each other that never again would they hold their hands out with clenched fists to each other, but to open their hands and grasp the hands of their fellows of all nations with hearty fraternal greetings—and at the sound of a voice transformed, from the highest concept of humanity, prompted by highest ideals, into goulsh beasts flying and dragging at each other's hearts and throats.

It is enough to make us pause and ask ourselves if, after all, we are so sure of our civilization? Where is the hope of the world for humanity? Where is it lodged? I have no dispute with the gentlemen of the cloth, whose profession I so profoundly respect. The life of the hereafter is a promise to man, and it is the hope and the struggle of the much-abused labor movement to maintain the civilization of the world, if it is to be maintained. The hope of the world is the manhood of the world, the womanhood

of the world. Who among them are concerned with the perpetuation of the spirit of liberty? Is it the profession of the law? Is it the financiers? Is it the business men? They have liberty wherever they go, but wherever in the world there is an injustice done to groups of men it is to the working people, the masses of the people, and it is the organized labor movement which keeps aflame the torch of liberty.

The efforts of the men and women, even in the organized labor movements of the European countries, are expended at this time in the maintenance of their concepts of national life and national independence. In the American organized labor movement lies the hope of bringing to the nations and to the toiling masses of the world the sober second thought that they may be held in leash, and the spirit of America, the spirit of the organized labor movement of America, shall have a steady influence, because we have been safeguarded against the horrors of war.

In so far as the international relations of the United States with the European countries are concerned, in so far as the relations between the republic of the United States and the republic of Mexico are concerned, the American Federation of Labor has helped to be a steady force, and to establish relations with the working people of Mexico, so that they, in their own country, might have a helpful and steady influence among their own people and upon their own government. And we here in the United States have helped to contribute something to maintain the self-reliance and the consciousness of the American people, so that the exploiters of Wall street, the profit-mongers, should not drive us into passion and anger, and compel a conflict even with our much weaker sister republic of Mexico.

The flamboyancy and the bluster with which the efforts of our movement and our men were attacked because we were helpful, the attempt to drive us into a desperate mental attitude because of the sinking of the Lusitania and the sending of fourteen hundred souls to an untimely watery grave, the feeling of horror which took possession of us all prepared us to do anything, to go any length to see that such a catastrophe should never again occur. The situation was taken well in hand by the officers of our government, and instead of declaring war with bluster the aims and purposes of diplomacy accomplished all that a war could secure, and today there is not an additional piece ofrape hanging on the doorknob of the home of an American citizen.

Just a little more than a year ago the Congress of the United States passed the Seamen's Act, which not only made life and property more secure upon the waters, but for the first time in the history of the world made the sailor a free man. A few months prior to the passage of the Seamen's Act, Congress passed the labor provision of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, which prohibited much of the abuses of the beneficent writ of injunction, restored trial by jury in contempt cases, declared the normal activities of the organized workers as lawful, and made impossible the successful maintenance of a case in court such as was maintained in the Hatters' case, to which, as you know,

the Supreme Court of the United States gave its seal of approval.

The first sentence of Section 6 of the Clayton Act says:

"That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce." The United States is the first country, the first state, the first legislative body of the whole world which has authoritatively declared as the law of the nation, passed by Congress and approved by the signature of the President of the United States, that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. The declaration in itself is a repudiation of all the judicial concepts of the status of work, it is a repudiation of the siren song of the old political economists; it is an affirmation of manhood and womanhood to those who work and who give service, a service without which civilization itself would perish.

The American Federation of Labor from 1906, when that great conference was held in the city of Washington, and the famous bill of grievances was drafted and given to the world, which contained the demand at the hands of Congress so long denied, has carried on the non-partisan, industrial and political fight. Men had to take their chances when they made the judicial fight; there were some of us who refused to be silent in our advocacy of raising the standard of the rights of the toiler to organize, to work or quit work at any time that best serves our interests. And some men did have to bear the stigma of being condemned and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. But that was the fight, and fighting the fight is the great, inspiring course, not the winning. The winning of the fight is incidental, but to fight, and fight for the right—that is the thing. And never in the history of our country was that fight more clear-cut than in recent times. The legislation which we have secured, which time forbids I shall refer to, much less enumerate, including the two laws, the emancipation of the seamen and the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law, was vindicated by the people of the United States last Tuesday.

Many industrial struggles were made during the past year. Perhaps the most persistently contended and long-drawn-out and victorious struggle was that of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. There are few of us know what this struggle was, involving 80,000 workers, and counting their families, involving nearly 400,000 people. It was a wonderful victory and demonstrated beyond question to the men in the needle trades and to all of us how powerful is the economic movement if we are true to it.

We helped the railroad men in their fight for the eight-hour day. It may be interesting to recall to your minds just now that up to Tuesday last the enemies of labor said the Adamson Law was not an eight-hour law. Since last Tuesday they have been calling it nothing else but an eight-hour law. There was not a man of labor whom I know asked the Congress of the United States to pass the Adamson Law to establish the eight-hour workday by law. The President of the United States appeared before Congress and endeavored to prevent a great strike, and he

urged the enactment of a law to establish eight hours for the men engaged in the railway service. Appearing before the committee of Congress having the bill under consideration, speaking what I believed to be the well-known sentiment and the expressed declarations of the American Federation of Labor, I stated it was going the wrong way to command a rightful course. I make mention of this so that there will be little or no misunderstanding as to who asked for the passage of the railroad men's eight-hour law.

I will say to the Governor, to the representatives of the city government, to the President of the State and City Federations of Labor that I am sure I express the sentiment of the delegates when I say we appreciate the cordiality and sincerity of your welcome to us. When the key of the city shall pass into the hands of the President of this convention, and he takes official possession of it, with that ceremony I think I can safely say the conduct of the officers and delegates and friends of this convention will be on a par with the conduct of those who attended the previous conventions of our Federation. There has not been a place in which we have met but we have been asked to please come again.

In our sessions there is a public forum, where each and every delegate is free to express the thoughts and convictions that are in him. We have no executive sessions. We have the right to go into executive sessions, but I think it is more than twenty-five years since the American Federation of Labor went into executive session for one minute. I know that those who participated in the executive session of the time to which I refer regret, even to this day, that there was at any time a motion adopted to go into executive session. We have nothing to hide; nothing to conceal. The public is invited to see us work.

I now declare this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor open for business.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Greene, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 13, 1916.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 389 delegates, representing 93 International and National Unions, 23 State Branches, 63 Central Bodies, 38 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 7 Fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association, Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 10 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers, International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, R. C. Schneider, J. Goldstone, 175 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer,

James C. Shanessy, C. M. Feider, C. F. Foley, 359 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Walter Gazzolo, 15 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, William F. Kramer, J. F. McGrath, 97 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, J. Hinzman, M. J. McGuire, Charles McGowan, 182 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, James Bruff, Mary Conroy, 93 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John F. Tobin, Charles L. Balne, Collis Lovely, Gad Martindale, George McCarthy, 390 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United—Joseph Proebstle, Albert J. Kugler, John Rader, John Sullivan, Joseph Obergfell, 496 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers, International Union of America—William Bowen, William Dobson, Thomas R. Preece, Peter S. Shaughnessy, 700 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 32 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association of—Joseph E. McClory, Samuel Tobin, P. J. Morrin, 100 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—W. R. Boyer, 8 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, W. J. Adames, Theodore Thompson, George A. Nolte, 307 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—William L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, O. E. Woodbury, W. E. Hensell, E. W. Van Duyn, Bob White, J. A. Ross, 1,977 votes.

Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, International Union of—William MacPherson, 40 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, Phil H. Mueller, J. Mahlon Barnes, W. A. Campbell, 377 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Thomas F. Flaherty, 42 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—W. V. H. Bright, Charles E. Myers, 51 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—E. E. Baker, H. J. Conway, Jacob Koch, 150 votes.

Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada—Henry Kuhlmann, 14 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—Frank A. Scoby, 36 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 3 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, James P. Noonan, Edward F. Kloter, Frank Fisher, 362 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 28 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Milton Snellings, James G. Hannahan, E. L. Edgerton, Herman M. Comerford, 210 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Louis A. Schwarz, 51 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Brennan, 170 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International—Albert W. Miller, 57 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Victor Altman, Frank Doyle, Margaret C. Duley, 430 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benjamin Schlesinger, Sarah Shapiro, Morris Deitch, Jacob Heller, Max Gorenstein, Abraham Rosenberg, 851 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—Denis A. Hayes, Jesse Steelman, George S. Lawson, 100 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—William P. Clarke, George G. Roberts, John F. Kennedy, 94 votes.

Glove Workers' Union, International—Elizabeth Christman.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, Alex. W. Russell, Henry Alexander, 131 votes.

Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United Cloth—Max Zaritsky, Ella Reeve Bloor, 63 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Michael F. Greene, Cornelius McCue, 85 votes.

Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, J. B. Etchison, Joe Mareschi, Alfonso D'Andrea, W. F. Dwyer, 324 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Edmond Raleigh, Emanuel Koveleski, Thomas S. Farrell, 590 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—John Williams, John J. Sullivan, 67 votes.

Lace Operatives of America, Amalgamated—David L. Gould, 11 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, John T. Taggart, 60 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—James F. Brock, 43 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood of—W. E. Bryan, 18 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Phillip Bock, James M. O'Connor, 42 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Wm. H. Johnston, Thomas Van Lear, A. O. Wharton, James O'Connell, J. A. Taylor, 1,009 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, International Brotherhood of—Hy Irwin, William Dorey, W. B. Nichols, 89 votes.

Marble Workers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, 6 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of—R. S. Lavender, 40 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Homer D. Call, Dennis Lane, 73 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thos. Redding, James T. Moriarty, Hugh Frayne, 175 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John P. White, Frank J. Hayes, William Green, John Mitchell, Duncan McDonald, John H. Walker, John Moore, Frank Farrington, 3,180 votes.

Miners, Western Federation of—Charles H. Moyer, P. T. Reardon, Joseph D. Cannon, Augustus F. Lindemann, 161 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, J. C. McCormick, Charles B. Torpey, Fred Prudhomme, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey, Charles A. Carbon, 600 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—George F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp, John J. Lynch, P. J. Guerin, Al. J. McKeon, Emil Arnold, 782 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, 65 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 33 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed. J. McGivern, John Donlin, Peter G. Cook, William A. O'Keefe, 184 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, Thomas S. Kearney, Charles M. Rau, Charles Anderson, 320 votes.

Pollishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers, Metal, Union of North America—W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, 100 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, George Chadwick, 77 votes.

Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate—John J. Deviny, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, International—George L. Berry, Henry J. Hardy, George Scheid, Henry Nau, 290 votes.

Quarryworkers' International Union of North America—Frederick W. Sultor, 35 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Rezin Orr, William Taber, John T. McGrath, 646 votes.

Roofers' Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—Jeremiah T. Hurley, 12 votes.

Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile—J. M. Gaviak, 6 votes.

- Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Patrick Flynn, Paul Scharrenberg, Harry P. Griffin, 217 votes.
- Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—A. E. Adams, 9 votes.
- Spinners' International Union—Urban Fleming, 22 votes.
- Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, William J. Canavan, L. G. Dolliver, John Suarez, 181 votes.
- Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of—W. M. Welsh, 20 votes.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freil, Charles A. Sumner, 49 votes.
- Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Samuel Griggs, James A. Short, 43 votes.
- Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 12 votes.
- Switchmen's Union of North America—F. J. Sheehan, W. H. Burt, 93 votes.
- Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thomas Swerney, John B. Lennon, D. G. Biggs, 120 votes.
- Teachers' American Federation of—Ida L. M. Fursman, 27 votes.
- Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, William A. Neer, James E. Wilson, 590 votes.
- Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—H. B. Perham, H. G. Alexander, D. G. Ramsay, J. B. Bode, 250 votes.
- Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—S. J. Konenkamp, 10 votes.
- Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, Sara A. Conboy, Jesse Walker, Tobias Hall, 255 votes.
- The Layers' and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 28 votes.
- Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of—Louis A. B. Agethen, 2 votes.
- Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 34 votes.
- Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 27 votes.
- Typographical Union, International—Marsden G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison, H. W. Dennett, Hugh Stevenson, 607 votes.
- Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, 39 votes.
- White Rats Actors' Union of America—James W. Fitz Patrick, Harry Mountford, 90 votes.
- Arizona State Federation of Labor—H. S. McCluskey, 1 vote.
- California State Federation of Labor—D. P. Haggerty, 1 vote.
- Connecticut State Federation of Labor—Julius C. Stremblau, 1 vote.
- Georgia State Federation of Labor—O. A. Cone, 1 vote.
- Illinois State Federation of Labor—Robert G. Fitchie, 1 vote.
- Indiana State Federation of Labor—William Mitch, 1 vote.
- Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Crellin, 1 vote.
- Kansas State Federation of Labor—Frank B. Brown, 1 vote.
- Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor—Norman Sprague, 1 vote.
- Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Joseph J. Hunt, 1 vote.
- Michigan State Federation of Labor—Claude O. Taylor, 1 vote.
- Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Charles E. James, 1 vote.
- Missouri State Federation of Labor—Charles A. Patterson, 1 vote.
- Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.
- New Jersey State Federation of Labor—A. J. Cozzolino, 1 vote.
- New York State Federation of Labor—James P. Holland, 1 vote.
- North Carolina State Federation of Labor—O. R. Jarrett, 1 vote.
- Ohio State Federation of Labor—Henry W. Ralisse, 1 vote.
- Oregon State Federation of Labor—Ben Osborne, 1 vote.
- Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Daniel A. Post, 1 vote.
- Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.
- Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—Albert E. Hohler, 1 vote.
- Texas State Federation of Labor—Albert Rich, 1 vote.
- Washington State Federation of Labor—P. W. Dowler, 1 vote.
- West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Walter B. Hilton, 1 vote.
- Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.
- Anaconda (Montana) Central Labor Council—J. C. Lucey, 1 vote.
- Atlanta (Georgia) Federation of Trades—Joseph A. Shearer, 1 vote.
- Atlantic City (N. J.) Central Labor Union—John S. Bennett, 1 vote.
- Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor—John H. Ferguson, 1 vote.
- Bisbee (Arizona) Warren District Trades Assembly—Frank L. Homan, 1 vote.
- Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union—P. H. Jennings, 1 vote.
- Brockton (Mass.) Central Labor Union—E. Gerry Brown, 1 vote.
- Buffalo (N. Y.) Central Labor Council—Stewart A. Hayward, 1 vote.
- Champaign and Urbana (Ill.) Twin City Federation of Labor—C. L. Kiser, 1 vote.
- Chattanooga (Tenn.) Central Labor Union—Jake Cohen, 1 vote.
- Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor—Thos. F. Kennedy, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Council—Andrew McAndrews, 1 vote.
- Cle Elum (Wash.) Central Labor Council—Robert Harlin, 1 vote.

Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor—George Hahn, 1 vote.

Decatur (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly—Emil Seidel, 1 vote.

Detroit (Mich.) Federation of Labor—John A. McDonald, 1 vote.

El Paso (Texas) Central Labor Union—Lee Alexander, 1 vote.

Fort Edward (N. Y.) Trades Assembly—James G. Young, 1 vote.

Granite City (Ill.) Tri-City Central Trades Council—William H. Ballard, 1 vote.

Hamilton (Ont., Canada) District Trades and Labor Council—E. W. D. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Herrin (Ill.) Trades Council—Hugh Willis, 1 vote.

Hudson County (N. J.) Central Labor Union—Theo. M. Brandie, 1 vote.

Joplin (Mo.) Trades Assembly—John H. Boos, 1 vote.

Kansas City (Mo.) Industrial Council—John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Kensington (Ill.) Calumet Joint Labor Council—T. L. Gregson, 1 vote.

Lansford (Pa.) Central Labor Union—John B. Brislin, 1 vote.

Linton (Ind.) Central Labor Union—J. L. Slus, 1 vote.

Little Rock (Ark.) Central Trades and Labor Council—Andrew A. Hill, 1 vote.

Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council—John Murray, 1 vote.

Louisville (Ky.) United Trades and Labor Assembly—Phil Ossman, 1 vote.

Meriden (Conn.) Central Labor Union—John Connell, 1 vote.

Millinocket (Maine) Central Labor Union—Walter E. Gagnon, 1 vote.

Newark (N. J.) Essex Trades Council—Henry F. Hilfers, 1 vote.

New York (N. Y.) Central Federated Union—Robert P. Brindell, 1 vote.

Niagara Falls (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council—D. J. O'Shea, 1 vote.

Norfolk (Va.) Central Labor Union—C. S. Hosier, 1 vote.

Oatman (Arizona) Central Labor Union—C. C. Stephens, 1 vote.

Olympia (Wash.) Trades Council—Henry Betcher, 1 vote.

Orange (N. J.) Federated Trades Council—Edward J. Henry, 1 vote.

Ottawa (Canada) Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Philadelphia (Pa.) Central Labor Union—Benjamin Harrison, 1 vote.

Pittston (Pa.) Central Labor Union—I. N. Cathrall, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh (Pa.) Iron City Trades Council—Edward J. Bauldauf, 1 vote.

Port Chester (N. Y.) Central Labor Union—William Rander, 1 vote.

Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council—John Bradley, 1 vote.

Richmond (Ind.) Central Labor Union—Robert E. Graham, 1 vote.

Roundup (Mont.) Central Trades and Labor Council—Adam Wilkinson, 1 vote.

St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union—Fred. A. Heller, 1 vote.

San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council—John A. O'Connell, 1 vote.

Schenectady (N. Y.) Trades Assembly—Edward W. Leonard, 1 vote.

Seattle (Wash.) Central Labor Council—Roy L. Brazzle, 1 vote.

Sharon (Pa.) United Labor League—David Niven, 1 vote.

South Chicago (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly—Sam Grimelot, 1 vote.

Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Tacoma (Wash.) Central Labor Council—Robert H. Harlin, 1 vote.

Temple (Texas) Central Trades Council—H. S. Newland, 1 vote.

Toronto (Ont.) Canada, District Labor Council—John H. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Troy (N. Y.) Federation of Labor—James Lemke, 1 vote.

Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union—John H. Lorch, 1 vote.

Wheeling (W. Va.) Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly—Louis Leonard, 1 vote.

Yonkers (N. Y.) Federation of Labor—John T. Windell, 1 vote.

Youngstown (Ohio) United Labor Congress—M. C. Higgins, 1 vote.

Zanesville (Ohio) Central Trades and Labor Council—John A. Voll, 1 vote.

Apartment House Janitors and Elevator Operators' Union No. 14938—William P. O'Donnell, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646—Raymond Wilcox, 2 votes.

Bottle Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers' Union No. 10875—Edmund P. Walters, 3 votes.

Celluloid and Tortoise Shell Workers' Union No. 15189—Harry Kritzer, 3 votes.

Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 11959—James J. McAndrews, 10 votes.

Federal Employees' Union No. 14374—Roy E. Peabody, 1 vote.

Federal Employees' Union No. 14632—H. M. McLarin, 6 votes.

Federal Employees Union No. 15236—Fredrick G. Swanson, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 11796—Chas. H. Ernst, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12776—Gertrude M. McNally, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 12985—G. H. Curry, 5 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 14781—Clifford C. Dane, 6 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 14949—William Zaranko, 6 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 15138—A. F. DaCosta, 1 vote.

Federal Watchmen's Union No. 14964—Henry A. Raines, 1 vote.

Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union, United, No. 14569—Melinda Scott, 1 vote.

Grain Workers' Association No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Union No. 14960—Michael A. Murray, 1 vote.

Hair Spinners' Protective Union No. 12353—Joseph A. Wieber, 1 vote.

Hospital Nurses and Attendants' Union No. 14714—James Coen, 2 votes.

Laborers' Protective Union No. 14953—John J. Coleman, 1 vote.

Laborers' Protective Union No. 15037—Richard Taylor, 1 vote.

Marble Mosaic, Terrazzo and Composite Workers' Union No. 14608—Ignatius McNulty, 1 vote.

Mineral Water Workers' Union No. 12674—Sam Leibowitz, 1 vote.

Newsboys' Protective Union No. 10652—Michael Morris, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Association No. 12755—Mabel H. Hudson, 1 vote.

Optical Workers' Protective Union No. 15015—Louis A. DeSautis, 1 vote.

Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883—William F. Peters, 1 vote.

Pipe Caulkers and Tappers' Union No. 7348—Frank A. Byrne, 1 vote.

Saw Mill and Timber Workers' Union No. 15311—T. M. Master, 1 vote.

Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872—George Rincker, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597—Mrs. M. B. East, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773—W. M. Pollock, 2 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188—Frederick W. Ely, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14268—E. R. Browder, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14965—Stuart Chase, 1 vote.

Sugar Workers' Union No. 10619—Charles A. Melnert, 2 votes.

Yeast Workers' Union No. 14639—F. L. Rodgers, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—H. Gosling, W. Whitefield, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Thomas A. Stevenson, 1 vote.

National Women's Trade Union League of America—Mary Anderson.

Women's International Union Label League—Anna Fitzgerald.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America—Shaller Mathews, Charles Stelzle.

We have received credential for B. Suzuki, representing the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, and recommend that the courtesy of the convention be extended to him with

the opportunity of being heard at some convenient time.

Respectfully submitted,
THOMAS HARRISON, Chairman;
JAMES T. MORIARTY,
M. F. GREENE, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

President Gompers announced that the constitution now provides that resolutions shall be introduced on the first and second days of the convention; that after the expiration of those days resolutions can be introduced only by the unanimous consent of the convention.

First Vice-President Duncan read a resume of the report of the Executive Council.

Secretary of Labor Wilson presided during the reading of the report by First Vice-President Duncan.

Reference on Subjects in Executive Council's Report.

All reference to finances—Ways and Means Committee.

"A. F. of L. Building—Trustees Report"—Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building.

"International Labor Relations"—Committee on International Relations.

"Pan-American Labor Relations"—Committee on International Relations.

"Mexico"—Committee on International Relations.

"British Trades Union Congress"—Committee on International Relations.

"Registrations of Titles and Labels"—Committee on Labels.

"Voting in Conventions"—Committee on Laws.

"Assessments Levied Unprovided by our Constitution"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Anti-trust and Injunction and Limitation Legislation in the States"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Massachusetts 'Labor is Property' Decision"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Dowd vs. United Mine Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"The Railroad Brotherhoods' Strike"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Political Action"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Report on Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Taylor System in Government Service"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Employers' Liability—Workmen's Compensation for Injuries"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Postoffice Clerks' Salaries, etc."—Committee on Resolutions.

"Immigration"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Industrial Education—Vocational Training"—Committee on Education.

"Bureau of Labor Safety"—Committee on Education.

"Convict Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Civil Service Employees—Political Liberty of Appeal Court for"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Old Age Pensions for Government Employees"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Wage Legislation for Printing Trades and other Federal Employees"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Citizenship for Porto Rico"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Labor's Right to Representation"—Committee on Education.

"Special Committee on Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Erickson Junior Clubs"—Committee on Education.

"Gary Investigation"—Committee on Education.

"Censorship of Moving Pictures"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Extension of Jurisdiction"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Change in Title"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers—Building Trades Department"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Machinists—Carpenters"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Carpenters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Longshoremen—Carpenters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Steam Shovelmen—Steam Engineers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carriage and Wagon Workers—Blacksmiths, Upholsterers, Machinists, Metal Polishers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Cap Makers—Hat Makers—Straw Hat Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Building Trades Department—Boiler-makers—Machinists"—Committee on Executive Council Report.

"Journeyman Tailors—Jurisdiction over Dyers, Cleaners and Pressers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Jurisdiction over Acetylene Welders"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Social Insurance"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Sick and Death Benefits for Directly Affiliated Unions"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Porto Rico"—Committee on Resolutions.

Treasurer Lennon: I move that the representatives of the Cigar Makers' International Union in this convention be directed to prepare and present a memorial to Thomas F. Tracy, late secretary Label

Trades Department, who died Saturday, November 4, 1916. (Seconded and carried by unanimous vote.)

Appointment of Committees.

President Gompers appointed the following committees:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—Thomas Rickert, J. F. McGrath, Theodore Thompson, Joseph D. Cannon, Frank Fisher, Edward Menge, Mary Conroy, R. C. Schneider, Abraham Rosenburg, Frank Butterworth, John Sullivan, Joseph H. Hatch, J. T. Carey, Alfonso D'Andrea, George A. Nolte.

Committee on Report of Executive Council—Andrew Furuseth, Matthew Woll, James Wilson, Owen Miller, George L. Berry, Martin Lawlor, T. V. O'Connor, Wm. Hutcheson, W. D. Mahon, Jere L. Sullivan, Frank X. Noschang, Homer D. Call, Thomas Kearney, Wm. P. Clarke, W. A. Campbell.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, John P. Frey, George W. Perkins, George F. Hedrick, B. A. Larger, Hugh Stevenson, J. A. Franklin, Daniel J. Tobin, Martin F. Ryan, John A. Voll, A. A. Myrup, J. W. Morton, James G. Hannahan, O. E. Woodbury, Rezin Orr.

Committee on Laws—John B. Lennon, John Moore, Hugh Frayne, J. A. Ross, Louis Swartz, Thos. F. Flaherty, Collis Lovely, E. C. Baker, Jas. P. Noonan, Timothy Healy, Jesse Steelman, Julius C. Stremlau, H. M. McLarin, John A. O'Connell, Peter S. Shaughnessy.

Committee on Organisation—Frank Duffy, A. J. Kugler, Wm. A. Neer, Frank J. Hayes, Benj. Schlesinger, A. Hinzman, Thos. S. Farrell, Sara A. Conboy, Henry F. Hilfers, P. W. Dowler, J. P. Jennings, W. J. Brennan, Jos. V. Mareschi, P. T. Reardon, John T. Taggart.

Committee on Labels—Victor Altman, J. Mahlon Barnes, J. Goldstone, F. A. Scoby, Max Hayes, Morris Deitch, Walter Gazzolo, Cornelius McCue, E. W. Van Duyn, Lawrence Keefe, Jos. F. Brock, Wm. E. Bryan, Philip Bock, George McCarthy, Max Zaritsky.

Committee on Adjustment—James O'Connell, John Golden, John Tobin, J. C. Shanessy, John T. McGrath, H. J. Conway, D. A. Carey, Milton Snellings, John T. Smith, John F. Kennedy, Edward Flore, Alexander Russell, J. C. McCormick, Frank Doyle, Frank Farrington.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—H. B. Perham, H. S. Marshall, J. J. Barry, Wm. Koveleski, Sarah Shapiro, John Murray, Norman Sprague, Robert Brindell, Fred A. Heller, E. E. Woodmansee, John H. Lorch, Stewart A. Hayward, Jas. A. Short, Robert G. Fitchie, Chas. Anderson.

Committee on Education—Jos. Valentine, C. E. Shay, M. M. Donoghue, John H. Ferguson, Margaret Daley, Jos. Obergfell, Chas. A. Sumner, D. G. Ramsay, John G. Sullivan, Wm. Dobson, R. S. Lavender, Paul Scharrerburg, S. J. Konenkamp, E. W. D. O'Dell, Frederick W. Ely.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Committee on State Organizations—

John R. Alpine, John H. Walker, J. B. Bode, Jas. W. Kline, Bob White, Thos. Sweeney, Thos. R. Preece, J. E. Crellin, Jas. P. Holland, C. E. James, Santiago Iglesias, Henry W. Ralisse, James Brufl, Ed. F. Klote, E. L. Edgerton.

Committee on Boycotts—

D. A. Hayes, Jas. J. Freel, John M. Gillespie, Wm. H. Johnston, W. W. Britton, C. M. Felder, Gad Martindale, Jos. Proebstle, Jacob Koch, Phil Mueller, W. L. Funder Burk, H. W. Dennett, Henry J. Hardy, W. V. H. Bright, William Dorey.

Committee on Building Trades—

Thomas J. Williams, F. J. McNulty, J. C. Skemp, W. E. Hemsell, Wm. J. McSorley, Jos. E. McClory, D. D'Alessandro, Peter G. Cook, Chas. M. Rau, Sam Griggs, Frank Feeney, John J. Hynes, Jeremiah T. Hurley, J. M. Gavlak, William J. Bowen.

Committee on Ways and Means—

John P. White, A. O. Wharton, John Devlin, Chas. McGowan, Wm. F. Kramer, W. M. Welsh, John T. Jov, Allen E. Barker, Chas. B. Torper, P. J. Guerin, Henry Alexander, Joe Weber, F. J. Sheehan, E. Lewis Evans, W. R. Boyer.

Committee on Shorter Workday—

Wm. Green, John Williams, Marsden Scott, C. L. Baine, George Leary, Thos. Redding, M. J. McGuire, Dennis Lane, John J. Lynch,

Wm. Taber, Patrick Flynn, H. G. Alexander, Thos. L. Hughes, Jacob Fischer, John Deviny.

Committee on A. F. of L. Office

Building—George L. Berry, C. L. Shamp, Geo. S. Towson, Geo. E. Roberts, Edmond Raleigh, J. B. Etchison, C. F. Foley, J. A. Taylor, John Suarez, Jas. E. Wilson, Jas. L. Gernon, Charles H. Moyer, A. P. Sorey, Sam Tobin, Harry W. Fox.

Committee on International Relations—

Geo. W. Perkins, Jas. Duncan, Jas. O'Connell, Max S. Hayes, Martin Lawlor, Andrew Furuseth, Jas. Wilson, J. P. Frey, B. A. Larger, T. V. O'Connor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, J. H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Mathew Woll.

President Gompers announced the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary—Henry A. McAnarney, Typographical Union No. 12.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Frank Hayden, Granite Cutters.

Messenger—Basil Morgan, Moving Picture Operators.

At 1:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Tuesday, November 14th.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

BALTIMORE, MD., November 13, 1916.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

The report which we submit for the past year contains much that is gratifying and that is big with promise for the future. The labor movement has endeavored to bring better economic conditions into the lives of those who work—economic purposes that represent ideals for a better and higher life for all humanity. Economic ends are earnestly desired because of their spiritual values, because of their power to illumine the whole of life. There is nothing more conspicuous in the developments of the past year than the importance and power of the economic organization of the workers. Since its inception the American Federation of Labor has stood for the principle that the fundamental power of the workers is their economic power and that whatever influence they exert in industrial or political matters is because they have been able to organize and to use their economic power to promote their own welfare and their ideals of better standards of life and work for all who toil. The wisdom of this policy has been demonstrated over and over again, but never more conspicuously than during the past year. The wage-earners have secured a more fitting recognition for the part they take in national life and development.

The economic organization of the workers is fundamental; it has its origin in the primary needs and wants of the workers and is close to life itself. Whenever this power is organized and wisely wielded, it affects directly the fundamental affairs of national life. Economic power is the primary power and all other kinds of power are derived from economic power and are in proportion to its development.

The tremendous success that the A. F. of L. has had in past years in securing remedial and protective legislation has been the result of organization and use of economic power. For political purposes, during the past year, the scope of Labor's activity has been extended into the realm of international relations, but the fundamental principle has been unchanged. Even in international relations wage-earners have found that they can have an influence and an effect in molding and directing national relations through the use of their economic organization. They have in all things stood for recognition of human values, and have humanized all national issues, demanding for human agents consideration with all other elements.

The very subjects upon which we report demonstrate the effectiveness of this principle in the affairs of the nation and the lives of the workers. Without further comment we present our report upon the various issues and measures of interest to the wage-earners.

We have had five meetings during the past year upon the following dates: February 21-26; June 26-July 4; July 24-29; October 16-21; November 11.

There were submitted to us during the year 141 documents. The more important matters to which attention and consideration have been given during the year are enumerated in our report.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenditures for the past twelve (12) months, beginning October 1, 1915, and ending September 30, 1916.

It is with satisfaction I report at the close of the fiscal year a balance on hand of \$134,360.48—\$89,360.48 in cash and \$45,000 advanced from the defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions on account of the original \$50,000 loan as part payment for the erection of the American Federation of Labor office building, of which \$5,000 has been returned to the defense fund this year. Of the total amount on hand \$114,151.02 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, \$20,209.46, is in the general fund. Of that fund only \$11,153.72 is available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor. The balance, \$9,055.74, is in the fund created by the one-cent assessment for the organization of women workers.

The total receipts from all sources are \$334,275.41, which includes \$5,000 returned to the defense fund, leaving the actual receipts amounting to \$329,275.41, the total expenses are \$315,047.32, which includes \$9,500 advanced on office building loan, leaving the actual expenses amounting to \$305,547.32. Deducting the actual expenses from the actual receipts shows an excess of the receipts over the expenditures of \$23,728.09.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1916:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand September 30, 1915 (\$110,632.39) Cash Balance.....		\$70,132 39
Per capita tax.....	\$196,447 45	
Supplies.....	11,289 11	
Interest on funds on deposit.....	1,500 00	
American Federationist.....	46,841 63	
One-cent assessment.....	3,920 16	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	17,995 64	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	25,878 56	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	1,217 04	
Reinstatement and initiation fees.....	23,500 68	
Rent collected and paid over to Trustees.....	200 00	
Reimbursement from trustee fund on account of building employees' salaries paid.....	392 35	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	5,092 79	
		334,275 41
Total.....		\$404,407 80

EXPENSES.

General.....		\$221,268 71
Defense fund:		
Local trade and federal labor unions.....	\$4,615 37	
*On account of amount advanced on office building loan.....	9,500 00	
American Federationist.....	14,115 37	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	46,878 82	
One-cent assessment.....	4,428 19	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	7,981 56	
Reinstatement and initiation fees.....	8,939 90	
Interest paid on A. F. of L. Building Loan.....	104 99	
Money refunded.....	329 16	
Rent collected and paid over to Trustees.....	608 27	
Building employees salaries paid (Trustee Fund).....	200 00	
Money paid on notes 1 and 2 on account of A. F. of L. Building.....	392 35	
Money returned to Defense Fund on account of loan.....	5,000 00	
		5,000 00
		\$315,047 32
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1916.....		\$89,360 48

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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RECAPITULATION.

In general fund.....	\$20,209 46
In defense fund for local and federal labor unions.....	69,161 02
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1916.....	\$89,360 48
*On account of amount advanced on office building loan from defense fund.....	45,000 00
Balance on hand September 30, 1916, including building loan.....	\$134,360 48
The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:	
Appropriations:	
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	\$590 00
Union Label Trades Department.....	83 13
Rent.....	6,736 50
Rent collected and paid over to Trustees.....	200 00
Refunds of premiums on bonds, overpayments on per capita tax and supplies returned	212 77
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	4,425 37
Treasurer's bond.....	125 00
Secretary's bond.....	20 00
Fire insurance.....	51 84
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	1,346 07
Legislative expenses.....	9,087 99
Newspapers, magazines and books.....	200 54
Office fixtures.....	414 00
Postage stamps.....	5,314 79
Printing and binding proceedings of the San Francisco Convention.....	2,734 87
Stamped envelopes.....	1,644 24
Supplies and printing.....	22,687 86
Telegrams.....	1,518 31
Expenses of delegate to San Francisco Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.....	388 55
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	424 15
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1,253 14
San Francisco:	
Committee rooms.....	282 00
Expenses, Secretary attending San Francisco Convention.....	349 45
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Assistant Secretary.....	455 00
Printing and supplies.....	121 50
Printing daily proceedings.....	1,652 75
Stenographers.....	2,443 90
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs, stationery.....	291 84
Salary:	
President.....	7,500 00
Secretary.....	5,000 00
Treasurer.....	500 00
Office employees.....	52,763 91
Building employees.....	392 35
Janitor service.....	72 00
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	613 70
Executive Council meetings.....	5,821 14
President travelling during year.....	2,164 99
Secretary travelling during year.....	423 79
Defense fund:	
Strike benefits.....	4,512 00
On account of amount advanced on office building loan.....	9,500 00
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received from local trade and federal labor unions.....	103 37
Assessment:	
One-cent assessment.....	7,981 56
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	8,939 90
Organizing expenses:	
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	80,983 11
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter for organizing and legislative purposes.....	46,678 82
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	1,775 25
Postage on American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter.....	1,404 00
Expenses relative to erecting of booth and American Federation of Labor exhibit at Panama Exposition.....	187 79
Floral piece for funeral, Miss Catherine Goggins, Financial Secretary Teachers' Federation No. 14610.....	1,092 90
Floral design for Mr. James Kirby's funeral.....	29 00
Hospital and funeral expenses of J. McGovern, delegate to San Francisco Convention.....	40 00
Initiation fees (refunded to local trade and federal labor unions).....	559 68
Reinstatement fees (refunded to local trade and federal labor unions).....	94 49
Interest (on account of advances on loan to the A. F. of L. office building).....	10 50
Money paid on Notes 1 and 2 on account A. F. of L. Building.....	329 16
Refund to Defense Fund on loan for A. F. of L. office building.....	5,000 00
Money refunded.....	5,000 00
Money refunded.....	608 27
Total.....	\$315,047 32

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1916, INCLUSIVE
 I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 36 years:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 00	\$154 00
1882.....	268 20	252 25
1883.....	690 19	352 32
1884.....	357 42	543 20
1885.....	584 03	450 58
1886.....	474 11	635 08
1887.....	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888.....	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889.....	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890.....	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892.....	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893.....	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894.....	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898.....	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899.....	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900.....	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901.....	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902.....	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903.....	247,802 96	196,615 57
1904.....	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905.....	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906.....	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907.....	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908.....	207,655 23	196,937 36
1909.....	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910.....	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911.....	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912.....	207,373 60	277,479 23
1913.....	244,292 04	258,702 92
1914.....	263,166 97	265,737 21
1915.....	271,625 53	303,985 95*
1916.....	334,275 41+	315,047 32**
Total.....	\$3,751,402 36	\$3,662,041 88

*Includes \$40,500 advanced on Office Building Loan.

**Includes \$9,500 advanced on Office Building Loan.

+Includes \$5,000 returned to Defense Fund.

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$3,751,402 36
Expenses.....	3,662,041 88

Cash balance on hand September 30, 1916.....	\$89,360 48
On account of amount advanced on Office Building loan	45,000 00
Balance on hand September 30, 1916, including building loan	\$134,360 48

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1916 INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds for affiliated organizations:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenses
1902-3.....	\$529 00	\$309 60	1909-10.....	\$2,874 75	\$2,392 75
1903-4.....	398 75	402 60	1910-11.....	2,988 55	1,448 38
1904-5.....	406 75	285 65	1911-12.....	2,710 07	2,089 15
1905-6.....	736 35	591 16	1912-13.....	3,225 55	3,863 18
1906-7.....	1,128 79	817 76	1913-14.....	3,221 75	1,898 55
1907-8.....	1,261 51	1,021 96	1914-15.....	5,190 74	5,062 66
1908-9.....	1,692 35	1,226 03	1915-16.....	5,092 79	4,428 19
Totals				\$31,457 70	\$25,827 62

RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts.....	\$31,457 70
Total expenses.....	25,827 62
Excess	\$5,630 08

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENTS

*Assessments levied on the membership of affiliated organizations August 4, 1913, and December 17, 1914, were to defray expenses of appeals in the United Hatters' case, and the contempt case, and after all expenses were paid in these cases the balance to be used to organize women workers.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for this fiscal year, ending September 30, 1916:

Balance on hand September 30, 1915.....	\$4,081 40
Receipts from October 1, 1915, to and including September 30, 1916.....	3,920 16
Total.....	\$7,981 56

EXPENSES.

Organizing expenses, M. Scully.....	\$1,884 74
Organizing expenses, J. E. Roach.....	1,786 21
Organizing expenses, P. F. Duffy.....	1,729 62
Organizing expenses, Wm. Collins.....	1,315 75
Organizing expenses, M. Kelleher.....	1,195 15
Organizing expenses, H. F. Hilfers.....	52 55
Organizing expenses, S. A. Conboy.....	34 12
Refund to United Umbrella Handle and Stickmakers No. 14581, New York, N. Y.....	2 92
One-cent assessment to organize women workers, Sporting Goods Makers Protective No. 14624, Chicago, Ill.....	50
Total.....	\$7,981 56

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$7,981 56
Expenses.....	7,981 56

*All expenses incurred in the Buck Stove and Range, Contempt and United Hatters' case had been paid, and there was a balance of \$4,061.40 in this fund at the beginning of this year, to be used for the organization of women workers.

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT TO ORGANIZE WOMEN WORKERS

This assessment was levied on the membership of all affiliated organizations on April 4, 1916, to defray expenses for organizing women workers.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses from April 4, 1916, to the close of this fiscal year, ending September 30, 1916:

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from April 4, 1916, to and including September 30, 1916.....	\$17,995 64
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EXPENSES.

NAMES OF ORGANIZERS.	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	AMOUNT RECEIVED.
1. Scully, Mary.....	Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan.....	\$1,585 58
2. Hilfers, H. F.....	New Jersey, New York.....	1,425 31
3. Duffy, P. F.....	Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania.....	1,360 03
4. McMahon, T. F.....	New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, South Carolina.....	1,079 25
5. Kelleher, Mary.....	South Carolina, Alabama, Pennsylvania.....	1,032 45
6. Bollwark, J. F.....	New York.....	881 62
7. Powers, J. H.....	Rhode Island.....	789 20
8. Minszewski, Joseph.....	New York, Massachusetts.....	493 31
9. McIntyre, B. F.....	South Carolina.....	293 15
Total.....		\$8,939 90

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$17,995 64
Expenses.....	8,939 90

Balance on hand September 30, 1916.....	\$9,055 74
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LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On September 30th of this year we had 705 local trade and federal labor unions with a membership of 35,163 in good standing, and a defense fund of \$114,151.02 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout. Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the unions.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1916:

RECEIPTS.

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund **\$25,878 56**

EXPENSES.

	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Horse Nail Workers, No. 6170, Hartford, Conn.	33	24	\$3,248 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 12502, Juncos, P. R.	16	6	384 00
Gold Beaters, No. 14670, New York, N. Y.	47+	1½	282 00
Gold Beaters, No. 12899, Philadelphia, Pa.	106+	1	426 00
Cooks and Waiters, No. 10968, Tampa, Fla.	15	2	120 00
Crane Followers and Platform Workers, No. 14451, Schenectady, N. Y.	9	1	36 00
Bottle Sorters and Washers, No. 14853, Hartford, Conn.	4	1	16 00

Total of strike benefits paid **\$4,512 00**

Refund of over-payment of per capita tax received in defense fund **\$103 37**

*From the defense fund of local trade and federal labor unions, balance
of the \$50,000 office building loan **9,500 00**

Total **\$9,603 37**

Grand total of expenses **\$14,115 37**

RECAPITULATION.

Balance on hand in defense fund September 30, 1915 **\$57,387 83**

Receipts in defense fund from October 1, 1915, to and including Sep-
tember 30, 1916 **25,878 56**

\$83,266 39

Paid out of defense fund **14,115 37**

Cash balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions September
30, 1916 **\$69,151 02**

*On account of amount advanced on Office Building loan from the defense fund,
\$50,000, of which \$5,000 has been returned this year **45,000 00**

Balance on hand in defense fund September 30, 1916, including amount advanced on
Office Building loan **\$114,151 02**

The following table will show that since the defense fund was inaugurated in 1902
up to and including the fiscal year there has been received into the fund \$301,770.80 and
paid out \$232,619.78:

	Receipts.	Expenses.	Cash balance on hand.
1902.....	\$20,423 00		\$20,423 00
1903.....	49,663 40	\$6,690 00	63,396 40
1904.....	33,722 55	15,972 00	81,146 95
1905.....	16,966 63	3,197 18	94,916 40
1906.....	15,556 02	13,643 40	96,829 02
1907.....	17,143 65	10,893 78	103,078 89
1908.....	14,327 20	12,124 00	105,282 09
1909.....	11,383 05	788 00	115,877 14
1910.....	12,570 45	6,484 00	121,963 59
1911.....	16,010 75	4,192 00	133,782 34
1912.....	19,336 26	67,455 33	85,663 27
1913.....	18,214 70	18,953 15	84,924 82
1914.....	16,316 60	9,388 00	91,853 42
1915.....	14,257 98	*48,723 57	57,387 83
1916.....	125,878 56	**14,115 37	69,151 02
Total.....	\$301,770 80	\$232,619 78	

* Includes \$40,500 advanced on Office Building Loan

** Includes \$9,500 advanced on Office Building Loan.

† Includes \$5,000 returned to Defense Fund.

RECAPITULATION.

Total Receipts **\$301,770 80**

Total Expenses **232,619 78**

Cash balance on hand September 30, 1916 **\$69,151 02**

On account of amount advanced on Office Building Loan from the defense fund
(\$50,000), of which \$9,500 was advanced during this fiscal year and \$5,000 returned
..... **45,000 00**

Balance on hand September 30, 1916, including amount advanced on Office
Building Loan **\$114,151 02**

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1916, are \$14,841.63, the total expenses are \$46,678.82, which makes an excess of receipts over expenditures of \$162.81

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1916:

RECEIPTS.	
Receipts.....	\$46,841 63
EXPENSES.	
Commission on advertising contracts.....	\$14,648 41
Contributions.....	20 00
R. G. Dun & Company.....	100 00
Hauling.....	5 50
Attorney Fees.....	15 10
Postage pound rate.....	1,581 76
Postage stamps.....	135 00
Printing regular edition <i>American Federationist</i>	8,613 91
Printing additional copies for local unions, <i>American Federationist</i>	19 599 38
Refunds.....	104 76
Salaries.....	1,855 00
Total.....	\$46,678 82
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$46,841 63
Expenses.....	46,678 82
Excess of receipts over expenses.....	\$162 81

The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

YEAR.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts Exceed Expenses.	Expenses Exceed Receipts.
1893-94.....	\$2,418 30	\$2,684 66		\$266 36
1894-95.....	3,184 21	2,675 98	\$508 23	
1895-96.....	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97.....	3,408 39	3,094 87	313 52	
1897-98.....	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99.....	3,171 00	4,033 19		862 19
1899-00.....	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01.....	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02.....	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03.....	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04.....	32,639 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05.....	25,726 57	24,929 86	796 71	
1905-06.....	25,912 87	26,868 12		955 25
1906-07.....	25,310 56	23,560 70	1,749 86	
1907-08.....	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09.....	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10.....	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	
1910-11.....	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58
1911-12.....	17,240 19	18,731 77		1,491 58
1912-13.....	16,730 14	19,914 94		3,184 80
1913-14.....	28,040 26	33,507 21		5,466 95
1914-15.....	36,731 27	35,294 06	1,437 21	
1915-16.....	46,841 63	46,678 82	162 81	

HEADQUARTERS

The following comparative statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1916, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 3,953 letters, circular letters, and packages per day and 435,181 *American Federationist* and 434,500 A. F. of L. News Letters, as follows:

	1915.	1916.
Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	5,230	3,310
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	110,890	64,730
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	99,364	103,147
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	90,402	168,555
American Federation of Labor News Letter.....	805,900	434,500
<i>American Federationist</i>	343,100	435,181
Total.....	1,454,886	1,209,423

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1916, there have been issued 480 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, three were granted to the following Internationals:

American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots;

American Federation of Teachers;

International Jewelry Workers' Union;

One State Branch: Idaho State Federation of Labor;

Trade unions, 299; Federal Labor Unions, 101.

Seventy-six Central bodies, as follows:

Alabama:	Gary.	Trumbull County.
Anniston.	Jacksonville	Tuscarawas County.
Bessemer.	Council Bluff	Oklahoma:
Montgomery.	Iowa:	Coalgate.
Arizona:	Fairfield.	Drumright.
Clifton.	Fort Madison.	Pawhuska.
Miami.	Mason City.	Wilburton.
Oatman.	Kansas:	Pennsylvania:
Arkansas:	Girard.	Blair County.
Hot Springs.	Independence.	Harrisburg.
Jackson.	Mulberry.	Morristown.
California:	Kentucky:	Panther Creek Valley.
Long Beach.	Ashland.	Ridgeway.
San Mateo.	Owensboro.	Washington.
Colorado:	Michigan:	Texas:
Fort Collins.	Owosso.	Mort.
Trinidad.	Sault Ste. Marie.	Orange.
Connecticut:	Minnesota:	San Angelo.
Torrington.	Hibbing.	Tyler.
Florida:	Missouri:	Virginia:
St. Augustine.	Columbia.	Charlottesville.
Idaho:	Kirksville.	Lynchburg.
Lewiston.	Lexington.	Washington:
Pocatello.	Trenton.	Ellensburg.
Illinois:	Montana:	West Virginia:
Canton.	Glendive.	Bluefield.
Charleston.	New Jersey:	Fairmont.
Christopher.	Millville.	Morgantown.
East Peoria.	New York:	Wisconsin:
Monmouth.	Piercefield.	Antigo.
Nokomis.	Port Chester.	Chippewa Falls.
Toluca.	Saratoga Springs.	Kaukauna.
Indiana:	Ohio:	Wyoming:
Crawfordsville.	Glouster.	Lincoln County.
Dugger.	Piqua.	

CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1916

YEAR.	International.	Department.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total
1897.....	8		2	18	154	35	217
1898.....	9		0	12	129	53	203
1899.....	9		1	35	303	101	449
1900.....	14		5	96	484	250	849
1901.....	7		4	123	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months).....	14		6	127	598	279	1,024
1903.....	20		3	171	743	396	1,333
1904.....	11		5	99	179	149	443
1905.....	3		1	67	143	73	287
1906.....	6		4	53	167	87	317
1907.....	3		1	72	204	93	373
1908.....	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909.....	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910.....	2	0	1	83	152	96	334
1911.....	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
1912.....	2	1	2	57	149	49	260
1913.....	2		1	63	197	59	322
1914.....	2		1	44	128	50	225
1915.....	1		1	44	126	40	212
1916.....	3		1	76	299	101	480

International.....	3
State.....	1
Central.....	76
Federal Labor Union.....	101
Local Trade Union.....	299
Total	480

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND REINSTATED

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS. Disbanded, 1: American Brotherhood of Slate Workers; membership, 300. Merged, 1: Amalgamated Glass Workers' International Association, Amalgamated with Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; membership, 800. Suspended, 1. Reinstated, 1: Piano and Organ Workers' International Union; membership, 1,000.

CENTRAL BODIES. Disbanded, 26.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS. Disbanded, 6; suspended, 125; reinstated, 32; joined internationals, 23.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS. Disbanded, 4; suspended, 53; reinstated, 7; joined internationals, 3.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LOCAL UNIONS

The American Federation of Labor in the past twenty-one years has formed out of directly chartered local unions, the following eighty-one national and international organizations:

1896.

Mineral Mine Workers' Progressive, Northern.
Actors' National Protective.
National Union of Textile Workers.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders' Union.
Brickmakers' Alliance, National.
Federated Association of Wire Drawers.

1897.

Bicycle Workers' International Union.
Gold Beaters' National Union.
Steam Engineers' National Union.
Core Makers' International Union.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.
Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's National Union.

1898.

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union of America.
Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union.

1899.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.
Brotherhood of Coal Holsting Engineers.
Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.
Team Drivers' International Union.

1900.

Chain Makers' National Union of the United States of America.
Glass Workers' National Union.
International Jewelry Workers' Union of America.
International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union.
International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.
United Metal Workers' International Union.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

1901.

Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.
Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.
International Watch Case Makers.

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International Association of Car Workers.
 Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America.
 National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.

1902.

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America.
 Sawsmiths' Union of North America.
 Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America.
 National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States.
 United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.
 International Association of Tube Workers.
 International Association of Marble Workers.
 Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America.

1903.

Quarrymen's International Union of North America.
 American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.
 International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.
 International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters.
 International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.
 Brotherhood of Railway Expressmen of America.
 International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America.
 International Shingle Weavers' Union of America.
 Bill Posters and Billers of America, National Alliance of.
 International Association of Glass House Employees.
 Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of America.
 Glove Workers' International Union of America.
 Order of Commercial Telegraphers.
 Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union of America.
 National Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America.
 International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.

1904.

Asbestos Workers of America, National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and.
 International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada.
 Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers' International Union.
 Brushmakers' International Union.
 International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.
 International Union of Building Employees of America.
 International Union of Paper Box Makers.
 Tack Makers' International Union.

1905.

National Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.
 International Union of Pavers and Rammermen.

1906.

Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America.

1907.

International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of
 United States and Canada.
 Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.
 Lobster Fishermen's National Protective Association.

1910.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

1913.

International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada (second time chartered).

1914.

Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.
Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks.

1915.

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

1916.

American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots.
American Federation of Teachers.
International Jewelry Workers' Union.

UNION LABELS

There are now 56 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.	Garment Workers, Ladies.	Painters.
Bakers and Confectioners.	Glove Workers.	Papermakers.
Bill Posters and Billers.	Grinders and Finishers, Pocket	Photo-Engravers.
Bollermakers.	Knife Blade.	Piano and Organ Workers.
Blacksmiths.	Hatters.	Plate Printers.
Bookbinders.	Horseshoers.	Powder Workers.
Boot and Shoe Workers.	Iron and Steel Workers.	Pressmen, Printing.
Brewery Workmen.	Jewelry Workers.	Print Cutters.
Brickmakers.	Lathers.	Sawsmiths.
Broommakers.	Laundry Workers.	Slate Workers.
Brushmakers.	Leather Workers on Horse	Stove Mounters.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brother-	Goods.	Tailors.
hood.	Lithographers.	Textile Workers.
Carriage and Wagon Workers.	Machine Printers and Color	Timber Workers.
Carvers, Wood.	Mixers.	Tobacco Workers
Cigarmakers.	Machinists.	Travelers' Goods and Leather
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.	Marble Workers.	Novelty Workers.
Coopers.	Metal Polishers.	Typographical.
Electrical Workers.	Metal Workers, Sheet.	Upholsterers.
Garment Workers, United.	Molders.	Weavers, Wire.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Barbers.	Hotel and Restaurant Employees.	Stage Employees, Theatrical.
Clerks, Retail.	Meat Cutters and Butcher	Teamsters.
Engineers, Steam.	Workmen.	White Rats Actors.
Firemen, Stationary.	Musicians.	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge Banner, Regatta, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers; Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water); Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Paper Box Makers; Suspendermakers, Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers; Flour and Cereal Mill Employees; Carbon Makers; Pennant Makers; Soap Makers; Gold Leaf and Jewelry Workers.

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$30,983.11 Of this amount, \$3,034.93 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$5 to \$50, for organizing central bodies and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly to the American Federation of Labor.

NAMES OF ORGANIZERS.	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount Received.
*1. Hugh Frayne	New York, New Jersey, Washington, D. C.	\$6,421 26
2. J. L. Lewis	Illinois, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Alabama, District of Columbia, New York, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Maine	4,380 03
3. C. O. Young	Idaho, California, Oregon, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, Washington	3,643 35
4. T. H. Flynn	Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, New York, Washington, D. C.	3,867 96
5. C. P. Taylor	Washington	3,592 96
6. E. T. Flood	Illinois	3,591 32
7. Henry Streifer	Ohio, New York, Indiana, Iowa, Washington, D. C.	3,421 10
8. F. H. McCarthy	Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Maine	3,399 90
9. H. L. Eichelberger	Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Washington, D. C.	3,301 26
10. J. J. Fitzpatrick	Indiana, Illinois	3,292 44
11. J. A. Flett	Canada, New York, Washington, D. C.	3,128 02
12. Cal. Wyatt	Washington, D. C., Pennsylvania, Rhode Island	3,094 37
13. J. D. Chubbuck	Indiana, Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin	2,953 56
14. Sol. Sontheimer	Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Washington, D. C.	2,650 24
15. J. G. Brown	Washington, California	2,601 67
16. Santiago Iglesias	Porto Rico	2,595 60
17. J. E. Roach	Connecticut, New York, Washington, D. C.; Massachusetts, Florida, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Missouri, Alabama, Rhode Island	2,055 43
18. John Tafelski	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois	1,784 77
19. J. M. Richie	Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware	1,701 44
20. J. B. Dale	California	1,654 55
21. P. J. Smith	Pennsylvania, Ohio	1,457 70
22. Wm. Collins	New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania	1,219 40
23. Alexander Marks	New York	1,074 80
24. A. Wilson	Illinois	978 80
25. R. Whennen	Illinois	756 03
26. Charles Huggins	West Virginia, Ohio	739 17
27. J. E. Smith	Illinois	697 70
28. A. Goode	Virginia	534 46
29. R. E. Peabody	Nebraska, Montana, Minnesota, Washington, Oregon	507 89
30. John Barnfaldi	Pennsylvania, Ohio	476 70
31. J. Olchon	Ohio	441 50
32. L. B. Travers	New Jersey, District of Columbia, Maryland	439 15
33. Fred Reilly	Pennsylvania, Ohio	384 61
34. John Novak	Ohio	337 85
35. W. Tunstall	Pennsylvania	285 86
36. A. T. Carlquist	Illinois	280 42
37. Oscar Joss	California	280 00
38. F. L. Rist	Ohio, Indiana	212 90
39. J. H. Ferguson	New York	199 51
40. P. W. Duffy	Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania	196 19
41. J. W. Brown	West Virginia	195 50
42. Wm. Wycis	Pennsylvania	194 04
43. F. W. Snyder	West Virginia	188 78
44. James Wilson	New York	188 88
45. J. Fischer	New York	162 60
46. Jerome Jones	Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina	148 12
47. H. P. Corcoran	West Virginia	141 00
48. S. Griggs	New York	134 30
49. L. V. Guye	Nebraska	133 10
50. T. O. Groves	West Virginia	130 00
51. H. Cuyplinski	Illinois	127 00
52. H. B. Tritipoe	Washington, D. C.	122 10
53. Wm. J. McSorley	New York	116 20
54. W. E. Castro	California	114 00
55. Will Herman	Indiana, Illinois	100 00
56. Lee Wilson	Illinois	93 86
57. J. J. Graney	Ohio	93 00
58. David Kreyling	Missouri, Illinois	86 85

Organizing Expenses—Continued.

NAMES OF ORGANIZERS.	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE.	Amount Received.
59. P. J. O'Brien.....	New York.....	\$85 87
60. L. Jost.....	California.....	80 00
61. J. H. Streiff.....	Iowa.....	77 35
62. F. A. Fitzgerald.....	Louisiana.....	68 00
63. M. Miller.....	Illinois.....	64 13
64. W. R. Boyer.....	Illinois.....	61 25
65. G. H. Wrenn.....	Massachusetts.....	60 00
66. J. E. Toone.....	District of Columbia.....	60 00
67. W. W. Roach.....	Kansas.....	60 00
68. H. A. Engle.....	New York.....	60 00
69. T. J. Callahan.....	Iowa.....	60 00
70. E. Ferguson.....	Texas.....	55 00
71. Charles W. Swanson.....	Wisconsin.....	50 38
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$50.....	3,034 93
	Total.....	\$80,983 11

*This amount included \$2,502.07 paid out by Organizer Frayne for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer and interpreter, and other organizers.

HATTERS' APPEAL

On December 18, 1915, an appeal was issued asking all members of organized labor to give the wages of one hour of their labor on January 27, 1916, to the assistance of the Hatters of Danbury, Connecticut, who found themselves in a serious plight as a consequence of their struggle for industrial freedom.

On May 9, 1916, another circular was issued to the Secretaries of Local Unions, requesting that the matter be taken up at their next meeting, with the request that all workers who did not contribute on January 27, 1916, should contribute an hour's wages on Thursday, June 15, 1916.

In response to these two appeals there has been received up to and including September 30, 1916, \$157,735.43. With interest collected on the money deposited, there is at present available, for the assistance of the victimized Hatters, \$158,636.89.

The following is a statement of the amounts received and expended from December 18 1915, up to and including September 30, 1916:

RECEIPTS

Receipts, December 18, 1915, to and including September 30, 1916.....	\$157,735 43
Interest collected on receipts.....	994 67
Total receipts.....	\$158,730 10

EXPENSES.

Bad checks and bank charges on checks received as follows:

Local No. 479, Plumbers.....	\$10 00
Local No. 520, Plumbers.....	12 61
Local No. 567, Culinary Alliance.....	6 75
Local No. 794, Carpenters and Joiners.....	10 00
Local No. 174, Teamsters.....	53 86
Total.....	\$93 21

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts.....	\$158,730 10
Expenses.....	93 21
Balance on hand September 30, 1916.....	\$158,636 89

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VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1908 up to and including 1916. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915	1916
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	105	107	127	138	146	151	157	158	175
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	255	255	265	285	299	318	343	341	350
Bill Posters	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	15
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	100	100	100	100	93	90	96	85	97
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	152	126	161	199	167	162	167	173	183
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	320	320	325	327	333	343	381	356	390
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	79	71	78	79	85	91	94	85	93
Brewery Workmen, International Union	400	400	400	450	450	450	520	520	496
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers	28	25	38	34	34	39	32	29	33
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	8	8	6	7	7	7	7	7	8
Brushmakers' International Union	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	81	73	71	78	.	.	.	.	.
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1796	1640	1904	1946	1923	2107	2128	1956	1977
Carriage, Wagon, & Automobile Workers	15	15	11	20	27	29	35	38	40
Carvers' Union, International Wood	13	13	12	12	10	10	11	10	11
Car Workers, International Association of	44	50	50	46	.	.	.	.	.
Cement Workers	73	90	90	90	90	90	78	16	9
Chainmakers' National Union	6	3	2	c	c	c	c	c	c
Cigar-makers' International Union	409	398	432	436	415	403	400	394	377
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	56	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	51
Clerks, Bro. of Railway Postal	500	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Clerks, Intl. Protective Asso. Retail	12	13	14	16	18	22	28	32	42
Clerks, National Post-office	13	15	21	22	28	38	36	30	63
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	19	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Commercial Telegraphers	13	8	6	6	6	8	10	12	14
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	49	41	41	43	45	46	45	39	36
Coopers' International Union	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	321	138	160	189	196	227	308	362	362
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	25	20	21	21	23	26	27	27	28
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	168	161	160	160	177	200	203	210	210
Elevator Constructors	173	107	81	80	114	160	160	160	170
Engineers, International Union of Steam	6	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Express Messengers of A. Bro. of Railway	78	46	47	40	25	10	29	4	4
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary	7	5	7	5	5	5	6	6	8
Fishermen's National Prot. Asso., Lobster	8	8	3	.	.	.	.	.	.
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	7	5	7	5	5	5	6	6	8
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes	4	2	2	c	c	c	c	c	c
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of	439	534	542	525	464	585	607	422	430
Fur Workers, International Association of	88	93	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Can., Intl.	12	11	12	12	11	13	12	11	11
Garment Workers of America, United	.	.	.	.	.	91	99	94	94
Glass Bottle Blowers' Asso. of U. S. and Canada	8	8	8	9	11	13	11	10	10
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Glass Workers, American Flint	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Glove Workers	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	130	131	134	135	135	135	135	135	131
Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A., The	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Hatters of North America, United	8	6	5	8	8	8	10	10	10
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	112	88	114	127	125	221	256	319	324
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	61	72	72	49	52	53	57	57	58
Horsehoers of United States and Canada	386	368	370	430	476	539	590	606	590
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.	100	60	80	45	45	55	64	65	67
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	100	100	100	100	100	100	102	100	100
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Asso.	4	3	4	3	2	++	++	++	++
Jewelry Workers' International	8	8	8	9	10	11	12	12	11
Lace Operatives, Amal.	16	18	187	668	584	788	699	653	861
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	58	50	50	50	50	50	55	60	60
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	40	35	29	26	26	26	28	41	43
Laundry Workers, International Union	40	40	37	26	26	19	18	18	18
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	8	8	8	6	6	c	c	c	c
Leather Workers of America, Amal.	11	13	17	21	24	26	28	35	43
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Asso.	10	9	9	9	9	10	+	+	+
Lithographic Pressfeeders	315	213	208	250	235	230	250	250	250
Longshoremen's Association, International	621	484	569	671	598	710	754	719	1009
Machinists, International Association of	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Machine Printers and Color Mixers									

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

ORGANIZATIONS.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Intl. Bro. of.....	135	100	87	100	91	80	65	81	89
Marble Workers, Intl. Association of.....	22	24	27	28	28	30	41	16	6
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....									40
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	63	63	64	31	40	54	62	61	73
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet.....	161	160	162	172	166	169	178	178	175
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mine Workers of America, United.....	2525	2670	2337	2504	2670	3708	3345	3116	3180
Miners, Western Federation of.....				513	506	485	369	167	161
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of.....	375	394	400	500	500	546	600	600	600
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	648	596	635	678	685	709	744	753	782
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	43	10	16	24	28	40	44	45	52
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	55	50	52	56	60	65	67	65	65
Pavers and Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....	15	15	15	15	15	15	16	16	15
Paving Cutters Union of U. S. of A. & Can.....	20	26	32	32	35	35	35	35	33
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.....	29	32	35	37	40	44	47	48	51
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.....	50	40	40	40	20	10	10	10	10
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & Can., Oper.....		145	152	147	157	173	180	183	184
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	180	184	200	200	260	290	297	320	320
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	59	59	58	59	65	65	77	78	77
Printing Pressmen, International.....	172	178	186	190	190	190	193	227	290
Printers, Plate, of U. S. A., Intl. S. and C.....	12	12	13	13	12	13	13	13	12
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers.....		10	7	28	35	31	35	43	44
Quarry Workers, International.....	45	45	50	35	40	40	40	36	35
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.....			228	269	287	280	287	293	308
Railway Employees' Amal. Asso., St. & Elec.....	320	333	367	393	402	457	545	589	646
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.....	10	10	11	12	12	12	12	12	12
Sawmills' National Union.....	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	255	168	160	160	160	160	160	160	217
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers.....	16	16	9	+	+	+	+	+	9
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....									6
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	6	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6
Slate Workers.....	27	21	14	7	4	3	3	3	+
Spinners' Intl. Union.....	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.....	56	56	56	56	d	d	d	d	d
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.....								27	20
Steel Plate Transferrers' Asso. of America.....		1	1	1	1		1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N. A.....	31	35	40	42	43	45	45	49	49
Stonemasons' Association, Journeymen.....	83	89	80	86	89	66	60	44	43
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	14	10	9	11	11	11	11	11	12
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	93	80	80	87	87	96	98	90	93
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	161	132	117	120	120	120	120	120	120
Teacher, Am. Fed.....									27
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	377	320	358	382	415	469	511	516	590
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	150	150	200	250	250	250	250	250	250
Textile Workers of America, United.....	129	100	100	100	109	162	180	189	255
Theatrical Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance.....	62	80	91	98	110	132	150	180	181
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....	19	17	19	21	24	27	30	30	28
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective.....	14	15	8	3	3	3	3	3	3
Tin Printers.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	46	43	41	40	37	36	37	39	34
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.....	5	5	6	8	9	9	9	9	10
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union.....			13	17	18	19	17	15	27
Typographical Union, International.....	440	455	491	518	547	564	594	591	607
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	28	28	28	28	28	31	31	35	35
Watch-case Engravers, International.....	2	2	2	2	c	c	c	c	c
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle.....	17	18	18	15	15	31	25	7	9
White Rats Actors' Union of A.....	11	11	11	66	110	110	110	87	90
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.....	3	7	6	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wood Workers, Amalgamated.....	40	41	32	31	e	e	e	e	e
Centrals.....	608	594	632	631	560	621	647	673	717
Locals.....	616	608	647	680	590	659	670	489	705
State Branches.....	38	39	39	38	41	42	43	44	45
Total vote of Unions.....	16892	15880	16737	18643	18499	20976	21185	20433	21906

* Charter revoked. ** Withdrew. + Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. ++ Disbanded.
a Merged with Machinists. b Merged with Molders. c Surrendered charter. d Not recognized.
e Merged with Carpenters. f Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. g Merged with Operative Plasterers. h Merged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

CHARTERS—Reports from the Secretaries of 100 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 2,699 charters have been issued during the past year and 4,403 lapsed and surrendered—4,264 of the charters lapsed and surrendered were locals of the National and International unions, and 149 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 96 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 206,421.

STRIKES—Reports from 77 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 1,622 strikes, in which there were 260,015 involved. Of that number 128,181 secured improved conditions. The total cost of the strikes at that amount \$154,008.91. Adding to that amount \$154,008.91, donations made by other unions, we have a total of \$2,802,799.24 expended to sustain members on strike during the year.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pendg.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pendg.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
A. F. of L. Locals	400	149	11,400	26	10	9	6	4,920	2,438		2½ to 50c per hr.		\$17,816 93	\$3,277 61
Asbestos Workers.	36	2	200	6	4			200	334		\$1 to \$2 per w.	1 hour	7,695 00	1,525 77
Bakers	33	57	2,428	9				334	334				5,845 00	
Barbers	50	21	38,351	7		3		1,300	800	200	50c to \$1 per d.		1,300 00	
Bill Posters	10	1	300	3				300	300			1 hour a		
Blacksmiths	38	9	1,500	1		1		1,088	56	42			890 00	165 56
Bookbinders	26	8	4,006	6	1	3	2	441	201	b28			44,368 00	
Bookbinders	10	3	1,693	2	1	1		67	30	35	50c to \$3 per d.	1 hour c	4,239 20	10,000 00
Boot and Shoe Workers	26	6	4,926	2	1			55	300		25c per day	4 per week	253 00	1,425 00
Brewery Workers	10	28		20	2	5	1	1,143	1,036	84		1 hour g	59,047 65	
Brickmakers	13	8		7		4								
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers	18	4	2,173	1	1	1		95	50	45	41 2-3c per d. f		1,500 00	2,100 00
Brickmakers	106	81	8,366	1	1	1					25 per cent		600 00	100 00
Carmen, Railway	151	228	1,000										126,759 50	500 00
Carpenters	12	2	82	6	2	3	1	1,700	500	200	\$1 to \$3 per w	3 hrs. per wk. d	1,500 00	
Carriage and Wagon Workers	1	1	40					40	100		15 per cent	1 to 9 per wk.	400 00	
Carvers, Wood	1	8	2,000	23	3	20	3		1,461	2,406			14,000 00	
Cigarmakers	40	2	1,600											
Clerks, Post-office	8	2			1	1		891	3,000	12	30c per day	1 hour	5,500 00	1,450 00
Clerks, Railway	38	32	1,233	1	1	1								
Clerks, Postal	6		719	2										
Clerks, Retail	68	60				2								
Compressed Air Workers	1	1	400	4	1	1		635	635					626 35
Coopers	1	3		4	1	1		160	160		50c per day	25c. e	3,000 00	700 00
Cutting Die Makers	4		22	1	1			60	60				400 00	400 00
Diamond Workers			70		1									
Electrical Workers	98	16	11,000	38	7	5		6,750	110	1,600	25 per cent	4 per week	3,200 00	505 00
Elevator Constructors			143	30	10			2,000	2,000		25c to 85c	2 to 4 per week		
Engravers, Photo			211	7							\$1.25 f			
Firemen, Stationary	18	2	1,000	8	1	5		894	880	14		4 hours a wk. +	12,770 31	5,000 00
Foundry Employees	8	7	200	4	1	2		600	500	100	2 to 9c p'r h	1/2 hour k	3,500 00	1,427 77
Garment Workers, United	18	19	20,000	9	2	4	3	23,576	2,115	1,000	5 to 10 per ct.	2 hours per wk	20,000 00	6,000 00
Garment Workers, Ladies	8	3	9,876	3	2	1	1	89,000	277	1,500	10 to 15 per ct.	1 and 2 per wk.	685,000 00	6,000 00
Glass Bottle Blowers	8					2				155	25 per cent		1,000 00	115 00

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pending.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Glass Workers, Flint	8	3	106										\$86,747 65	
Glove Workers.	1	2				2		400	3,175 h				1,083 00	
Groove Cutters.	6	40						2,700	2,075				132,973 00	\$1,750 00
Hat and Cap Makers, Cloth.	4,892	51				3	2	2,075	2,000	75	75c	1 hour per wk.	32,000 00	1,000 00
Hatters.	1		400					100	100				2,700 00	7,400 00
Hodcarriers.	102	46	1,298	48	9			6,771	15,000+			1 and 2 per day		
Horsehoes.	14	3				1		384	300	84	1 to 12c per h.		11,100 00	
Hotel and Restaurant Workers	94	118	1,352	276	25	13	8	1,383	1,032	173	1 to 12c per h.	1 and 2 per day	38,849 19	23,476 30
Iron and Steel Workers.	12		500					120	120	120	1 to 12c per h.		450 00	450 00
Lace Operatives, Amal.				5	1		1	50	600				1,193 60	360 00
Lathers.	25	15						1,100	1,100		20 per cent			
Laundry Workers.	22	9	260	3	1			212	212		25c per day		3,800 00	850 00
Lithographers.	52	35	302					700	700	5,000			13,468 00	200 00
Longshoremen.				3		1		28,000	12,511	8,918	50c per day	1 hour	250,928 49	1,200 00
Machinists	58	10	49,331	128	1	81		2,500	4,000		10c		6,000 00	6,154 30
Maintenance of Way Employees.	3	5	3,237											150 00
Marble Workers.														65 00
Masters, Mates and Pilots	38	17	2,820	1	2	3		3,070	1,250	920	15 to 40c per day			82 50
Meat Cutters.														
Metal Workers, Sheet.	42	20		8	1	1	2	500	450	50			9,355 00	
Mine Workers, United.	208	178						5,900	5,500	900	5 to 13 per ct.s		12,648 59	8,732 18
Miners, Western Federation of.	36	14	2,400					1,180			25 to 50c per d.		403,724 58	
Molders, Iron	11	19				34								
Musicians	23	23												
Painters	109	96	3,972	6		5		2,000	1,100	900			21,121 86	2,000 00
Papermakers.	22	2	2,000	30	1	5		526	344	182	From 25c to \$1.40 per d.	1 and 2 per day	22,887 80	1,412 59
Patternmakers.			1,130			7								
Paving Cutters	4		200	20				1,000	1,500	10			20,000 00	
Piano and Organ Workers.	2							400		400				75 00
Plumbers and Steamfitters	41	21		73	8	1	2	2,026	1,982	121	50c to \$1 pr.d.		22,236 00	
Polishers, Metal	20	3	3,800	20	3	30	3	2,200	1,900	300	5 to 25 per ct.q		62,480 00	3,000 00
Potters	1	1	126			1		68					29,271 56	8,034 59
Powder and High Explosive Workers	1		20		1			140	140		25 per cent	1 hour		
Print Cutters														325 00
Printers, Machine.			3											200 00
Printers, Plate.								8	56				134 00	
Printing Pressmen.	11	9											31,779 70	
Pulp and Sulphite Workers.	14	4	1,300	1	3	5		1,400	600	800			15,000 00	500 00
Quarry Workers.	4	1	500	7	7	2		1,020	1,000	20	16 to 50c pr. d.		12,208 05	61 15
Railway Employees, Street	56	6	10,000	16	9	6	5	11,400	9,800	900	1 to 7 cts. pr. d.		108,118 68	10,365 24
Roofers, Slate and Tile.	2	5		1				80			10c			

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

ORGANIZATION.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pending.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Roofers, Composition	8	5	25	3				230	230		25 to 30c pr. d.			
Sawmills			12,000	2				1,200	1,200				\$10,000 00	\$20 00
Seamen	5	1												8,715 00
Signalmen, Railroad	2		50	1				100			15 to 20 per ct.		200 00	
Stage Employees	40	4	600	10	5	7		500	450	150	20 per ct.		10,000 00	1,500 00
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen	1		86	1				17	17		\$2 per week			
Stenographers and Electrotypers	4	2	300	3	1	3		360	2,000	40	6 1/4 to 50c pr. d.		2,325 00	300 00
Stonecutters	4	8	723			1		210	320				25,287 71	100 00
Switchmen	34	29	800	8		1	4	1,800	700	75	10 per ct.	**	57,163 50	900 00
Teachers	9							14,000	13,000	450	25c per day	1/2 hour	10,050 00	
Teamsters	135		6,728	67		4	1	15,500	15,000	500	15 to 20 per ct.		21,000 00	300 00
Telegraphers, Commercial	70	11	20,000	11		2	1	300	150	100	+++		10,000 00	1,000 00
Tile Workers	5	1		2	1	2	1	30					400 00	1,600 00
Tip Printers														
Tobacco Workers	4	3	4											
Transferors, Steel Plate														
Travelers, Goods and Leather	6	4	275	2	1	2	1	800	754	500	\$1 per week	3 hours per w.	1,785 00	250 00
Novelty Workers			2,300	1	2			3,100	2,300	65	34c to 50c a d.		8,000 00	100 00
Tunnel and Subway Workers	38	10	660	4		7		80	15	52	+++		158,232 28	
*Typographical Union	7	2	1,400	12		1		1,050	1,000		50 cts.		5,107 00	
Upholsterers														
Weavers, Elastic Goring	24	1	645			10					10 to 25 per c.			10 00
Weavers, Shingle	22		10,400	33		2		869					9,643 50	110 00
White Rats Actors														
Totals	2,899	4,403	267,152	1,135	133	305	49	260,015	126,181	29,436			\$2,708,789 33	\$164,009 91

* From June 1, 1915, to May 31, 1916; a, for 14; b, balance employed elsewhere; c, for all members when air pressure reaches 30 pounds; f, for 2,000; g, work finished; h, including number benefited by settlements secured without strike; i, including gains in localities securing settlements without striking; j, increase of 7 1/2% on piece-work rates and 5 cents per hour on time work; k, in one shop; l, 7 1/2% per cent on piece work, 5 cents per hour on time work; m, 20 per cent in 2 cities; n, several locals established 5-day week; o, returned to work under same conditions; p, for 1,250 members; q, for 5,000 members; r, 85 factories granted 8-hour day; many reduced from 10 to 9 hours; s, 5 to 13 per cent in bituminous fields, 7 1/2 to 12 per cent in anthracite field; t, 10 to 20 per cent on piece work, and wages increased to \$4 and \$5 per day on day work; u, 16 1/2 cents per day advance in wages for 150, 20 cents for 300, 40 cents for 150; v, hours reduced from 12 to 8 per day for 800 men; w, strike to restore union scale that prevailed until about two years ago, 400 members secured settlement, about 100 in strikes still pending; x, for 479 members; y, for 43 members; z, 5 per cent advance for 230 members, 10 per cent advance for 90 members; **, 6 agreements provided for 8-hour day secured without strike; ***, 20 per cent for tile layers, 10 per cent for helpers; ***, for 500 members; \$, for 5,769 members, secured without strike; + for 880 members, 268 secured the 6-day week instead of 7, as result of strikes; secured without strike, hours reduced 4 per day for 1,456 members, and 2,014 have 6-day week instead of 7, including members securing gains without strike. +++, \$1.00 per day in millinery trade; 25c a day in the cloth hat and cap branches; 6,300 workers affected by these agreements. ++++, increases in wages in all settlements, including those secured without strike; total \$1,550,520 for the year; +++++, 7 agreements secured without strike, all involving increases in pay, one included reduction in hours, affecting 500 members.

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

ORGANIZATIONS.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members, wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
A. F. of L. Locals.....	\$2,298 85	\$74 50	\$3,297 67	\$1,623 90	\$133 89	\$2,223 35
Bakers.....	4,051 75	1,300 00	59,988 00			
Barbers.....	35,075 00		58,320 73			
Boilermakers.....	13,225 50					153 75
Bookbinders.....	5,100 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	18,550 00		84,783 43	4,900 00		
Brickmakers.....	200 00					
Bridge and Structural Iron Wk. Carpenters.....	27,550 00					
Carpenters.....	314,977 18	45,662 50				
Carvers, Wood.....	2,550 00				42 75	
Cigarmakers.....	210,000 00		200,000 00			90,000 00
Clerks, Post Office.....	5,480 00		7,300 00			
Clerks, Retail.....	14,855 00		10,550 00			
Compressed Air Workers.....	2,700 00			400 00		
Coopers.....	7,050 00		600 00			
Cutting Die Makers.....	300 00					
Diamond Workers.....		100 00	1,780 00	210 00		1,125 00
Electrical Workers.....	31,250 00		67,000 00			
Engravers, Photo.....	3,350 00		10,269 00			
Firemen, Stationary.....	6,400 00	1,200 00				
Foundry Employees.....	175 00		865 00			
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	47,500 00					
Glove Workers.....	100 00					
Granite Cutters.....	36,000 00					
Hat and Cap Makers, Cloth Hatters.....	42,016 00		3,460 00			
Hatters.....	11,850 00					
Hodcarriers.....	1,850 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Employees.....	67,742 92		95,455 54			
Iron and Steel Workers.....	7,450 00	1,200 00	17,285 00			
Lace Operatives, Amal Lathers.....	3,700 00	200 00				
Laundry Workers.....	4,994 15					
Lithographers.....	500 00					
Machinists.....	11,400 00					
Marble Workers.....	67,552 55					c10,000 00
Meat Cutters.....	600 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	3,600 00					
Miners, Western Federation.....	15,850 00					
Molders, Iron.....	10,358 55		45,107 55			
Painters.....	68,129 89		a166,052 80			8,030 00
Papermakers.....	125,061 00	13,725 00	b31,100 00			
Patternmakers.....	1,925 00					
Paving Cutters.....	8,175 00		14,833 74		1,710 13	2,238 50
Piano and Organ Workers.....	2,175 00			1,150 00		
Plumbers.....	900 00	200 00	1,200 00			300 00
Polishers, Metal.....	23,590 00		71,795 00			
Potters.....	11,424 00					700 00
Print Cutters.....	14,724 80					
Printers, Machine.....	1,200 00					1,000 00
Printing Pressmen.....	600 00					
Quarry Workers.....	12,000 00					d
Railway Employees, Street.....	1,980 00					
Roofers, Slate and Tile.....	353,294 78		88,303 97			
Roofers, Composition.....	900 00					
Sawsmiths.....	1,500 00					
Seamen.....	100 00					
Spinnors.....	e16,000 18					
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	2,000 00					5,000 00
Stove Mounters.....	5,600 00					
Switchmen.....	1,300 00					
Tailors.....	173,475 75					
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	12,336 50		20,880 20			
Telegraphers, Railroad.....	300 00					
Textile Workers.....	107,200 00					
Tobacco Workers.....	2,000 00					
Travelers' Goods and L. N. W. Tunnel and Subway Con.....	1,550 00		6,782 00			
**Typographical Union.....	500 00					
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	988 00			900 00		f
White Rats Actors.....	274,822 31					
	300 00					
	2,200 00		1,600 00	17,100 00		
Totals.....	\$2,264,610 66	\$63,662 00	\$1,068,609 43	\$26,283 90	\$1,886 77	\$120,770 60

* Shipwreck benefits, \$10,282.15. ** from June 1, 1915, to May 31, 1916. a including \$11,425 disability benefits. b disability benefits. c loss in dues only. d old age exemption card benefits, \$150. e hospital and burial benefits. f old age pensions, \$352,920; expended for maintenance of Union Printers' Home, \$109,431.95.

Your attention is called to the fact that the amounts herein reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year are, in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. A number of international unions have not as yet established benefit features, and others pay only partial benefits. It must be borne in mind that in every trade, local unions have existed independently prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception they provide death, sick, out-of-work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of the local union. This system has retarded international unions in establishing and extending benefit features, for the reason that it is difficult to bring locals that have to support their own benefit funds to consent to increase the tax to such an amount as would enable the internationals to secure the means for such purpose. In most instances, benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief, paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

- Asbestos Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 200. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 4. Number involved in strikes, 200; benefited, 200. Gains in wages as a result of strikes, 2½ to 5 cents per hour. 10 agreements secured without strike.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers.**—Charters issued, 33; surrendered, 57. Gain in membership, 2,428. Strikes won, 9; several shop strikes pending. Number involved in strikes, 544; benefited, 334; 210 involved in pending strikes. Increases in wages from \$1 to \$2 per week were secured through strikes, and in some instances the hours of labor were reduced 1 per day. Agreements secured by 152 local unions without strike, involving 17,000 members; reduced hours of labor totaling 211,635 per year, and increased wages \$159,250 per year. Cost of strikes, \$7,895. No reductions in wages. Death benefits, \$4,051.75; death benefits, members' wives, \$1,300; sick benefits, \$59,988. Donations to other unions, \$1,525.77.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 50; surrendered, 21. Gain in membership, 38,351. Strikes won, 7; pending, 3. Number involved, 1,000; benefited, 800; involved in strikes pending, 200. There were instances of attempts to reduce wages, but they were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$5,845. Death benefits, \$35,075; sick benefits, \$58,320.73.
- Bill Posters.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 100. Strikes won, 3. Number involved, 300; benefited, 300. Wages increased from 50 cents to \$1 per day as result of strikes. 20 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$1,500. No reductions in wages in past year. As result of organization, 8-hour day has been established with a uniform wage-scale.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 9. Gain in membership, 1,500. Strikes won, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 98; benefited, 56 number of persons involved in pending strike, 42. 14 members reduced hours of labor from 10 to 9 per day through strike. 27 agreements were secured without strike. An average increase of 2½ cents per hour was secured for 3,500 members employed on several railroad systems. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$850.
- Bollermakers.**—Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 4,006. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 1; lost, 2; pending, 3. Number involved, 441; benefited, 201. Number involved in strikes pending, 28. Balance left strike locality and are employed elsewhere. Several agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$44,358. Death benefits, \$13,225.50; unemployed benefits, \$153.75. Donations to other unions, \$165.56.
- Bookbinders.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 1,693. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 65 benefited, 30; number involved in strike pending, 35. One shop was organized as a result of strike, reducing hour of labor from nine to eight per day. 30 agreements were secured without strike. There was one attempt to reduce wages, which was successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$4,289.20. Death benefits, \$5,100.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 4,926. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1. Number involved, 57; benefited, 300. Increases in wages ranging from 50 cents to \$3 per day secured through strikes 12 movements for reduction of hours from 54 to 50 per week were successful. Local unions were successful

in securing increases in wages wherever condition of organization warranted submission of price list calling for increases. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$253. Death benefits, \$18,550; sick benefits, \$84,783.43; traveling benefits, \$4,900. Donations to other unions, \$10,000.

Brewery Workmen.—Charters issued, 10 local and 6 branch unions; surrendered, 28 local and 15 branch unions. Strikes won, 20 compromised, 2; lost, 1; pending, 5. Number involved 1,143; benefited, 1,036; number involved in strikes pending, 84. Gains in wages 25 cents per day for 479 members. Reduction in hours of labor, 1 hour per week for 48 members. Improvement in sanitary conditions and installing of individual lockers among gains made. 240 agreements, controlled by 232 local and branch unions, governing working conditions of 17,673 members, were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$59,047.65. Through organization, wages have been increased on an average of \$1.50 per member per week and hours of labor reduced five per week per member. Donations to other unions \$1,425.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.—Charters issued, 13; surrendered, 8. Strikes won, 7; lost, 1; pending, 4. Five agreements secured without strike. No reduction in wages in past year; Death benefits, \$200.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 2,173. 76 agreements secured without strike, benefiting 5,789 members, with average wage increase of 41½ cents per day. Death benefits, \$27,550. Donations to other unions, \$2,100.

Broom and Whisk Makers.—No report.

Brushmakers.—Charters surrendered, 1. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 95; benefited, 50; number involved in strikes pending, 45. 25 per cent increase in wages as result of strikes. 16 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$1,500. Donations to other unions, \$100.

Carmen, Brotherhood Railway.—Charters issued, 106; surrendered, 81. Gain in membership, 8,366. 63 agreements secured without strike. Renewed agreements and schedules of wages with 14 railroads in the southeast territory under which members on these roads received from 1½ to 5 cents per hour increase, the aggregate amounting approximately to \$425,000 a year. New agreements were negotiated with 5 railroads under which members on these roads received from 1½ to 3 cents per hour increase. Renewed agreements with 11 railroads under which members receive from 1 to 3 cents increase in wages per hour. Negotiated agreements with 5 terminal companies carrying better working conditions and increased pay for all the members. Hours of labor reduced for members on many railroads from 10 hours to 9 per day. Cost of strike, \$600.

Carpenters.—Charters issued, 151; surrendered, 228. Gain in membership, 1,000. Cost of strikes, \$126,759.50. Death benefits, \$314,977.18. Death benefits members' wives, \$45,662.50. Donations to other unions, \$500.

Carriage and Wagon Workers.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 400. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 2; lost, 1; pending, 3. Number involved, 1,700; benefited, 500; number involved in strikes pending, 200; balance returned to work under same conditions, later receiving wage increase. Hours of labor were reduced from 51 to 48 per week for 450 members. 32 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$1,500.

Carvers, Wood.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 82. Strikes won, 14; number involved, 40; benefited, 100. As result of strikes, wages were increased \$1 per week for 12 members, \$2 per week for 2 members, and \$3 per week for 1 member. Hours of labor per week were reduced in shops as follows: 1 from 59 to 50; 3 from 60 to 54; 1 from 56 to 49½; 1 from 54 to 50; 10 from 52 to 50; 3 from 51 to 49½; 3 from 48 to 44. No reductions in wages were made in past year. Cost of strikes, \$400. Death benefits \$2,550. Tool insurance, \$42.75.

Cigarmakers.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 2,000. Strikes won, 23; compromised, 3; lost, 3; pending, 20. Number benefited, 1,461; number involved in strikes pending, 2,406. Gains in wages average 15 per cent. Improvements in stock and general sanitary conditions of shops. 11 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$14,000. As a result of organization the hours of labor have been reduced from an unlimited number to 8 per day, 20 years have been added to the average life of workers in the cigar industry and

- wages increased from 50 to 100 per cent depending upon the thoroughness of organization in different districts. Death benefits, \$210,000; sick benefits, \$200,000; unemployed benefits, \$90,000.
- Clerks, Post-office.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,600. Increased wages and improved Workmen's Compensation Law are among the improvements realized. Attempts to reduce wages and to nullify Sunday closing laws were successfully resisted. Steady improvement in working conditions since affiliation with labor movement in 1906. Death benefits, \$5,460; sick benefits, \$7,300. Donations to other unions, \$1,450.
- Clerks, Railway.**—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 32. Gain in membership, 1,233. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 891; benefited, 3,000; number involved in strikes pending, 12. Wages increased 30 cents per day; hours of labor reduced 1 per day. 8 agreements secured without strike, benefiting 5,200 members with increased wages and improved working conditions. Cost of strikes, \$5,500. As result of organization, wages have been increased 10 per cent and hours of labor reduced 1 and 2 hours daily. Saturday half-holiday throughout year secured in agreements with five railroads.
- Clerks, Railway Postal.**—Charters issued, 6. Gain in membership, 719. 15-day annual vacation for all railway postal clerks was gained at the last session of Congress; also 30 days additional leave of absence without pay, full time for dead-heading and transportation commissions good on any railroad while traveling under orders of Department.
- Clerks, Retail.**—Charters issued, 68; surrendered, 60. Number of strikes won, 2; pending, 2. Death benefits, \$14,855; sick benefits, \$10,550. Donations to other unions, \$626.35.
- Compressed Air Workers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 400. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1. Number involved, 635; benefited, 635. Wages were increased 25 cents per day for all members when air pressure reaches 30 pounds. Strict enforcement of labor law governing compressed air work has been secured by organization. Cost of strikes, \$3,000. Death benefits, \$2,700; traveling benefits, \$400. Donations to other unions, \$700.
- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 4. Number involved, 160; benefited, 160. Wages increased 50 cents a day as a result of strikes. 30 agreements were secured without strike. An increase of \$2 a week secured by members in five cities. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$400. Members formerly worked 10 hours a day; they are now enjoying the eight-hour day with 70 per cent increase in wages accomplished through organization. Death benefits, \$7,050; sick benefits, \$600. Donations to other unions, \$400.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.**—Gain in membership, 22. Strikes won 1; compromised, 1. Number involved, 60; benefited, 60. Death benefits, \$300.
- Diamond Workers.**—Gain in membership, 70. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1. Number involved, 110; benefited, 110. Organized one shop which has been non-union for twelve years on following basis: Reduced hours of labor from 52 to 48 per week; piecework abolished and regular scale of wages paid in other shops is now in force. More than 50 people directly benefited by this settlement. Another shop reduced hours from 52 to 48 per week. Wage revisions on higher scales are in progress. Lead weights considered unsanitary have been replaced with iron weights. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$3,260. Death benefits, members' wives, \$100; sick benefits, \$1,780; traveling benefits, \$210; unemployed benefits, \$1,125; Donations to other unions, \$505.
- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 98; surrendered, 16. Gain in membership, 11,000. Strikes won, 38; compromised, 7; pending, 5. Number involved, 6,750; benefited, 5,150. Number involved in strikes pending, 1,600. Wages advanced 25 to 85 cents per day as a result of strikes and hours of labor were reduced from 2 to 4 hours per week. 317 agreements were secured without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$31,250; sick benefits, \$67,000.
- Elevator Constructors.**—Gain in membership, 143. Strikes won, 30; compromised, 10. Number involved, 2,000; benefited, 2,000. An average increase in wages \$1.25 a day for 2,000 members. 15 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Members of this trade formerly worked for \$2.25 a day for 10 hours; as a result of organization the minimum wage is now \$5 a day for 8 hours. Donations to other unions, \$5,000.
- Engineers, Steam.**—No report.
- Engravers, Photo.**—Gain in membership, 211; strikes won, 7; pending, 5. Twenty-one agreements

were secured without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$12,770.31. Death benefits, \$3,350; sick benefits, \$10,269. Donations to other unions, \$1,427.77.

Firemen, Stationary.—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,000. Strikes won, 8; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 894; benefited, 880. Number involved in strikes pending, 14. Hours of labor were reduced from 12 to 8 per day for 880 members. 208 members gained the 6-day week instead of 7 days. New agreements were secured without strike affecting 5,000 members and in each case better conditions were secured. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted and in 2 cases resistance resulted in securing an increase in wages. Cost of strikes, \$3,500. When the trade was first organized 12 hours constituted a day's work for all; now 75 per cent of the trade is working 8 hours, with the 6-day week instead of 7 days, with a marked advance in wages. Death benefits, \$6,400; death benefits to members' wives, \$1,200. Donations to other unions, \$6,000.

Foundry Employees.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 7. Gain in membership, 200. Strikes won, 4; pending, 2. Number involved, 600; benefited, 500. Number involved in strikes pending, 100. Wages increased from 2 to 9 cents per hour. In one city hours of labor were reduced from 9 to 8½. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$15,000. As a result of organization the 9-hour day has been established in the trade and wages increased from 25 to 50 per cent higher in the union shops, with payment for time and one-half for all overtime. Death benefits, \$175; sick benefits, \$865. Donations to other unions, \$43.

Fur Workers.—No report.

Garment Workers, United.—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 19. Strikes won, 9; lost, 3; pending, 4. Number involved, 23,576; benefited, 2,115. Number involved in strikes pending, 1,000. Gains in wages from 5 to 10 per cent. Hours of labor reduced from 50 hours to 48 per week. 274 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$20,000. Donations to other unions, \$6,000.

Garment Workers, Ladies.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 20,000. Strikes won, 9; compromised, 2; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 89,000; involved in strikes pending, 1,500. Gains in wages average from 10 to 15 per cent. Hours of labor reduced from 50 to 49 hours per week; several branches work 48 hours a week. 11 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$685,000.

Glass Bottle Blowers.—Charters issued, 8. Gain in membership, 9,876. Strikes won, 3; pending, 2. Number involved, 427; number benefited, 277; number involved in strikes pending, 150. 25 per cent increase in wages as a result of strike. General agreement with manufacturers' association secured without strike carrying 10 per cent increase in wages. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Saturday half-holiday now prevails for five months during the year. Cost of strikes, \$1,000. Death benefits, \$47,500. Donations to other unions, \$115.

Glass Workers, Flint.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 106. Strikes pending, 8. Number involved, 807. All wage agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$86,747.65.

Glove Workers.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 2. Strikes pending, 2; number involved, 300. 1 strike pending against reduction in wages. 5 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$1,065. Death benefits, \$100.

Granite Cutters.—Charters issued, 6 (new jobs); charters surrendered, 4 (work finished). Strikes won, 21. Number of persons involved, 2,700; benefited, including settlements secured without strike, 3,175. Wages previously ranging from \$3.20 to \$3.60 per day were leveled up to a general \$4 per day minimum for a 44-hour week. Many sanitary improvements in workshops have been accomplished. 61 agreements were secured without strikes; these largely depended upon settlements made where strikes had occurred and were successful. Cost of strikes, \$132,973. Death benefits, \$36,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,750.

Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.—No report.

Hat and Cap Makers, United Cloth.—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 2,892. Strikes won, 51; lost, 2; pending, 3. Number involved, 2,075; benefited, 2,000; number involved in strikes pending, 75. 131 agreements were secured without strike with the millinery manufacturers' association, and 120 agreements with the cloth hat and cap manufacturers. The agreement in the millinery branch carried an increase in wages from \$12 to \$15 to a

minimum of \$30 per week; the agreement with the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Association carried an increase of 15 per cent in wages and a decrease of 1 hour per week were gained. 6,300 workers were benefited by these agreements.

- Hatters**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 400. Strikes won, 1. Number involved, 100. Benefited, 100. 200 agreements secured without strike. Wages increased 15 per cent for 8,000 members. Marked improvements in sanitary conditions in many factories. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$2,700. Death benefits, \$42,016. Donations to other unions, \$7,400.
- Hodcarriers**—Charters issued, 102; surrendered, 46. Gain in membership, 1,298. Number of strikes won, 48; compromised, 9. Number involved, 6,771; number benefited, 15,000. Advances in wages secured in 84 cities ranging from 1 cent to 12 cents per hour. Gains in wages aggregate a total of \$2,220,598 for the year. In 4 cities hours of labor were reduced 1 per day and in 2 cities they were reduced 2 hours per day. No reductions in wages in any instance. Death benefits, \$11,850.
- Horseeshoers**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number involved, 384; benefited, 300; number involved in strikes pending, 84. An increase of 50 cents per day for 500 members. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$11,100. 9-hour day with no overtime is practically universal in the trade; minimum wage scale of \$3.50 has been adopted, which is a 100 per cent increase over the wages received 10 years ago.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employees**—Charters issued, 94; surrendered, 118. Gain in membership, 1,352. Strikes won, 276; compromised, 25; lost, 8; pending, 13. Number involved, 1,283; benefited, 1,032. Number involved in strikes pending, 173. Cost of strikes, \$38,849.19. Death benefits, \$67,742.92. Sick benefits, \$95,455.54. Donations to other unions, \$23,476.30.
- Iron and Steel Workers**—Charters issued, 12. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes pending, 1. Number involved, 120. A number of wage agreements were secured without strike, the members affected receiving advances in wages of 11 per cent, 16½ per cent, 35½ per cent and 57½ per cent. Negotiations pending with four firms on wage agreements. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$7,450. Death benefits, members' wives, \$1,200. Sick benefits, \$17,285. Donations to other unions, \$450.
- Jewelry Workers**—No report.
- Lace Operatives**—Number of strikes won, 5; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number involved, 50; benefited, 600. An increase of 7½ per cent on piece work rates and 5 cents per hour on time work, benefiting 600 members. Sanitary conditions have been improved in a number of shops. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$1,193.60. Death benefits, \$3,700. Death benefits, members' wives, \$200. Donations to other unions, \$360.
- Lathers**—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 15. Number of strikes won, 2. Number involved, 1,100; benefited, 1,100. 20 per cent gain in wages were secured in 2 cities. Several local unions established the 5-day week. No reductions in wages in the past year. Wages increased 100 per cent since organized. Death benefits, \$4,994.15.
- Laundry Workers**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 9. Gain in membership, 260. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1. Number involved, 212; benefited, 212. An average gain of 25 cents a day per member. 40 old agreements were renewed without change. 22 new agreements secured by newly organized local unions inaugurated improved conditions for the members. 20 agreements established a 9-hour day and 2 agreements an 8-hour day. Cost of strikes, \$3,800. The organization has established the 9-hour day and in some instances the 8-hour day for its members; the unorganized laundry workers work 11 and 12 hours a day. Death benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$850.
- Leather Workers on Horse Goods**—No report.
- Lithographers**—Gain in membership, 302. 6 agreements were secured without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. 2 agreements were secured reducing hours of labor, one from 53 to 48 a week and the other from 52 to 48 a week. Death benefits, \$11,400.
- Longshoremen**—Charters issued, 52; surrendered, 35. Strikes won, 3. Number involved, 700. 1 strike pending involving entire Pacific Coast membership of approximately 5,000. 180 agreements secured without strike covering approximately 300 locals. Cost of strikes, \$13,468. Donations to other unions, \$1,200.
- Machinists**—Gain in membership, 49,331. Strikes won in 128 shops in 35 cities; strikes pending, 81

Number involved, 28,000; benefited, 12,511. Number involved in strikes pending, 8,918. Gains in wages average 50 cents per member per day. 8-hour day secured for 40,000 members. 155 agreements secured without strike according to reports received at headquarters. Many agreements secured that were not reported on. Cost of strikes, \$250,928.49. Death benefits, \$67,552.55. Unemployed benefits, \$10,000. Donations to other unions, \$6,154.30.

Maintenance of Way Employees.—Charters issued, 58; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 3,237. One strike compromised involving 2,500; 4,000 benefited. Increase in wages of 10 cents per member per day. 9 agreements were secured without strike; 8 regulating working conditions and wages and one covered working conditions only; these agreements affected 20,000 members. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strike, \$6,000. As result of organization the wages of the members average \$45 per month higher.

Marble Workers.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 5. 1 agreement secured without strike, increasing wages 30 cents a day. Death benefits, \$600.

Masters, Mates and Pilots.—Donations to other unions, \$65.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 17. Gain in membership, 2,820. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 2; pending, 3. Number involved, 3,070; benefited, 1,250; number involved in strikes pending, 920; balance returned to work under same conditions. Increases in wages ranging from 15 cents to 40 cents per day were secured; benefiting 1,250 members. In many places hours of labor were reduced and steady times given. 61 agreements were secured without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$3,600. Donations to other unions, \$8,250.

Metal Workers, Sheet.—Charters issued, 42; surrendered, 20; strikes won, 8; compromised, 1; lost, 2, pending, 1. Number members involved, 500; benefited, 450; number involved in strikes pending, 50. Gains in wages average 10 per cent per member. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$9,355. Death benefits, \$15,850.

Mine Workers, United.—Charters issued, 208; surrendered, 178. Contracts were negotiated in both the bituminous and anthracite coal fields; for a two-year period beginning April 1, 1916, in the bituminous fields and for four years in the anthracite fields beginning April 1, 1916. Benefited in securing the adoption of a universal mine-run system (paying the miner for the coal he mines) in the bituminous coal fields, a principle for which the miners have been contending for 30 years, an increase in wages ranging from 5 to 13 per cent and the recognition of the United Mine Workers as a contracting party. In the anthracite fields the 8-hour workday was secured for 170,000 members and an advance in wages ranging from 7½ to 12 per cent. 200,000 men were benefited by the shorter workday provision. Both agreements were secured without strikes.

Miners, Western Federation.—Charters issued, 36; surrendered, 14; Gain in membership, 2,400. 3 strikes compromised; 3 pending. Number involved, 5,900; benefited, 5,000. Number involved in strikes pending, 900. Gains in wages of 25 to 50 cents per day. Cost of strikes, \$12,648.59; death benefits, \$10,358.55; sick benefits, \$45,107.55. Donations to other unions, \$8,732.18.

Molders.—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 19; 34 strikes pending. 1,180 involved. Cost of strikes, \$403,724.58. Death benefits, \$68,129.89; disability benefits, \$11,425; sick benefits, \$154,627.60; unemployed benefits, \$8,030.

Musicians.—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 23. All attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Congress enacted law prohibiting competition of enlisted musicians with civilian musicians.

Painters and Decorators.—Charters issued, 109; surrendered, 96. Gain in membership, 3,972. 20,000 members gained better conditions last year, increases in wages ranging from 12½ cents to \$1 a day. In smaller cities and towns of the West and of New England the 44-hour week is universal. Boston has adopted the five-day week for the year round. Local unions in all the large cities have secured the Saturday half-holiday. Death benefits, \$125,061; death benefits, members' wives, \$13,725; disability benefits, \$31,100.

Paper Makers.—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 2; Gain in membership, 2,000. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 1; pending, 5. Number involved, 2,000; benefited, 1,100; number involved in strikes pending, 900. 36 agreements were secured without strike, increasing wages in each case varying from 3 cents to 19 cents per hour. Wages were reduced in one instance—all other attempts were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$21,121.86. As result of organization many of the paper mills have adopted the 8-hour day. Death benefits, \$1,925. Donations to other unions, \$2,000.

- Pattern Makers.**—Gain in membership, 1,130; strikes won, 30; compromised, 1; pending, 7. Number involved, 530; benefited, 344; number involved in strikes pending, 186. Increases in wages ranging from 25 cents to \$1.40 per day were secured; hours of labor were reduced from 10 to 9 and 8 per day. Splendid gains were made throughout the trade during the year, in many places wages being increased and hours of labor reduced without strike. Cost of strikes, \$22,887.80. Death benefits, \$8,175; sick benefits, \$14,833.74; tool insurance, \$1,170.13; unemployed benefits, \$2,238.50. Donations to other unions, \$1,412.59.
- Pavers.**—15 per cent wage increase secured for members in 1 city; 50 per cent increase in 2 cities, and a 60 per cent increase in 1 city. These agreements provide for an absolute union shop.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 200. Strikes won, 20; pending, 1; number involved, 1,510; benefited, 1,500; 10 involved in strikes pending. Prices on piecework increased 10 to 20 per cent for 1,500. 8 agreements were secured without strike; better classification and regulation of stock among other improvements secured. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$20,000. As result of organization in the trade, wages average from \$4 to \$5 per day of 8 hours, where formerly they were \$3 to \$4 per day of 9 and 10 hours. Death benefits, \$2,175; traveling benefits, \$1,150.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—Charters issued, 2; 1 strike pending; 400 involved. 3 agreements were secured without strike. \$18 per week was formerly the maximum wage in the trade; at present \$18 is the minimum wage. Death benefits, \$900; death benefits, members' wives, \$200; sick benefits, \$1,200; unemployed benefits, \$300. Donations to other unions, \$75.
- Plasterers.**—No report.
- Plumbers and Steamfitters.**—(From January 1, 1915, to September 30, 1916.) Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 21. Strikes won, 78; compromised, 8; lost, 2; pending, 4. Number involved, 2,026; benefited, 1,982; number involved in strikes pending, 121; balance returned to work under same conditions. Increases in wages of 50 cents to \$1 per day. 365 local unions secured agreements without strike, increasing wages 50 cents to \$1 per day, with other improvements in working conditions. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$22,236. Death benefits, \$23,590; sick benefits, \$71,795.
- Polishers, Metal.**—Charters issued, 20; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 3,800. Strikes won, 20; compromised, 3; lost, 3; pending, 30. Number involved, 2,300; benefited, 1,900; number involved in strikes pending, 300. 100 returned to work under same conditions. Over 5,000 members received increases in wages, ranging from 5 per cent to 25 per cent. The 8-hour day was established in 85 factories. Many factories reduced hours of labor from 10 to 9 per day. 110 agreements were secured without strike. Continual improvement in sanitary conditions. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$62,480. As result of organization, cleaner work rooms prevail with better blower or exhaust systems to remove dust; a general improvement in sanitary conditions in workshops with increased wages and shorter hours. Death benefits, \$11,450; unemployed benefits, \$700. Donations to other unions, \$3,000.
- Potters.**—1 charter surrendered. Gain in membership, 126. 1 strike pending; 68 members involved. 1 agreement secured without strike, providing for improvements in working conditions. Cost of strikes, \$29,271.56. As a result of organization wages of 50 per cent of the membership have been raised about 8 per cent. Death benefits, \$14,724.80. Donations to other unions, \$8,034.59.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 20. Compromised 1 strike; 140 involved, all benefited. 25 per cent increase in wages and hours of labor reduced from 9 to 8 per day for 140. 2 agreements were secured without strike, three now pending negotiations. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$80.
- Print Cutters.**—3 yearly agreements in force which will not expire until August 1, 1917. Death benefits, \$1,200; unemployed benefits \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$325.
- Printers, Machine.**—Gain in membership, 3. 3 strikes pending. Trade agreements renewed August 1, 1915, for three years. Secured new agreements with 2 mills started during the year. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, \$600. Donations to other unions, \$200.
- Printers, Steel and Copper Plate.**—Strikes won, 1; compromised, 1. Number involved, 8; benefited, 56. 10 per cent increase in wages. No reductions in wages. Cost of strikes, \$134.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 9. Cost of strikes, \$31,779.70. Death benefits, \$12,000.

- Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 1,300. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 3; pending, 5. Number involved, 1,400; benefited, 600. Number involved in strikes pending, 800. Increases in wages secured as follows: 16½ cents per day for 150 members; 20 cents per day for 300 members; 40 cents per day for 150 members. Hours of labor were reduced from 12 to 8 per day for 800 members. 7 agreements were secured without strike providing for increases in wages ranging from 25 to 40 cents per day, benefiting 5,000. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$15,000. Majority of members have the 8-hour day. As a result of organization the newly organized have secured 8 hours. Donations to other unions, \$500.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1 (job shut down). Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 7; pending, 2. Number involved, 1,000; benefited, 1,000; pending, 20. 8 agreements were secured without strike increasing wages 16 to 48 cents per day benefiting 800 members. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$12,208.05. As result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 10 to 8 per day and wages increased 55 cents per day. Death benefits, \$1,980. Old-age exemption card benefits, \$150. Donations to other unions, \$61.15.
- Railway Employees, Street.**—Charters issued, 55; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 10,000. Strikes won, 16; compromised, 9; lost, 5; pending, 6. Number involved, 11,400; benefited, 9,800. Number involved in strikes pending, 900; balance left employment of companies. As result of strikes, wages were increased from 1 to 7 cents per hour, benefiting 5,000. 100 agreements were secured without strike, carrying advances in wages ranging from ¼ to 7 cents per hour. Wages were decreased from 1 to 4 cents an hour in 3 Canadian locals, on account of war. Other attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$108,118.68. Death benefits, \$353,294.78; sick benefits, \$88,303.97. Donations to other unions, \$16,365.24.
- Roofers, Composition.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 25. Strikes won, 3; 230 involved and all benefited. Increases in wages ranging from 25 to 30 cents per day. 2 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$1,500.
- Roofers, Slate and Tile.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 1; 80 involved. 10 per cent increase in wages. Death benefits, \$900.
- Sawsmiths.**—No reduction in wages in the past year. Sick benefits, \$700. Donations to other unions, \$20.
- Seamen.**—Gain in membership, 12,000. Number of strikes won, 2; 1,200 involved, all benefited. 2 agreements were secured without strike, as well as several verbal understandings that have been carried out fairly well. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, \$10,000. Wages have increased about 30 per cent as result of organization among the seamen. Hospital and burial expenses, \$16,000.18. Shipwreck benefits, \$10,282.15. Donations to other unions, \$8,715.
- Signalmen, Railroad.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. 2 agreements secured without strike. 5 per cent increase in wages as result of organization. No reductions in wages in the past year.
- Spinners.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 50. Strikes won, 1. Number involved, 100, all benefited. Wages advanced from 15 to 20 per cent. Cost of strikes, \$200. Death benefits, \$2,000; unemployment benefits, \$5,000.
- Stage Employees.**—Charters issued, 40; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 600. Strikes won, 10; compromised, 5; pending, 7. Number involved, 600; benefited, 450. Number involved in strikes pending, 150. 20 per cent increase in wages. 35 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$10,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,500.
- Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.**—Charters issued, 1. Three agreements secured without strike, two resulting in wage increases benefiting 37 members, one recognizing demands of brotherhood and improving conditions of 15 members. 10 per cent increase secured for 200 members in western states. No reductions in wages in past year. As result of organization the 8-hour day has replaced the 10-hour day in some instances, and in several instances wages have been increased.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Gain in membership, 86. Strikes won, 1. Number involved, 17; benefited, 17; members gaining an average increase of \$2 per week. 32 agreements secured without strike in every case providing increases in wages and improved working conditions. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$5,600.

- Stonecutters.**—2,000 members secured wage increases ranging from 6½ cents per hour to 50 cents per day.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 300. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 3. Number involved, 360; benefited, 320. Number involved in strikes pending, 40. 90 members received 10 per cent advance in wages; 239 members received 5 per cent advance. 15 agreements secured without strike, carried an 8 per cent advance in wages for 825 members. Cost of strikes, \$2,325. No reductions in wages in past year. Majority of members are pieceworkers; as result of organization piece prices are being constantly adjusted upwards; 9-hour day prevails, whereas membership formerly worked 10 hours. Death benefits, \$1,300. Donations to other unions, \$300.
- Switchmen.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 723. Strikes pending, 1. Number involved, 210. Cost of strike, \$25,287.71. Death benefits, \$173,475.75. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 29. Gain in membership, 800. Strikes won, 8; lost, 4; pending, 1. Number involved, 1,800; benefited, 700. Number involved in strikes pending, 75; balance were displaced or returned to work under the same conditions. 10 per cent advance in wages for 700 members. 25 agreements were secured without strike. In every case providing a 10 per cent increase in wages, and in 6 agreements the 8 hour-day was gained. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$57,163.50. Death benefits, \$12,336.50; sick benefits, \$20,880.20. Donations to other unions, \$900.
- Teachers.**—Charters issued, 9. (Chartered May 9, 1916.)
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 135. Gain in membership, 6,728. Strikes won, 67; lost, 1; pending, 4. Number involved, 14,000; benefited, 13,000; number involved in strikes pending, 450. Gains in wages average 25 cents per member per day. Average reduction in hours of labor ½ hour per day. 300 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$10,050. One instance of reduction in wages dispute now pending.
- Telegraphers, Railroad.**—No reductions in wages in past year. As result of organization, wages have been generally increased from 5 to 14 per cent. Award of arbitration board effecting telegraphers, tower men and station agents employed by the New York Central, Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, and New York, Chicago and St. Louis railroads, provides for 7 and 10-day vacation periods annually with full pay, 10 per cent increase in wages for the lines east, overtime for all hours worked on Sundays, inclusion of numerous positions in the schedule hitherto denied, 8 per cent increase in wages for the lines west, and overtime for all hours worked on Sundays on the New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad. The award affects the welfare of 4,300 men. Death benefits, \$107,200.
- Telegraphers, Commercial.**—Charters issued, 3. 7 agreements secured without strike, all involving increases in pay; one included reduction in hours of labor, benefiting 500. As a result of organization, the estimated direct gain in wages since 1902 represents over 50 per cent increase. Death benefits, \$300.
- Textile Workers.**—Charters issued, 70; surrendered, 11. Gain in membership, 20,000. Strikes won, 11; pending, 2. Number involved, 15,500; benefited, 15,000; number involved in strikes pending, 500. Wages advanced 15 to 20 per cent as result of strikes. 9 agreements secured without strike. The increases in wages affected 250,000 textile workers in the New England States and over 200,000 in other parts of the north. 70,000 silk workers secured the 50-hour week with increased prices to assure same earnings as for longer work-week. No reductions in wages during past year. Cost of strikes, \$21,000. Death benefits, \$2,000.
- Tile Layers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1; lost, 1; pending, 2. Number involved, 300; benefited, 150; number involved in strikes pending, 100. 20 per cent advance in wages for tile layers, and 10 per cent for helpers, as result of strikes. 20 agreements secured without strike. One instance of reduction in wages, dispute now pending. Cost of strikes, \$10,000. Donations to other unions, \$1,000.
- Tip Printers.**—Strikes lost, 1. Number involved, 30. 5 agreements secured without strike. Conditions improved in all union shops. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, \$400. Benefits accruing to trade as result of organization: former hours per week, 54; present, 48; wages formerly \$12 and \$14, now \$18 to \$25. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Tobacco Workers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. 20 agreements were secured without strike, some carrying reductions in hours of labor from 10 to 9, from 10 to 8, and from 9 to 8, with

increase in wages for 918 members, varying from 5 to 10 per cent. No reductions in wages in past year. As result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced; instances of members working 44 hours per week with increased pay. Death benefits, \$1,500; sick benefits, \$6,782. Donations to other unions, \$1,600.

Transferrers.—Gain in membership, 4.

Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 275. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1; lost, 1; pending, 2. Number involved 1,300; benefited, 754; number involved in strikes pending, 500; balance returned to work under same conditions. Wages increased from \$15 to \$16 per week for 500 members. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, \$1,785. As result of organization in trade, hours of labor have been reduced from 52 to 49 per week, with wage increases and better working conditions. Death benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$250.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors.—Gain in membership, 2,300. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 2. Number involved, 3,100; benefited, 2,300. Advances in wages ranging from 34 to 50 cents per day. One agreement secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$8,000. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Since 1910, wages have been increased as a result of organization in the trade from \$3 to \$3.68 and \$4. Death benefits, \$988; traveling benefits, \$900. Donations to other unions, \$100.

Typographical (June 1, 1915-May 31, 1916).—Charters issued, 38; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 660. Strikes won, 4; pending, 7. Number involved, 80; benefited, 15. Number involved in strikes pending, 65. Local unions in 126 cities secured agreements for periods ranging from 1 year to 6 years, all carrying substantial wage increases. Local unions in 45 cities extended wage agreements for periods ranging from six months to three years, without increases in the scales. Advances in wages secured by members total \$1,556,520 for the year. Increases in wages comprising this total were obtained with little friction, and in practically every instance by conciliation and arbitration. Average earnings of members of I. T. U. for year ending May 31, 1916, were \$1,041.18. Total expenses from defense fund, \$158,232.28; death benefits, \$274,822.31; old-age pensions, \$352,920; expended for maintenance of union printers' home, \$109,431.95.

Upholsterers.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,400. Strikes won, 12; pending, 1; number involved, 1,052; number involved in strikes pending, 52. Increase in wages of 50 cents per day. 41 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages during past year. Cost of strikes, \$5,107.

Weavers, Elastic Goring.—No report.

Weavers, Shingle.—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 645. About 275 shingle mills affected by the strike of district number 1 for the restoration of the union scale of wages, which prevailed until two years ago. 500 members involved; 400 have been benefited with increase in wages ranging from 10 to 25 per cent. 100 involved in strikes pending. Habit of working overtime, which was general last year has been eliminated. Cost of strikes, \$7,000.

Weavers, American Wire.—No report.

White Rate Actors.—Charters issued, 22. Gain in membership, 10,400. Strikes won, 33; pending, 2. Number involved, 869. 38 agreements were secured without strike. Cost of strikes, \$9,643.50. Death benefits, \$2,200; sick benefits, \$1,600; traveling benefits, \$17,100. Donations to other unions, \$110.

LOCAL UNIONS

Improvements in working conditions secured by directly affiliated unions of American Federation of Labor are reported as follows:

- Agricultural Workers Union No. 14831, Cabo-Rojo, Porto Rico:** Secured signed agreement providing for the 8-hour day and 15 per cent increase in wages.
- Axle Workers' Union, No. 14943, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:** Secured agreement without strike which reduced hours of labor from 54 to 50 per week for the same pay; time and one-half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays.
- Awning Workers' Union, No. 14867, St. Louis, Mo.:** Former wages \$15 to \$18 per week for wagonmen and \$9 to \$12 for helpers for 10 hours every day in the week; present wages for wagonmen \$18 and helpers \$15 with time and one-half for all overtime and double time for Sunday work. Under new agreement members stop work 3.30 on Saturday for 9 months during year with full pay.
- Bottle, Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers' Union, No. 10875, Baltimore, Md.:** Eight-hour day established, stepping time prohibited and general conditions improved. One agreement secured under which in case of lay-off at any time, all old men to be re-employed in preference to new men.
- Bottle Cap Cork Workers and Assistants' Union, No. 15028, Hoboken, N. J.:** Secured agreement with one company giving the women an 18 per cent increase in wages and the men a 20 per cent increase. Hours of labor were reduced from 9 to 8 and the use of the union label agreed to.
- Bottle Sorters' and Handlers' Union, No. 11759, Kansas City, Mo.:** When members organized in 1904 they were receiving from \$6 to \$9 per week. Present scale is \$15.75 per week.
- Bottlers' Protective Union, No. 8434, Chicago, Illinois.** Wages advanced 41 cents per day, all members benefited. Wire masks are now furnished for seltzer bottlers.
- Cable Workers' Union, No. 14913, Perth Amboy, New Jersey:** As a result of a strike, secured an agreement with the employing company providing for the recognition of the union, 9-hour day, time and a half for all overtime and increases in pay as follows: $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents increase per hour to all men earning 19.42 cents to less than 24 cents per hour; $2\frac{1}{4}$ cents increase to all men earning 24 cents and less than 30 cents per hour; all boys to be increased 2 cents per hour; all females to receive $7\frac{1}{4}$ per cent increase; all of these increases based on wages paid prior to April 15, 1916. Men employed in rod mill at per ton rate to receive an increase of $\frac{1}{4}$ cents per ton; men employed in wire mill on piece work basis to receive an increase of $\frac{1}{4}$ cents per coil; all men now receiving 30 cents or over per hour, not including piece workers, machinists or foremen to receive an increase of 5 per cent.
- Celluloid and Tortoise Shell Workers' Union, No. 15189, Brooklyn, N. Y.:** Agreements with 5 firms secured without strike, under which numerous improvements in working conditions were inaugurated. Members have 9-hour day.
- Cigar Factory Tobacco Strippers' Union, No. 8156, Boston, Mass.:** Secured new wage-scale granting an increase averaging \$1 per week.
- City Firemens' Association, No. 14733, Colorado Springs, Colorado:** Members working 12 hours a day instead of 21 hours, as formerly. Reduction in hours obtained at polls at last city election and was credited directly to undivided support of union labor voters.
- Crane Followers and Platform Workers' Union, No. 14451:** Hours of labor reduced during the past year, half an hour a day with 5 per cent increase in wages. Former wage-scale 15 and $27\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour; present wage-scale 24 and 35 cents per hour.
- Creamery Workers' Union, No. 14590, Somerville, Mass.:** Hours of labor reduced from 63 per week to 60 with advance in wages of 1 per week. Ten days vacation in year, with 1 day off in 21 instead of former schedule of 1 day off in 30.
- Cooks and Waiters' Union, No. 10968, Tampa, Florida:** As a result of the union members work two hours less per week and have had their wages increased \$4 per week.
- Electro Ferrochrome Workers' Union, No. 15038, Glen Ferris, W. Va.:** Secured agreement giving an increase of about 25 per cent over former wages; the firm to treat with the union through committees on all future grievances.
- Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union, No. 11959, Chicago, Illinois:** Secured agreement for three years, increasing wages and giving time and one-half for Sunday and holiday work.
- Enameling Workers, No. 14472, Bellaire, Ohio:** Union has increased wages from \$3.30 to \$4 for burners and from \$1.70 to between \$2.10 to \$2.75 for helpers, and reduced hours on night shift from 12 and 13 to 11.

- Federal Labor Union, No. 8786, Austin, Texas: Before union was organized working day was from 10 to 12 hours; since formation of union, most members work 8 hours a day with better pay.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 11796, Monterey, Cal.: Hours of labor reduced from 9 to 8 per day for lumber handlers, with 25 cents per day increase in wages.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 12692, Woodland, Maine: Secured agreement with paper mill company providing for an 8 and 9 per cent increase in wages with the union shop contract to run for a term of three years.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 12709, Billings, Montana: Wages increased for 12 members from \$60 to \$75 per month. Raised wages of 20 sewer and ditch workers from \$3 to \$3.50 per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 12953, Livermore Falls, Maine: Secured an agreement with paper manufacturing company which granted several concessions.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 13056, East Millinocket, Maine: Former wages 22 2-10 cents to 36 cents per hour; present wages 31 to 46 cents per hour, all members benefited. This increase in wages was secured without strike.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14167, Christopher, Illinois: Two agreements secured inaugurating the 8-hour day with increase in wages of 5 cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14466, Cle Elum, Washington: Conditions of laundry workers, members of this union, improved from former wage-scale of \$8 a week for a 10-hour day to \$9.50 a week for an 8-hour day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14538, Coalgate, Oklahoma: Members work 8 hours a day instead of 12 hours as formerly, with a minimum wage-scale ranging from \$2.25 to \$2.92 per day. Former minimum was \$45 a month.
- Federal Employes' Union, No. 14632, Washington, D. C.: Defeated proposed law, Borland Rider, requiring that all employes of U. S. in District of Columbia work an additional hour per day.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14696, Centralia, Illinois: Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 12 to the 8-hour day with 15 per cent increase in wages.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14785 (State Hospital Employes), Joliet, Illinois: Prospects very good for 8-hour day after next legislature on account of being organized; sanitary conditions being improved; coal will be furnished guards and keepers at cost price this winter, with saving of about \$25 for each one; meeting with wardens every 2 weeks to take up all grievances.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14781, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia: Secured an agreement with coal company providing the following improvements: Increase of 25 cents per day to all men paid by daily rates of \$1.55 or less; increase of 20 cents per day to all men paid by daily rates over \$1.55; increase of 20 cents per day to all boys under 18 on common labor, 10 per cent to be added to all tonnage, or yardage or consideration rates for miners of which 8 per cent is to go into operation on the 15th day of May, 1916, the same to be increased to 10 per cent after January 1, 1917. The docking system to be abolished.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14914, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania: Secured a new agreement providing for a 7½ per cent increase in wages, 50-hour week, half-day on Saturday and recognition of the union.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14933, Stanberry, Missouri: Wages of laborers increased 2½ cents per hour.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14949, New York City. As a result of strike secured an agreement with the larger firms giving laborers and barmen an increase in wages of 50 to 75 cents per day and shortening the work week from 60 to 50 hours.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 14994, New Brighton, Pennsylvania: After arbitration upon agreement an award was granted giving a slight advance in wages benefiting about one-third of the members.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 15142, East St. Louis, Illinois: Increased wages 2½ cents per hour for 150 members.
- Fish Workers' Union, No. 14307, Gloucester, Mass.: Secured an agreement in which all the workers received an increase in wages ranging from 50 cents to \$1.60 per week averaging about \$1.25 per week, as the bulk of the membership come under the \$1.60 per week increase.
- Flour and Cereal Mill Employes, No. 13227, New Athens, Illinois: Secured agreements without strike and improved working conditions from 20½ cents an hour for 11 hours a day to 22½ cents an hour for a 9-hour day. Guards placed around all dangerous machinery.
- Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Union, No. 14229, Oshkosh, Wisconsin: Members receive \$13

- to \$14 per week for 9-hour day instead of former \$10.50 to \$12 a week for 10-hour day.
- Flour and Cereal Mill Employees**, No. 15285, Bozeman, Montana: Renewed working agreements maintaining same conditions of labor with 9-hour day with time and one-half for overtime and holidays.
- Gold Beaters' Unions**, Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Chicago: Secured a joint agreement with the United States Gold Leaf Manufacturers' Association, establishing a uniform scale of wages, granting increases in wages ranging as high as \$5 per week.
- Hair Spinners' Protective Union**, No. 12353, Baltimore, Maryland: 1 agreement secured without strike benefitting 34 members increasing wages from \$2.88 per day for 9 hours to \$3.01 per day for the same workday. Former wage-scale was \$1.60 per day for 10 hours.
- Hair Spinners' Union**, No. 10399, Chicago, Illinois: Before organized members received \$2.50 a day for 10 hours; present wage-scale \$4.25 a day for 10 hours.
- Hair Spinners' Union**, No. 14805, Detroit, Michigan: Secured agreement without strike standardizing working conditions.
- Horse Nail Makers' Union**, No. 10958, Seymour, Conn.: Increased wages 25 cents per day.
- Ice and Cold Storage Workers' Union**, No. 14519, Du Quoin, Ill.: Increases in wages ranging from 15 to 50 cents per day, and hours of labor decreased 1 per day; agreements secured without strike.
- Iron and Steel Workers' Union**, No. 15057, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Increased wages 2½ cents per hour.
- Janitors' Protective Union**, No. 14976, Minneapolis, Minn.: Wages increased from \$55 and \$65 per month to \$60 and \$70 with 8-hour day for 2½ months during summer, instead of 1½ months as formerly; members work a 10-hour day the rest of the year.
- Laborers' United, Union**, No. 14190, San Jose, Cal.: At the time the organization was formed wages were \$1.75 to \$2 for 9-hour day; members now receive \$3 a day for 8 hours, with time and one-half for overtime.
- Laborers' Protective Union**, No. 14640, Pawhuska, Oklahoma: Wages increased from \$2 a day to \$2.50 and \$3 for 8-hour day.
- Last Makers' Union**, No. 14375, Salem, Mass.: Hours of labor reduced for 45 members from 10 to 9 per day.
- Leather Workers' Union**, No. 14609, Lowell, Mass.: Secured agreement without strike providing for a 10 per cent increase in wages.
- Marble Mosaic, Terrazzo and Composite Workers' Union**, No. 14668, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased from \$4 to \$4.50 a day for 8-hour day.
- Marble Mosaic and Terrazzo Workers' Union**, No. 12707, Kansas City, Missouri: New agreement increasing wages 5 cents an hour was signed by nearly every contractor. Since the union was organized the wage schedule of 25 to 45 cents an hour has been increased to 30 to 65 cents an hour.
- Milkers' Protective Union**, No. 8861, San Francisco, California: Secured new wage-scale with substantial increases in wages covering the different classes of work.
- Mineral Water Bottlers' Union**, No. 11317, Newark, N. J.: When the union was organized wages were \$10 a week for bottlers; today the lowest wage is \$17 a week and grading upwards \$19, \$20, \$22, and \$30 per week.
- Navy Yard Riggers' Union**, No. 14892, Norfolk, Virginia: Wages have been increased from \$3.28 to \$3.44 a day for an 8-hour day.
- Neckwear Makers' Union**, No. 11016, Brooklyn, New York: Since the union was organized members have received 50 per cent increase in wages with a uniform 49-hour week.
- Nail Workers' Union**, No. 14199, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia: Secured a new wage-scale conceding several improvements for the members.
- Oil Refinery Workers' Union**, No. 14184, Coffeyville, Kansas: Reduced hours of labor from 10 hours to 8 per day at the same wages.
- Pearl Button Workers' Union**, No. 14615, Union Hill, New Jersey: Agreement secured increasing wages in all shops from \$1.50 to \$2 per day.
- Pipe Caulkers and Tappers' Union**, No. 7348, Brooklyn, New York: \$4.50 per day of 8 hours, double time for overtime.
- Pipe Layers' Union**, No. 12917, Des Moines, Iowa: As result of strike an increase in wages of 40 cents a day was secured.
- Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union**, No. 14436, Thurmond, W. Va.: 1 agreement was secured under which the members agreed to a compromise of an increase of 12 cents a day with the understanding that a further advance would be granted in the near future.

Railroad Laborers and Helpers' Union, No. 14426, Montgomery, West Virginia: Wages increased 1 cent per hour.

Reed Workers' Union, No. 15125, Menominee, Michigan: The minimum wage for 35 girls was raised to \$1.10 per day; Saturday afternoon holiday for the whole factory.

Rubber Workers' Union (Soft), No. 14419, Trenton, New Jersey: Secured agreements with two companies, one providing for an increase of 2 1/2 cents per hour for the employees.

Rubber Workers' Union, No. 14509, East Palestine, Ohio: Secured settlement after strike with substantial improvements in conditions of labor.

Rubber Workers' Union, No. 14888, Bridgeport, Conn.: Wages increased \$1 a day for men and 75 cents for women workers. Hours of labor reduced from 59 to 40 per week.

Rubber and Woolen Footwear Workers' Union, No. 15058, Mishawaka, Indiana: 6 per cent increase in wages.

School Custodians and Janitors' Union, No. 14596, Washington, D. C.: An increase of 35 per cent in wages.

Soda and Mineral Water Employees' Union, No. 14797, St. Louis, Missouri: Under a new agreement wages were increased from \$2 and \$3 per day to \$2.50 and \$3.50 per day of 8 hours.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union, No. 14268, Kansas City, Missouri: Union has established at labor headquarters a minimum wage of \$12 a week with Saturday half holiday and two weeks' vacation with pay.

Sugar Workers' Union, No. 10519, San Francisco, California: Hours of labor reduced from 11 and 12 to the 8-hour day without any loss in earnings as wages were standardized at \$2.75 and \$3 per day which was the amount earned at the hourly rate for 11 and 12 hour day.

Timber Workers' Union, No. 15089, Marinette, Wisconsin: In 1914 wages were reduced 10 per cent. In December, 1915, 5 per cent of this reduction was regained. In April, 1916, a strike was inaugurated for the old 1914 scale with an increase of 25 cents for every member. Strike was successful, some members securing 35 to 45 cents advance in wages. 1 agreement was secured without strike benefiting 150 men at one mill.

Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Union, No. 10943, Granite City, Illinois: Secured agreements covering ten departments; reduced hours of labor 10 to 9 per day and increased wages 2 to 4 cents per hour; in one department hours of labor were decreased from 9 to 8 hours; 398 members benefited.

Tuck Pointers' Union, No. 14885, Kansas City, Missouri: Previous to organizing wages were 35 and 40 cents per hour for a 10-hour day; wages are now 50 cents an hour for an 8-hour day.

Willow, Reed and Rattan Workers' Union, No. 14565, Cambridge, Mass.: Wages at not less than \$3 a day have been established. 4 agreements were secured without strike.

Wire Drawers' Union, No. 12493, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: Hours of labor were reduced from 10 to 9 and wages increased 7 1/2 per cent.

VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1916 INCLUSIVE

Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.
1897.....	2,747	1902.....	10,705	1907.....	16,425	1912.....	18,499
1898.....	2,881	1903.....	15,238	1908.....	16,892	1913.....	20,976
1899.....	3,632	1904.....	17,363	1909.....	15,880	1914.....	21,185
1900.....	5,737	1905.....	16,338	1910.....	16,737	1915.....	20,433
1901.....	8,240	1906.....	15,621	1911.....	18,693	1916.....	21,906

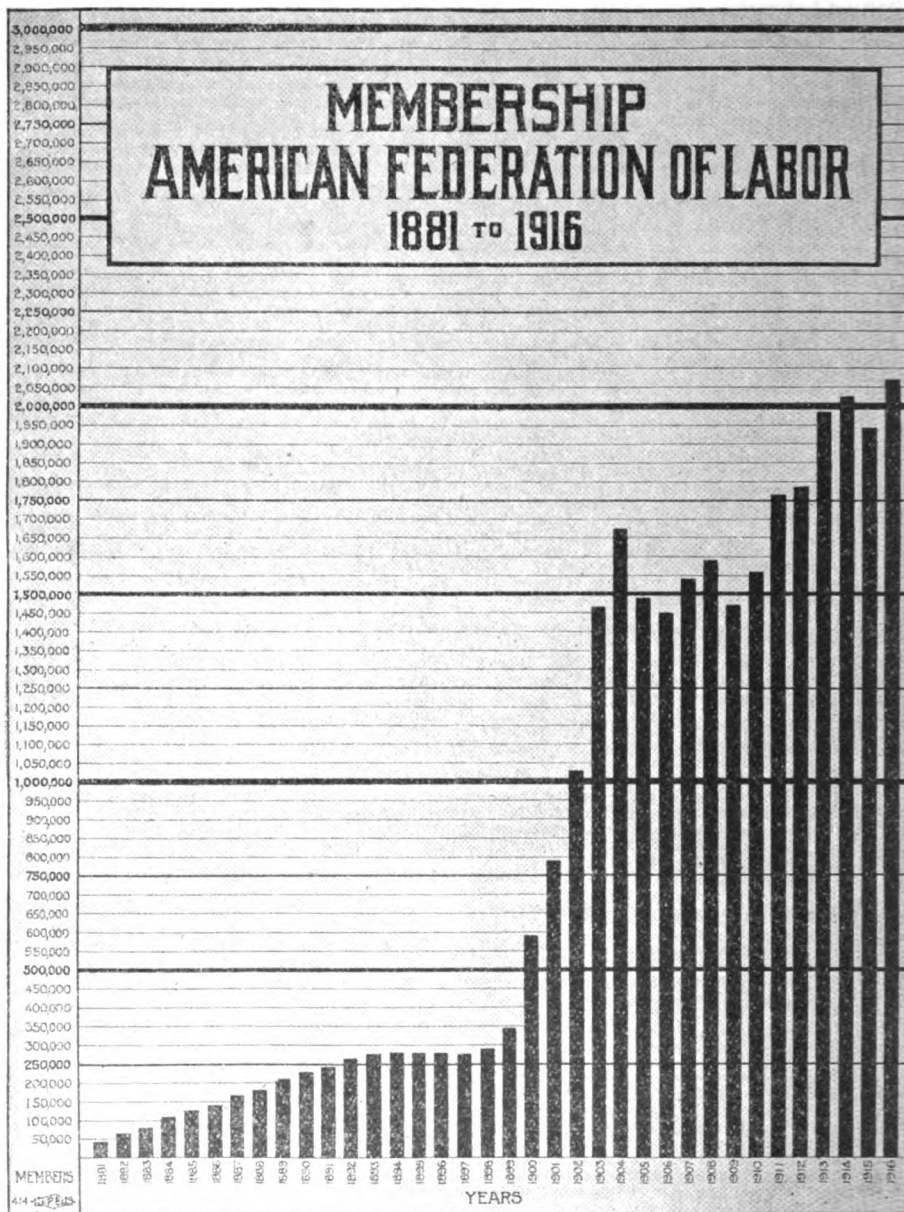
MEMBERSHIP

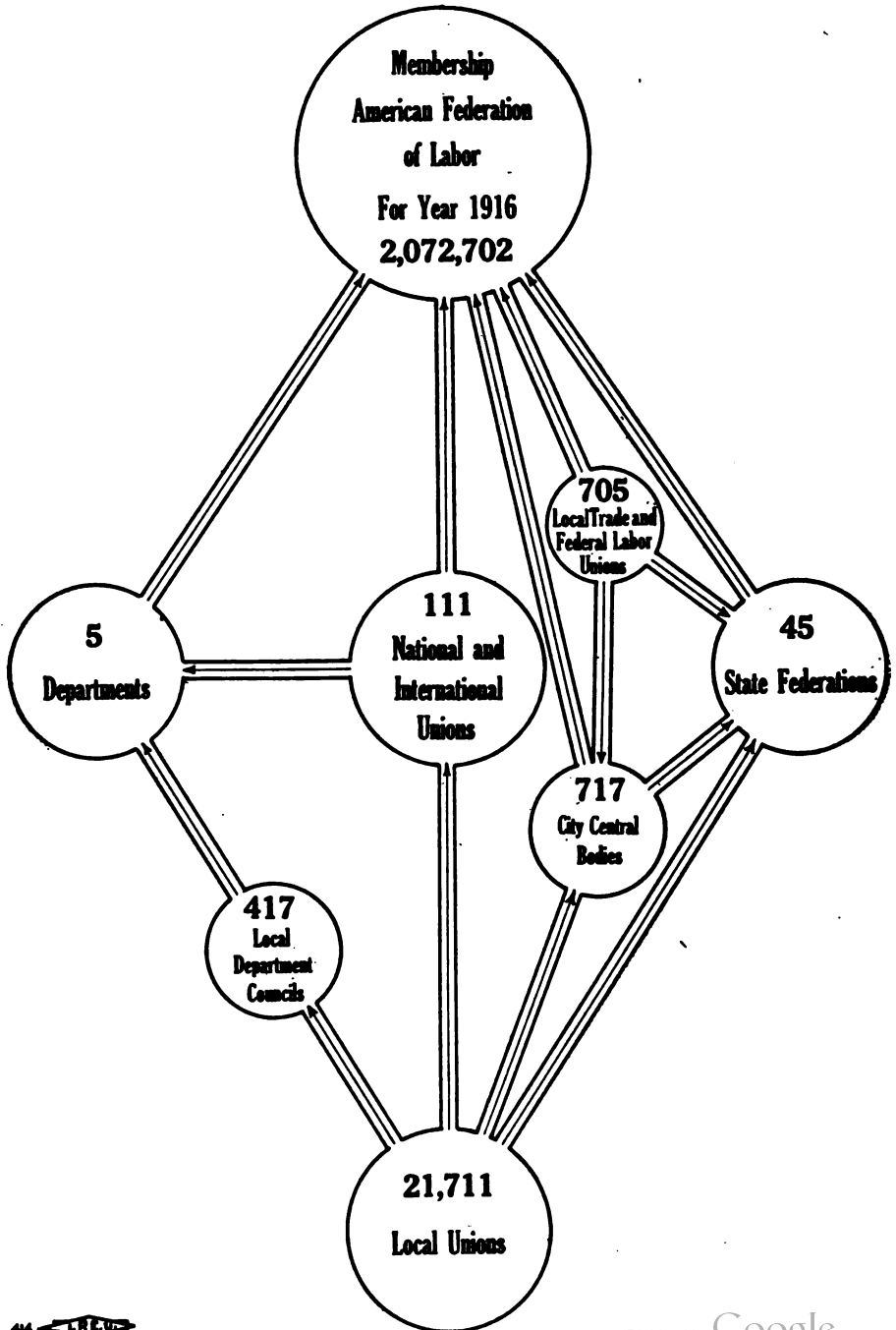
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,072,702, an average increase of 126,355 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past twenty years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897.....	264,825	1907.....	1,538,970
1898.....	278,016	1908.....	1,586,885
1899.....	349,422	1909.....	1,482,872
1900.....	548,321	1910.....	1,562,112
1901.....	787,537	1911.....	1,761,835
1902.....	1,024,399	1912.....	1,770,145
1903.....	1,465,800	1913.....	1,996,004
1904.....	1,676,200	1914.....	2,020,671
1905.....	1,494,300	1915.....	1,946,347
1906.....	1,454,200	1916.....	2,072,702

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the steady growth in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1916—thirty-six years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart will show that there are 21,711 local unions in the 111 national and international unions and 705 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 2,072,702 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1916.





CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my appreciation of the splendid efforts put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the international organizations, and from my colleagues of the Executive Council. Respectfully submitted.

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

I herewith submit my annual report as Treasurer, with congratulations and best wishes to all affiliated unions and also to their individual members, and through the Federation to the wage-workers of the world.

Financial statement, October 1, 1915, to September 30, 1916:

INCOME.		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1915.		1915.	
October 31.....	\$22,235 03	October 31.....	\$31,180 55
November 30.....	15,229 19	November 30.....	23,136 51
December 31.....	23,211 63	December 31.....	23,177 62
1916.		1916.	
January 31.....	20,643 90	January 31.....	20,603 17
February 29.....	19,382 95	February 29.....	19,349 14
March 31.....	28,062 29	March 31.....	27,944 01
April 30.....	25,908 56	April 30.....	21,611 86
May 31.....	44,178 03	May 31.....	32,446 09
June 30.....	27,923 73	June 30.....	24,551 93
July 31.....	25,334 72	July 31.....	24,537 94
August 31.....	33,158 77	August 31.....	29,826 75
September 30.....	49,006 61	September 30.....	36,681 75
Total income for year.....*	\$334,275 41	Total expenses for year.....**	\$315,047 32
Add balance on hand Sept. 30, 1915	68,132 39		
Makes total funds.....	\$402,407 80		

* Includes \$5,000 returned to Defense Fund.

** Includes \$9,500 advanced on Office Building Loan.

RECAPITULATION.	
Total funds (balance and income).....	\$402,407 80
Deduct total expenses.....	315,047 32
Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$87,360 48
Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000 00
Total balance September 30, 1916.....	\$89,360 48
Treasurer's balance, where deposited:	
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., interest bearing certificates.....	\$60,000 00
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., subject to check.....	27,360 48
Treasurer's balance.....	\$87,360 48
Treasurer's deposits guaranteed by American Surety Company:	
Interest collected and paid to Secretary.....	\$1,500 00
Total funds handled by Treasurer Lennon during twenty-seven years.....	\$3,711,713 80

JOHN B. LENNON,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., September 30, 1916.

A. F. OF L. BUILDING

On January 8, 1916, the cornerstone of the American Federation of Labor office building at Ninth and Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C., was laid. The inscription on the cornerstone reads:

American Federation of Labor
Founded 1881
This edifice erected for service
in the cause of
Labor—Justice—Freedom—Humanity
1915-1916

A copper box made by a member of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and presented by the president of that organization was placed in the cornerstone. The box contained a number of photographs and official documents. In the February, 1916, issue of the *American Federationist* is published a full report of the ceremonies attending the laying of the cornerstone.

The dedication ceremonies were held on July 4. The President of the United States delivered the chief address. The Secretary of Labor was the master of ceremonies. President Gompers also made an address. There were also present the members of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the Vice-President of the United States, several members of the President's Cabinet, members of the United States Congress, and other governmental officials.

Practically every trade and organization was represented in the parade. The British Trades Union Congress, the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and the labor movement of Mexico all had delegates participating in the dedication ceremonies.

A more complete story of the dedication, including the addresses, will be found in the August issue of the magazine.

There is one thing of special interest and significance in the A. F. of L. office building, and that is a panel sculptured in marble with oak mounting, presented by the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. The panel symbolizes the Triumph of Labor and is described by Secretary Bowerman, of the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, as follows:

The central figure is symbolic of the Triumph, and is standing upon an octopus with tentacles lopped and dying, slain by the noble aims and objects achieved by Labor.

Behind this figure is a great procession without beginning or end. On one side are the earliest types of workers, husbandmen and tillers of the earth, and on the other the modern workers. Agriculture, mining, and various other trades are represented. In the background, ships, cranes, et cet.

The work will be executed in marble and enclosed in a frame of English oak, with a gilt-bronze band of laurel surrounding.

Size of the marble, 6 ft. by 3 ft.

Total over all size wood frame, 9 ft. 6 in.

The presentation and acceptance of this panel is another and a beautiful instance of the tie that binds together the working men and women of America with their fellow wage-earners of other lands.

The trustees to whom were entrusted the erection of the building made a report to us which we herewith incorporate:

A. F. of L. Building Trustees' Report

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

COLLEAGUES: Several conventions of the American Federation of Labor directed an investigation into the feasibility of erecting an office building in Washington, D. C., for the affairs of our Federation. Later, direct instructions were given for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building. As has already been reported, a site was purchased

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

on the northwest corner of Ninth Street and Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C. Architects Milburn and Heister were selected to draw the plans, which had been approved. The ground was broken October 28, 1915, the corner-stone was laid January 8, 1916, the building was dedicated July 4, 1916, and the building occupied August 26, 1916.

The A. F. of L. Building is a seven-story structure with basement. We beg to submit to you herewith a financial report of the income and expenses, the sources from which the income was received, to whom payments have been made and for what purposes, as well as the present indebtedness. It is as follows:

Office Building Fund

RECEIPTS

1915.		
July 3.	From Defense Fund.....	\$3,000.00
*Aug. 30.	From Defense Fund.....	7,500.00
Sept. 3.	From Defense Fund.....	37,500.00
Oct. 30.	From Defense Fund.....	9,500.00
		\$57,500.00
1916.		
Jan. 8.	American Security & Trust Co.....	\$10,000.00
Feb. 17.	American Security & Trust Co.....	7,500.00
March 10.	American Security & Trust Co.....	7,500.00
April 6.	American Security & Trust Co.....	10,000.00
May 8.	American Security & Trust Co.....	10,000.00
**May 31.	From General Fund; first payment to Defense Fund.....	2,500.00
June 3.	American Security & Trust Co.....	15,000.00
July 8.	American Security & Trust Co.....	20,000.00
Aug. 19.	Riggs National Bank.....	10,000.00
Sept. 20.	Riggs National Bank.....	10,000.00
Sept. 30.	Rent of office rooms.....	200.00
	From General Fund in payment of Notes Nos. 1 and 2 including interest.....	5,120.14
	From General Fund; second payment to Defense Fund.....	2,500.00
	Rent of office rooms to the A. F. of L.....	880.00
	Total.....	
		\$168,700.14
	**Less, amount drawn from General Fund instead of Trustee Fund.....	2,500.00
	Net receipts.....	\$166,200.14

EXPENSES

1915.		
July 13.	Refund to General Fund on amount advanced for resurvey of Building Lot, Frank Morrison, Secretary.....	\$7.00
	Deposit to guarantee purchase of lot, American Security & Trust Co., Charles Bell, President.....	2,500.00
*Sept. 2.	Drawn to cover mistake in depositing, Frank Morrison, Secretary.....	7,500.00
	Balance on price of property, taxes, title fees, and expenses, The Real Estate Title Insurance Co. of D. C.; The Columbia Title & Insurance Co. of D. C.....	37,601.50
Oct. 20.	Revenue stamps on paper in connection with office building, Chas. E. Howe, Treas.....	18.50
Dec. 14.	Architects' fee on A. F. of L. Office Building, 3½% contract price \$90,450, Milburn, Heister & Co.....	3,165.75
Dec. 20.	Premium on bond securing loan on the A. F. of L. Office Building, National Surety Co., J. H. Bilbrey.....	200.00

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1916.		
Jan. 8.	On account of contract for erection of A. F. of L. Office Building, R. P. Whitty Co.....	\$6,500.00
Jan. 10.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty Co.....	3,500.00
Jan. 22.	Fee for examining title to building, J. H. Ralston.....	40.00
Feb. 5.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty Co.....	6,000.00
Feb. 19.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty Co.....	2,800.00
March 3.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty Co.....	5,000.00
March 10.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty Co.....	3,400.00
April 6.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty Co.....	9,120.00
April 11.	Architects' fees on additional contract for A. F. of L. Office Building, Milburn, Heister & Co.....	1,120.00
May 9.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty & Co.....	11,624.00
May 26.	Cost of removal of fire hydrant from front of Office Building, Collector of Taxes, D. C.....	175.00
**May 31.	Returned to Defense Fund; first payment to Defense Fund, Frank Morrison, Secretary.....	2,500.00
June 3.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty & Co.....	14,000.00
June 20.	Atty. fees in connection with the Brumbaugh vs. A. F. of L. Case, J. H. Ralston.....	250.00
June 30.	Making and framing two oil cloth signs for dedication, C. S. Hilbert.....	25.00
	Half-tons of Office Building, Standard Eng. Co.....	86.15
July 8.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty & Co.....	20,000.00
July 11.	1,000 Eight-Hour Buttons for use at the dedication of A. F. of L. Office Bldg., A. J. Berres.....	30.00
July 21.	Engraving invitations in connection with the dedication of the A. F. of L. Office Building, Berry & Whitmore.....	98.50
	Lettering 10 ribbons, A. Zichtl & Co.....	2.00
Aug. 11.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty & Co.....	2,700.00
Aug. 19.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty & Co.....	9,011.80
Aug. 21.	Revenue stamps used on \$10,000 note, Riggs National Bank.....	2.00
	Lettering signs, C. S. Hilbert.....	8.50
	Rental on 675 chairs for the dedication of the A. F. of L. Office Building, Julius Lansburg Furniture and Carpet Co.....	40.50
Sept. 21.	On account of contract, R. P. Whitty & Co.....	9,358.32
Sept. 27.	Supplies, Hoffman Carr Mfg. Co.....	22.95
	Supplies, Rath Mfg. Co.....	3.29
	2 Lamp posts, Samuel J. Creswell.....	108.00
	Supplies, Dulin & Martin Co.....	4.33
	Supplies, India Alkali Works.....	11.50
	Supplies, M. G. Copeland.....	10.00
	Supplies, West Disinfecting Co.....	1.50
	Supplies, India Alkali Works.....	23.91
	Supplies, E. J. Murphy Co.....	20.25
	Supplies, Barber and Ross.....	27.65
Sept. 28.	88 Awnings & Fixtures, M. G. Copeland.....	432.80
Sept. 30.	Returned to Defense Fund; second payment to Defense Fund, Frank Morrison, Secretary.....	2,500.00
	Payment of Notes Nos. 1 and 2, including interest, American Security & Trust Co.....	5,120.14
	Refund to General Fund, Salary Building employees, Frank Morrison, Secretary.....	392.35
	Total.....	\$167,063.19
**	Less amount drawn from General Fund instead of Trustee Fund.....	2,500.00
	Net expenses.....	\$164,563.19

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RECAPITULATION

Net Receipts.....	\$166,200.14
Net Expenses.....	164,563.19
Balance on hand September 30, 1916.....	\$1,636.95

*This check was drawn to correct error in depositing \$7,500 received from Lennon under date of August 28, 1915, and deposited August 30, 1915, on account of \$50,000 loan, in the Trustee Fund first instead of depositing in General Fund and then transferring to Trustee Fund. This amount—\$7,500—is a part of the deposit of \$37,500 in the General Fund, September 3, 1915, which includes \$30,000 received at headquarters from Lennon on August 28, 1915.

**This amount being the first payment to the Defense Fund on account of the \$50,000 loan, was drawn from the General Fund instead of the Trustee Fund. To correct the Trustee Fund it is necessary to show the total receipts and total expenses of the Trustee Fund in this manner, although the \$2,500 did not pass through this fund.

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the receipts and expenses of the Office Building Fund:

RECEIPTS

From Defense Fund.....	\$50,000.00
*From Defense Fund.....	7,500.00
American Security and Trust Company.....	80,000.00
Riggs National Bank.....	20,000.00
**From General Fund; first payment to Defense Fund.....	2,500.00
Rent of office rooms.....	200.00
From General Fund in payment of Notes Nos. 1 and 2, including interest.....	5,120.14
From General Fund; second payment to Defense Fund.....	2,500.00
Rent of office rooms to the A. F. of L.....	880.00
Total.....	\$168,700.14
**Less amount drawn from General Fund, instead of Trustee Fund.....	2,500.00
Net Receipts.....	\$166,200.14

EXPENSES

Plot of ground for site of the A. F. of L. Office Building, including resurvey.....	\$40,108.50
On account of erection of A. F. of L. Office Building.....	103,554.92
*To cover amount deposited in Trustees' Fund instead of general fund.....	7,500.00
Architect fees.....	4,285.75
Dedication of the A. F. of L. Office Building, July 4, 1916.....	204.50
Attorney fees.....	290.00
Removal of fire hydrant from front of Office Building.....	175.00
Salary of Building Employees.....	392.35
Revenue stamps on papers in connection with Office Building.....	18.50
Revenue stamps used on \$10,000 note from Riggs National Bank.....	2.00
Premium on bond securing loan on A. F. of L. Office Building.....	200.00
Half-tone of Office Building.....	86.15
Miscellaneous supplies for maintenance of Office Building.....	125.38
Payments on notes Nos. 1 and 2.....	5,000.00
Interest on Notes Nos. 1 and 2.....	120.14
**Returned to Defense Fund, first payment.....	2,500.00
Returned to Defense Fund, second payment.....	2,500.00
Total.....	\$167,063.19
**Less amount drawn from General Fund instead of Trustee Fund.....	2,500.00
Net expenses.....	\$164,563.19

The building has ninety rooms and basement. There are vaults on each floor. We have provided a large and convenient room for the meetings of the Executive Council on the

seventh floor. A room of equal size on the sixth floor is provided for a file room and another room of equal size on the fifth floor for a library.

The various office rooms are so situated as to afford the best facilities in the performance of the duties of the officers, as well as their assistants and of the officers and the assistants of the various organizations which have or may hereafter become tenants of the building.

We have provided for the comfort and the convenience of all those who are employed in our new building. A tile promenade roof tops the structure and may be enjoyed by all when not engaged in the service to our movement. Every facility for comfort and convenience as well as for service has been supplied.

In addition to the offices occupied by the officers of the A. F. of L. and their employees in the offices, space is occupied by others as follows:

The Building Trades Department has four rooms on the fifth floor, facing Massachusetts Avenue.

The Metal Trades Department has three rooms on the fourth floor, facing respectively Ninth Street and Massachusetts Avenue.

The Union Label Trades Department occupies three rooms on the third floor similar to those of the Metal Trades Department.

The Mining Department occupies one room on the fourth floor.

The Federal Employes' Union No. 14632 occupies three rooms on the fourth floor.

The Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks occupies one room on the fourth floor.

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks occupies two rooms on the fourth floor.

We are in negotiations with the officers of the International Association of Machinists and in all likelihood we shall have the offices of that organization occupy an entire floor in the building.

The undersigned made a tentative report to you at our October meeting when the E. C. held its first session in the new building. We now make this report to you and through you to the convention of the A. F. of L., as well as to the directly affiliated local unions and to the general labor movement.

At the San Francisco Convention and since, Mrs. Samuel Gompers raised by voluntary subscription the sum of \$312.68, the same to be devoted to the creation of a permanent flag fund for the A. F. of L. Building. Flags and pennants have been furnished for the building from the time of its occupancy. The sum of \$142.68 has been expended for flags and pennants and there remains on hand \$170 in the fund which has been placed in our possession and by us deposited in the Washington Permanent Building Association. It is expected that some contributions will still come in toward that fund so that the income therefrom may furnish a sufficient sum to provide enough flags to replace those which may by time and stress of storm need to be replaced.

We hereby express our appreciation of the thoughtfulness and action of Mrs. Gompers in undertaking on her own initiative this laudable purpose.

The E. C. has elected the following as trustees of the A. F. of L. Building: Messrs. Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison, and James O'Connell.

It has been deemed wisest and most practical that the entire responsibility for the purchase of the site, the erection of the building and the administration thereof, as well as the conduct of the financial transaction, be vested in the trustees. In addition it is necessary to say that the trustees selected by you were also selected by the directly affiliated local unions to care for the moneys loaned to the A. F. of L. out of the defense fund, in which the local unions are primarily interested. As the financial report above submitted shows, we have already returned to the fund \$5,000 in part payment of the \$50,000 borrowed from that fund. Our obligation to that fund contemplated the payment of \$2,500 per annum and, as stated, we have done better than that. We have also taken up and paid two promissory notes of the indebtedness upon our building, amounting to \$5,000.

It was a great satisfaction to us to hear from the members of the E. C. the expressions of appreciation not only of the beautiful building which we have caused to be erected, the advantageous location which it occupies, but also the faithful manner in which we have endeavored to fulfill your highest expectations.

The structure is a monument to the highest concepts and ideals of our great movement and is a constant source of commendation from all those who visit it.

We have not been without vexations and difficulties but they have been overcome and we now present to you this report of our work thus far performed, conscious that we

have endeavored to do our level best in carrying out the instructions and suggestions as they have from time to time been given or made.

We recommend that the terms of the trustees shall end on the first day of January of each year and that the E. C. shall elect the trustees immediately after the adjournment of the annual conventions of the A. F. of L.

Fraternally submitted.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees A. F. of L. Building.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

In our report to the San Francisco Convention we suggested a practical plan for the holding of a World Labor Congress at the same time and place as the World Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the present European war. The plan was suggested in accord with the direction of the Philadelphia Convention, which had adopted the suggestion that such a labor congress ought to be held, and directed that a practical plan be suggested to the next convention.

The plan which we recommended to the San Francisco Convention was adopted by that convention and we were instructed to make all arrangements for holding the proposed conference. The convention authorized us to send as representatives of the American Federation of Labor to that Congress the president and one other representative of our Federation.

In order to carry out the instructions of the convention, we had prepared a statement setting forth the purposes of the World Labor Congress and the tentative plan for the congress which had been endorsed by the San Francisco Convention. This statement was to be in the form of a circular letter addressed to the organized labor movements of all countries. It was printed in English and translated into French, German, and Spanish, and sent, in these various languages, to the organized labor movements of all countries for which we had secured the names and addresses of officers. Despite the strict censorship maintained in all belligerent countries, we have reason to believe that this letter was generally allowed to pass the censors. During the course of the year many letters of inquiry and approval were received from various countries, and in our own country the proposed congress aroused general interest and met with enthusiastic approval. The influence which a representative group of workers of the world could wield in such a congress was appreciated by all those who had an understanding of the definite progress that the world has been making toward democracy and toward an understanding of human rights and human freedom. Somehow thinking people have been catching the meaning of democracy; they have come to realize that it means that the people—all of the people—have a right to do things for themselves; that they need no longer to look up to others to do things for them, not even the things that pertain to government and international relations. Every worker, because he is a human being, has a right to a place in the world; a right to a voice in determining his life and the conditions under which he shall live, and a right to an opportunity to have his ideas and welfare considered before national issues are determined. It was the old thought that workers knew nothing about problems and issues; that they were to work for others and do nothing else; that the big things in life, that the fundamental principles determining affairs, should be decided by others—those of another class. As the workers have gained in economic power they have been able to justify their position, that they, the great masses of the people of America, had a right to determine all of their own affairs, and that the affairs governing organization of society were just as much theirs as they were the politicians or the statesmen or the employing or property holding classes. Tradition has given power of determination to these classes; their purposes and policies were primarily influenced by their personal interests and the desire to maintain control for their own classes because that insured the present organization of society. The guiding concept of the wage-earners is the paramount importance of the human being. According to this understanding of life everything else—land, property, influence—must be subordinated to human welfare and made to serve the people. This concept will never be made the controlling concept of society except through the will and action of the workers themselves.

It was this understanding and this purpose that lay back of the proposal made by the

A. F. of L. to hold a World Labor Congress, by setting standards, presenting ideals and bringing these matters before the World Peace Congress and the people of all of the nations in such a way that they could not be ignored. In this way the wage-earners would have a part in giving a high tone to the World Peace Congress and in setting standards below which they would not dare to fall.

We regret to report that the proposal of the A. F. of L. to hold an International Labor Conference at the time and place when the representatives of the governments of the various countries shall meet for the purpose of determining conditions of peace and entering into a treaty was not approved by the organized labor movement of Great Britain. This action, together with the statement of President Legien of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany that such a movement would be of doubtful practicability, necessarily requires that our proposition be abandoned.

When information of this official rejection of the plan adopted by the San Francisco Convention reached this country, because of the tremendous importance of the plan and of the infinite and boundless influence that a representation of wage-earners could have upon the deliberations of the World Peace Congress, the following suggestion was considered by us and adopted:

Since the first proposal submitted by the A. F. of L. to the labor organizations of Europe has been definitely rejected by them, we suggest that the organized labor movements of those countries that shall participate in the general peace conference to determine terms and conditions of peace at the close of the war, shall urge upon their respective governments that the wage-earners shall be represented in an official commission from their respective countries. The same policy ought to be pursued also by organized labor movements of neutral countries if it shall be determined that neutral countries also will participate in the general peace congress.

Thus representatives of wage-earners would be seated with other representatives of the nations in general conferences connected with the formulation of peace terms. In this way the ideals and needs of wage-earners would be presented and considered by the general official body.

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR RELATIONS

The necessity for promoting closer relations between the workers of all Pan-American countries was presented in our 1915 report. The events of the past year, particularly the relations between our country and Mexico, have shown even more clearly the necessity of permanent international organization for the workers of both countries.

The San Francisco Convention endorsed the policy of furthering a Pan-American Labor Union. The proposition began to take definite form in the United States-Mexico conference at Washington and was incorporated in the declaration signed by the members of the conference. The government of Yucatan, which is a labor government, had authorized and directed its representatives in that conference to visit all Pan-American countries in furtherance of a Pan-American labor organization. As these representatives were leaving Washington, President Gompers gave them the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 6, 1916.

To the Workers of All American Countries:

A purpose has long been in the minds of many which has gradually been taking form and seeking an opportunity for concrete expression. Such an opportunity has been born out of the strained relations that have recently existed between the United States and Mexico and the great anxiety aroused thereby in hearts and minds of the workers of both countries. There has come at least one result that is potential for the maintenance of human rights and the establishment of principles of human welfare in international relations.

Just as the situation between the United States and Mexico was most critical, there came to our country two representatives of the government of Yucatan, Mr. Carlos Loveira, Chief of the Department of Labor, and Mr. Baltazar Pages, Editor of the Voice of the Revolution, bringing an appeal to the workmen of our country to use their influence in the interest of peace and justice between our countries. At the same time, in response to an invitation from the A. F. of L., the organized labor movement of Mexico sent as representatives to Washington for the purpose

of holding a conference, Mr. Luis N. Morones, Mr. S. Gonzalo Garcia and Mr. Edmundo E. Martinez.

During the recent past, through personal representatives of the Mexican government and information gained from others in close contact with conditions in Mexico, it became plain to us that the revolution in Mexico represented the cause of humanity and democracy, and that the Constitutionalist government represented a genuine effort on the part of the Mexicans to establish institutions of freedom and justice. The A. F. of L. made an appeal to the President of the United States to recognize the Constitutionalist government of Mexico.

It has since on several occasions when important decisions of national policies affecting the United States and Mexico were in balance, been the instrumentality through which the desires of the masses of the people have been expressed, and further time and opportunity afforded to Mexico for understanding our national attitude and demonstrating good will and good faith on her part.

Because of this historic relation it was felt that a conference between representatives of the labor movement of Mexico and representatives of the A. F. of L. would be a direct means by which the masses of the people of both countries could wield an influence that would counteract the influence of financial powers and those who were willing to precipitate international conflicts for their own aggrandizement.

At this conference held in Washington between the representatives of the Mexican labor movement and the E. C. of the A. F. of L. a declaration was signed by all parties to the conference. This declaration, in addition to provisions which concerned immediate relations between our two countries, provided for future conferences between representatives of both countries and declared in favor of efforts to establish a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

This was not a new thought for the A. F. of L. Upon several occasions the same idea had been advanced, and in the Proceedings of the 1915 Convention of the A. F. of L. endorsement was given to a proposal for an organization that would represent human rights and interests in all Pan-American countries. The necessity for such a labor federation has been made increasingly greater through efforts to establish closer commercial and political relations between the countries included in the Pan-American Union.

In the High Commission, which recently made a trip to Pan-American countries for the purpose of promoting better commercial and industrial relations, although there was no phase in any of the relations between these different countries that did not in some way affect human interests and human welfare, there was no one on that commission who distinctively represented human interests and the rights and welfare of the masses of the people.

I have urged upon the United States government that this serious omission ought to be rectified, and I urge the labor movements of all Pan-American countries to bring the same matter to the attention of their respective governments. But such representation, valuable as it would be, is not sufficient to protect and promote the rights and welfare of the workers of all countries. A Pan-American Federation of Labor is not only possible but is necessary. It will constitute a ready and fit agency for injecting into international deliberations at opportune and critical times consideration for human rights, interests and welfare.

In view of the importance of this purpose, it is most gratifying to find that the representatives from the state of Yucatan are to travel through the countries of Central and South America for the purpose of promoting a Pan-American Federation of Labor. The purpose of their mission has our most sympathetic and hearty cooperation. The realization of an international alliance between the labor movements of all Pan-American countries will constitute a genuine parliament of men, one of the highest purposes to which mankind has aspired.

It is earnestly hoped that the representatives of all organized workers in Pan-America will come into and continue correspondence with the undersigned.

With sincere greetings, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL COMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

It will be observed that as a result of our conferences with the representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico, it was agreed that conferences should be held not only with the representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico, but of the several other South American countries. We therefore recommend that the E. C. be authorized to arrange for and be represented in such conferences as may be proposed and held. We submit that it is fair to assume that the E. C. of the A. F. of L. is not likely to enter into any arrangements or agreements unless they are conducive to the welfare of American workers as well as to the toilers of all other countries.

In connection with the proposal to establish a Pan-American Federation of Labor, it is important to bear in mind the fundamental principle that the labor movements of all countries must be supreme over the organization and the labor problems of their respective countries. In other words, a national labor organization must be autonomous within the jurisdiction of that country. In our communication to the workers of the South American countries, it is plainly stated that the A. F. of L. will yield to no other organization authority over the affairs of the economic movement in this country. We stand for the right of the workers of every country to work out their own problems in accord with their ideals and highest conceptions.

The right that we claim for the workers of the United States we are willing to concede to the workers of every other country; but, over and above national issues, there are matters of international character and which are of general concern to the workers of all of the countries of the two American continents.

MEXICO

In our report to the San Francisco Convention we gave an account of the friendly relations that had been established between the labor movement of Mexico and that of the United States and showed how that relationship had been helpful in preventing intervention by the United States in the affairs of Mexico. We reported that on September 22 we had asked President Wilson to recognize the Constitutionalist government. On October 19, 1915, official action was taken by which the Constitutionalist government was recognized.

During the following months, President Gompers kept in touch with the representatives of the labor movement of Mexico through correspondence and through conferences.

In the spring, when conditions had arisen that seemed to make war between Mexico and the United States inevitable, the understanding between the labor movements of the United States and Mexico took on more definite form and was again instrumental in throwing light upon the influences and the agents that were trying to create war sentiment and the seeming necessity for intervention in the affairs of Mexico, and was able to help bring about an adjustment of misunderstandings without resorting to war.

When war seemed most imminent, on May 23, 1916, President Gompers sent an invitation to the labor organizations of Mexico asking them to send representatives to participate in a joint conference with representatives of the labor movement of the United States so that they might consider the conditions that seemed likely to bring about war and carry back to the masses of the people of both countries whom they represented information that would convey to them the real sentiment of the people of both nations and enable them to know the elements and conditions attempting to drive both countries into war.

It was first planned to hold this conference in an American city on the border between the two countries but the labor movement of Mexico acted instantly and sent representatives to the border line without first informing our headquarters of their action and our agreement upon the definite time for the conference. It was, for lack of time, impossible to assemble a representative group to confer with the representatives of the Mexican workers at Eagle Pass. It was arranged that Mexican workers should send representatives to Washington to hold a joint conference with the E. C. of the A. F. of L. which was to hold its regular meeting in Washington, June 26.

The representatives of the Mexican workers who met with the E. C. were L. N. Morones, S. Gonzalo Garcia, representing the Casa del Obrero Mundial; Edmundo E. Martinez, representing the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros de la Republica Mexicana; C. Loveira and Baltazar Pages, representing the organized labor movement of Yucatan.

During this conference, which was in part quite informal, the representatives of the Mexican labor movement discussed very freely industrial and political conditions in Mexico and the growth and progress of their various organizations. Considering the fact that the

organized labor movement of Mexico dates only from the time of Madero, progress in development there has been most extraordinary. The local unions are affiliated to the two national organizations which were represented in the conference.

While this conference was being held, relations between the United States and Mexico became acute. Our government had issued an ultimatum demanding the immediate release of American soldiers. As no response had been received from General Carranza, First Chief of the Mexican government, responsible governmental officials had become extremely anxious. It was at this time that a request was made to President Gompers that he make a personal appeal to General Carranza to release the United States soldiers. Mr. Gompers sent General Carranza the following telegram:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1916.

General VENUSTIANO CARRANZA,
First Chief, Constitutionalist Government,
Mexico City, Mexico.

In the name of common justice and humanity, in the interest of a better understanding between the peoples and the governments of the United States and Mexico, for the purpose of giving the opportunity to maintain peace and avoid the horrors of war, upon the grounds of highest patriotism and love, I appeal to you to release the American soldiers held by your officers in Chihuahua.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

That same evening "extra" papers announced General Carranza had issued an order releasing the American soldiers.

On the next day the following telegram from General Carranza was received:

MEXICO, June 29, 1916.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

In replying to your message dated yesterday, I would state that the government in my charge has ordered the liberty of the American soldiers whom the Mexican forces took as prisoners in Carrizal. Salute very affectionately,

V. CARRANZA.

On authority of the E. C., President Gompers sent the following telegram:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 30, 1916.

General VENUSTIANO CARRANZA,
First Chief, Constitutionalist Government,
Mexico City, Mexico.

Your telegram of June 29 received and laid before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session at Washington, and we express to you our appreciation of your order releasing the American soldiers and thus helping to clear the way for a mutually honorable settlement of any differences existing between the governments of the United States and of Mexico.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

Although the danger of immediate war had passed, there yet remained many conditions that were likely to keep relations between the two countries in an unsettled state and might at any time again bring about danger of war or precipitate war. Those who participated in the conference of the workers of the United States and Mexico fully appreciated that unless definite, constructive suggestions were made and adopted, the existing friendly and advantageous relations would not be assured permanence.

This conference of workmen was helpful in bringing about a better understanding in the United States of the real meaning and purpose of the Mexican revolution and an appreciation of what the people of Mexico were trying to accomplish in overthrowing old institutions. This understanding made more general the feeling that the people of Mexico knew what they wanted, understood their peculiar problems and had a right to work out their own

salvation in accord with their ideals. The conference in itself was an illustration of how easily war may be averted when an element of reasonableness is introduced into a critical situation and the people of both countries insist upon knowing what are the true causes behind the demand for war.

As a result of this conference held in Washington the following declaration was signed by those participating in the conference:

Mexican-United States Compact

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1916.

The undersigned, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico express our deep gratification in the consummation of this conference which we hope and believe has laid the basis for better understanding and has welded ties that shall bind together the workers of our respective countries.

We are confident that personal conferences of the workers of the United States and of Mexico will be a constructive force in bringing about understanding necessary for better relations between our countries and for maintaining peace founded upon a proper regard for the rights of all. It is our opinion that this conference should be followed by another in which the workers of both countries shall be more generally represented for the purpose of agreeing upon plans for maintaining permanent relations and for the federation of the labor movements of all of the countries of the two Americas.

In view of present relations between the United States and Mexico we are of the opinion that such a general conference is for the present untimely and we express the judgment that the holding of such a conference should be deferred until later in the year. However, in the event of an emergency which would make a general conference of advantage in averting an international crisis, such a conference could and should be called for the earliest time mutually agreeable. To carry this plan into effect a joint commission shall be chosen to consist of two members from both labor movements, to remain in Washington until the present crisis is passed, the said joint commission to have the power of calling a general conference if necessary.

We hold this to be fundamental—no relations between our countries can be permanent that are not based upon the will of the masses of the people and in accord with their concepts of justice.

We deem it an essential step toward democracy and justice that there shall be established for the masses who have hitherto been without regular agencies for expressing their views and desires, opportunities that will enable them to have a voice in helping to determine international affairs.

The labor movements of the various countries constitute the instrumentalities that can best accomplish this purpose and give expression to national ideas and convictions that have been too long inarticulate and impotent.

We direct that the President of the A. F. of L. and the official representatives of organized labor of Mexico should keep in touch through correspondence and that they be authorized to carry out the purposes specified in this declaration.

In joint conference, as the representatives of the workers, the masses of our respective countries, we urge upon our governments to adjust existing differences without war and to establish conditions conducive to permanent peace with justice.

We appeal to the workers and all of the people of the United States and of Mexico to do everything within their power to promote correct understanding of purposes and actions, to prevent friction, to encourage good will, and to promote an intelligent national opinion that ultimately shall direct relations between our countries and shall be a potent humanitarian force in promoting world progress.

It is an unavoidable conclusion that present differences between our countries are the result of misunderstanding growing out of inadequate or incorrect information; that the unfortunate consequences of past relations between the United States and Mexico have formulated a national attitude that questions the good faith of our governments; that existing agencies and methods of reaching an adjustment

of these differences are unsuitable for dealing with those problems which are fundamentally human problems; and that the relations between our countries ought not to be directed in accord with abstract standards of justice but ought to be keenly sensitive and responsive to the human interests and moral forces. Therefore, we, the representatives of the organized workers, having the right to speak for all of the workers and in the interests of all of the people, urge upon our governments the appointment of a commission to be composed of high-minded citizens, fully representative of our nations, to consider differences that have brought our nations to the verge of war and to make such recommendations for adjustment as shall fitly express the highest ideals of the great rank and file of the citizenship of our two countries.

We direct that copies of this declaration shall be presented to the President of the United States, Honorable Woodrow Wilson, and to the First Chief of the Constitutionalist government of Mexico, General Venustiano Carranza, and that it be given widest publicity among the workers of our respective countries.

For the organized workers of the United States:

SAM'L. GOMPERS, *President*
 JAMES DUNCAN, *First Vice-President*
 JAS. O'CONNELL, *Second Vice-President*
 D. A. HAYES, *Third Vice-President*
 JOS. F. VALENTINE, *Fourth Vice-President*
 JOHN R. ALPINE, *Fifth Vice-President*
 H. B. PERHAM, *Sixth Vice-President*
 FRANK DUFFY, *Seventh Vice-President*
 WM. GREEN, *Eighth Vice-President*
 JOHN B. LENNON, *Treasurer*
 FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary*

For the organized workers of Mexico:

C. LOVEIRA
 BALTAZAR PAGES
 L. N. MORONES
 S. GONZALO GARCIA
 EDMUNDO E. MARTINEZ

As is evident from this declaration the constructive suggestion of the conference was the appointment of a joint commission to consider the differences between the two countries that had so nearly embroiled two nations in war and to suggest recommendations for adjustment. This plan met with favor in both countries and was later adopted.

When it became apparent that the critical situation had passed, it was no longer necessary that the two representatives of the labor movement of Mexico should remain in Washington. They, therefore, returned home, with the understanding that the representatives would be returned should the necessity arise.

The workers of Mexico affiliated to the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros de la Republica Mexicana felt that they could be benefited by sending representatives to Washington to confer with President Gompers about labor conditions in Mexico and secure advice upon practical matters of organization. Three representatives of this organization, Messrs. Carvallo, Alonzo and Ramos, came to Washington and had conferences with President Gompers. He gave these representatives the following letter to be conveyed to the workers of Mexico:

Labor's Message to Mexico's Toilers

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 18, 1916.

To the Members of Confederacion de Sindicatos Obreros de la Republica Mexicana.

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: It was a great satisfaction to have additional proof of the desire of the Mexican wage-earners to establish cordial, fraternal relations and to prevent misunderstandings between the labor movements of Mexico and the United States. The spirit that prompted your organization to send delegates with additional information of organized labor in Mexico and your declara-

tions of good will are an earnest of what can be accomplished by international organization.

As Col. Martinez has doubtless informed you, on July 1 and 3 a joint conference was held between the E. C. of the A. F. of L. and representatives of the Mexican labor movement. The conference was in pursuance of an invitation extended by the A. F. of L. which was given such general publicity in Mexico as was possible in the limited time and restricted agencies available to us.

The diplomatic situation became so critical that labor representatives from Mexico City came to the United States before a definite time had been mutually determined. Under the circumstances that existed it was not possible for the A. F. of L. to call together a representative labor group to meet with the Mexican delegates in Eagle Pass, Texas. Therefore it was suggested that the Mexican delegates come to Washington where the E. C. had arranged for a ten days' session closing with the dedication of the new A. F. of L. office building. This was agreed upon. A delegation consisting of Mr. Luis N. Morones and Mr. Salvadore G. Garcia, of Mexico City, came to the conference. It was most opportune that your representative Col. Emundo E. Martinez came on his mission to bring to the A. F. of L. the beautiful gold medal from the workers of Mexico and that he was authorized to represent your organization in the conference.

Two representatives of Yucatan, Messrs. Carlos Loveira and Baltazar Pages, had come to the U. S. commissioned to bring an appeal to the workers of our country to help avert war and to establish ways by which information could be conveyed to the workers of both countries that would protect them against the mistakes due to misunderstanding. As Messrs. Loveira and Pages also participated in the conference its representative character is apparent.

The conference was devoted chiefly to discussion necessary for mutual information and to consideration of means to avert the immediate danger of war in which baneful elements and greedy exploiters were seeking to plunge our countries. A declaration was signed by the representatives participating in the conference. A copy of the declaration is enclosed.

As you will note it was provided that two representatives of organized labor of Mexico should remain in Washington in order to act quickly and effectively upon any emergency that might arise. But when the critical period had passed and no new danger seemed probable the Mexican representatives decided that it would not be necessary for them to remain longer.

Messrs. Loveira and Pages had been commissioned by their state government to visit all Latin-American countries to urge a Pan-American Congress of workers for the purpose of establishing a Pan-American Federation. This was an idea that had been given serious consideration in our country and had been approved by the A. F. of L. in its annual convention held in San Francisco in November, 1915. In order that the workers of all American countries should know that the A. F. of L. gives hearty approval to the proposed Congress and Pan-American F. of L., I gave each of the Mexican representatives a letter stating the position of the workers of the U. S. A copy is enclosed. I hope you will assist in giving general publicity to this letter, and will urge consideration of the plan contained therein.

But in working for this far-reaching purpose we must not forget that which is immediate—the holding of a general labor conference to consider matters that immediately concern the wage-earners of Mexico and the U. S.

Let me suggest that through correspondence, the press and all agencies of publicity, you give the workers of Mexico information as to what already has been accomplished by the power of economic organization and direct attention to common interests and problems of the workers—interests and problems which extend past national boundary lines and intermingle wherever the industrial and commercial interests of our countries extend.

The hope of the workers of all countries lies in their economic organization which is an organic force limitless in its possibilities. This fact makes very gratifying the information you send of the strength and the number of labor unions affiliated to your Federation. We in our country are dependent upon the organized

workers of Mexico for information in regard to your movement. We want to know more about you, and to keep in close touch through correspondence.

I have been asked to make the suggestions as my experience may warrant as to the organization, development and direction of the Mexican labor movement. Of course, it is not possible, at this time, to enter into the subject minutely, but I may be privileged to state that:

1. The wage-earners engaged in any particular trade should be organized in a union of that trade.

2. That the unions of the trade should be organized in every city and town wherever that trade has a sufficient number of workers to form a union thereof.

3. That as soon as there is a sufficient number of unions of a trade in the various localities so as to permit of the safe financial conduct of a national trade union of these various local trade unions, then such a national union should be formed, and it should have absolute authority to determine its own laws, methods and policies for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the workers of the trade.

4. This should apply to each and all trades and occupations of wage workers whether skilled or unskilled.

5. In each city there should be formed a central labor union composed of delegates from each trade union. The Central Labor Union of each city should concern itself with the affairs of the workers generally affecting them, and not interfere with the internal trade union affairs of any of the organizations, these being reserved to the unions themselves.

6. The central labor unions should not allow representation of any group of persons other than the delegates from the bona fide trade unions.

7. Central labor unions should meet not less than twice each month.

8. In each state of Mexico there should be a State Federation of Labor which should meet annually and be composed of delegates from local trade unions and local central bodies within the state. None but bona fide delegates from bona fide trade unions and central bodies should be admitted as delegates. The State Federation of Labor should concern itself with state legislation affecting the interests of the workers; both the State Federations and City Central Bodies should aid in the organization of workers in existing unions or institute new unions, and when such local trades union are organized, they should be placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the national union of the trade.

9. There should exist a Mexican Federation of Labor somewhat after the plan of the A. F. of L. The Mexican Federation of Labor should guarantee to every National Union affiliated to it the right to determine its own laws and policies. The Mexican Federation of Labor should exercise no power except that which is conceded to it by the National Trade Unions. The Mexican Federation of Labor should be voluntary in every respect declaratory of general policies and purposes, and it should aid any National Union to the fullest extent in the effort to protect and promote the interests of its members or of the trade. The Mexican Federation of Labor should concern itself largely with organizing, with securing legislation or administrative acts from the Mexican congress and government. The Mexican Federation of Labor should hold annual conventions to which the National Trade Unions would be represented by delegates from National Unions in proportion to the numerical strength of each and one delegate from the Mexican State Federations and the Mexican City Central Labor Unions.

The Mexican Federation of Labor should issue charters or certificates of affiliation to National Unions, to State Federations and to City Central Labor Unions. I am sending you a blank charter as sample, which the A. F. of L. issues. The Mexican Federation of Labor should also organize and issue charters to local trade unions of which there is an insufficient number to form a National Union.

Enclosed with this I am sending you a copy of the constitution and laws of the A. F. of L. I am also sending you a copy of the official printed proceedings of the last A. F. of L. convention. I am also sending you a copy of the New York State Federation of Labor constitution, and also copy of the laws of one of the City Central Labor Unions of the A. F. of L.

Please communicate our desire to all officers of labor organizations and request all to send us written and printed information. We shall be glad to receive regularly copies of your labor papers and to send you our publications.

Again permit me to express my gratification at the opportunity to meet the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor, Messrs. Carvallo, Ramos and Alonzo and learn from them of your splendid progress. Sometime I have the hope of meeting more of Mexico's workers—her people face to face.

With fraternal greetings and best wishes, I am,
Fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

During the conference held in Washington in June, the representatives of this organization presented to the A. F. of L. a gold medal on which was the following inscription:

To the American Federation of Labor
As a loving token from the Mexican Workmen to the
Workers of America.

Later they presented a beautiful diploma, again expressing the spirit and feeling of fraternity and good will.

It was the understanding at these conferences that later conferences should take place between the representatives of the workers of Mexico, and that the relations that had been established between our two countries should be broadened and made to comprehend the workers of all the countries of America.

Better and closer relations and understanding between the workers of the United States and Mexico are necessary for the protection of the workers of both countries. The boundary line between the two countries does not constitute a real barrier to industrial and commercial development and organization.

There is an identity of interest between the property holders and employers of both countries. The fifteen millions of Mexicans among whom low standards of living and work, low wages and long hours have prevailed have constituted a real barrier toward progress and betterment among the workers in this country. This is true not only along the border line but its influence is felt even among the central states. There are now thousands of Mexican workers in the cities along the border lines and in the mining regions of the west and in some of the eastern states. In Los Angeles alone there is a Mexican population of about fifteen thousand. There are mining communities in Arizona and Colorado which are composed almost wholly of Mexicans. Mexican workers have been imposed upon and brought into this country even as far as Chicago to be used as strike-breakers to defeat efforts of the United States workers in reducing hours of work and securing higher wages. This problem must be met by the development of the organized labor movement in Mexico and by the organization of the Mexicans within our own country. We can aid and support the Mexican workers in working out their own problems, and we ought to begin a definite campaign for the organization of Mexicans in this country.

In connection with this section of the report we wish to call attention to the editorial in the July issue of the *American Federationist* entitled "Liberty's Hope Is in Thy Keeping, Organized Labor," and to the article in the August issue entitled "United States-Mexico, Labor, Their Relations." These articles describe briefly the development of the labor movement in Mexico which is identified with the cause of the revolution and the attempt to establish a constitutional government.

As clearly and keenly we have been kept in touch with the progress of the labor movement of Mexico (for be it always remembered that in Mexico the revolutionary movement was really a labor movement), yet we were agreeably surprised to learn of the wonderful progress and achievements of the workers of Mexico in shortening hours of labor, increasing their wages and standards, and improving their conditions of work, and this particularly since the overthrow of Huerta and the establishment of the Constitutionalist government. This has been general; yet in the state of Yucatan, Mexico, some of the broadest and best constructive labor conditions and labor legislation have been adopted within the past year and a half.

In all of our relations with the workers of Mexico it has been our purpose to impress

upon them that economic organization is that which is of paramount importance to wage-earners, for only through the organization and control of their economic power can they hope to secure their protection and their freedom. We have also tried to call attention to the fact that the development of the labor movement in Mexico must be directed in accord with the peculiar needs of the Mexican workers and must be worked out to meet the problems and conditions that exist within their country.

By establishing closer relations with the labor organizations of that country we can bring about the better protection of the workers of the United States and the advantages of the workers of both countries.

BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

When the British Trades Union Congress met in Birmingham, September 4, 1916, we were able to return to the custom that had existed for many years and to have present two representatives of the American Federation of Labor—W. D. Mahon and Matthew Woll. Messrs. Mahon and Woll were chosen by the Seattle Convention to represent the A. F. of L. in the congress following that convention. Various circumstances have prevented these two delegates from fulfilling that mission. Succeeding conventions renewed their authorization to act as delegates, and they completed that service in the Birmingham Congress.

Although correspondence has been uninterrupted between the officers of the British labor movement and the A. F. of L., yet we have regretted the break in the custom of exchanging delegates. Written communication, especially at this time when military censor is in control and printed matter also is prepared in advance with regard to the attitude of the censor, can not give the same intimate information and establish the genuine understanding that can come only from the exchange of personal greetings, personal viewpoints and face-to-face conferences.

It will be, we feel sure, a matter of gratification to the members of the entire labor movement that our personal representatives could carry a message of fraternity and good will to fellow British workers who for the past months have been surrounded by most critical problems and whose work and lives have been fundamentally changed by participation in one of the most terrible wars which history records.

Attention is called to a study of British labor unions in time of war made by James W. Sullivan, which is published in the October and November issues of the *American Federationist*.

We hope, in the course of time, to present the conditions of trade union activity in all the countries engaged in the European conflict.

We sincerely hope that the workers of all European countries will be able to maintain their labor organizations even under stress of war difficulties and the imperative demands of military necessity, and that when peace shall have been restored they will be in a position to renew and carry on their efforts in behalf of human rights and human liberty.

ORGANIZATION

The report of the Secretary for the past year shows the steady, healthy growth which the American Federation of Labor has maintained from year to year. The total membership belonging to all affiliated organizations has increased during the past year, and the average membership for the year has been the highest since the formation of the Federation. The spirit of organization has been rife among the toilers and there has been an irresistible impulse that has led to strengthening organization and increasing its scope, a clearer appreciation of the possibilities to be achieved by controlling and directing economic power and a determination to establish for wage-earners rights and conditions of work that will enable wage-earners to have the fullest opportunities for development.

The workers everywhere are learning that organization does not belong to any particular trade or calling, and is not dependent upon the kind or degree of skill necessary for the particular work; but it is a condition that is necessary for the workers everywhere for their own protection and betterment. Employees in every line of work have their problems of industrial justice arising out of their relations with employers; there is only one effective agency for dealing with these problems—the economic organization of the workers. Employees, even in those callings which merge into professions, have come to understand that

the problems of securing just compensation and fair conditions of work are economic problems and must be worked out in the economic field through economic agencies. The cause of organization has grown rapidly during the past year among the teachers and has resulted in the formation of a national organization of teachers.

During the year the International Union of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers made application for affiliation to the A. F. of L. This action, which has long been expected, has brought into full cooperation with the affiliated members of the A. F. of L. one of the few strong international organizations that had maintained isolation from the common cause. The relations between the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods have always been good, but are better and closer today than they have been at any previous time. We hope that the affiliation of these internationals may be reported in the near future, and thus complete the union of all the workers of America in one grand organization of all the workers.

There is another phase of the labor movement that is more complex and is associated with many of the significant movements of the present day—the organization of wage-earning women. The A. F. of L. has from the beginning recognized the necessity of organizing women workers and its duty to give these workers every practical assistance in effecting organization. The A. F. of L. for the past three years has levied a special one-cent assessment, the proceeds of which were to be used for the special purpose of organizing women workers; the Secretary's report shows the amount raised for this purpose during the past year. Special organizers have been directed to concentrate their organizing activities upon those trades in which the majority are women workers, but all of the organizers of the A. F. of L. are under instructions to assist in this campaign. As a result of the activities made possible through the special assessment by organization of women, we estimate that about 20,000 women have been added to the organized labor movement.

At the close of the year for which we make this report, the A. F. of L. finds itself numerically stronger than ever before, with the most comprehensive organization ever attained. This will enable the Federation to render most effective service to all workers and to undertake greater work during the coming year.

ORGANIZERS

It is but inadequate recognition of the service to humanity, Labor and justice rendered by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, to commend their unflinching and untiring devotion. The progress of the labor movement is made possible through the work of these chosen men and women who after the day's work is done give whatever of time and ability they have to better conditions for their fellows. There is nothing that these faithful workers do that does not add to the effectiveness of the great cause for which our movement stands.

The act that may seem inconsequential or even futile when regarded alone, combined with the work of many, becomes a dynamic force for regenerating the common life.

We can only dimly appreciate the work of our organizers, constructive and effective as it now is, yet will live on in the time to come.

LABOR FORWARD MOVEMENT

The number of organizations that report labor forward movements for the past year is greatly increased over any previous year. This agency has established itself as a very effective and necessary means for putting new spirit into the organized labor movement and for concentrating efforts upon the extension of the labor movement.

Many organizations instead of devoting a limited period to a labor forward movement have appointed labor forward committees whose work has been to promote organization during all the time.

Both methods have their advantages and have resulted in splendid gains for the labor movement, not only in numbers but in facilitating movements to secure higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions of work.

We recommend that during the coming year every central organization shall have some definite plan to promote organization and to foster and generate enthusiasm for unionism.

LABOR DAY

Labor Day was never more generally observed than it was on September 4, 1916. The achievements of the labor movement during the past twelve months and the many activities in which Labor has been engaged made all of the workers very keenly appreciative of what had been accomplished through the instrumentality of organized labor. This appreciation was manifest in the general observance of the day and in the character and tone of the celebration.

In the majority of labor centers there were Labor Day parades and Labor speeches. The day's celebration brought to all those who participated in it renewed inspiration and deeper insight into the meaning and the scope of the labor movement.

During the past year there have been revealed the great possibilities of the labor movement. It has been demonstrated that there are no interests of wage-earners that can not be furthered by this economic organization. The attention that the wage-earners themselves called to this fact on Labor Day was reflected in the great publicity secured in the labor and daily press of the country. There was no paper that did not give conspicuous place to the cause of Labor not only on Labor Day but on the days immediately preceding and following.

By celebrating Labor Day in an appropriate manner, in accord with Labor ideals, there will be secured for the labor movement added prestige and understanding that will help the cause of labor in all of its relations during the remainder of the year.

There are many agencies at work which aim to divert the thought and meaning of Labor Day, and those who desire to commercialize Labor Day to their own personal profit and who combinedly attempt to make of Labor Day a mere holiday for pleasure seeking.

We, therefore, again urge upon all local bodies that they utilize the great opportunity afforded in the distinctive celebration of Labor Day to place emphasis and prominence upon the doings and activities of Labor and thereby secure greater opportunities for the labor movement.

Labor Day touches the lives and interests of the majority of the citizens of our country more closely and more vitally than any other national holiday. Let us seek by proper celebration to maintain that spirit in purity and in power.

REGISTRATION OF TITLES AND LABELS

It was recommended at our last convention that the titles and labels of all affiliated organizations should be duly registered under the new Federal Trade-Mark Law. The international unions were urged to take this precaution for their own protection. Reports thus far received show that but few national unions have registered either their titles or labels. A number of the others have the matter now under consideration. We again recommend that the convention shall urge upon the national and international unions the advisability and necessity of taking the necessary steps to protect the titles of their organizations and the union labels of their trades by registering them under the new Federal Trade-Mark Law.

VOTING IN CONVENTIONS

As the subject of the voting power in conventions on roll call votes of organizations affiliating or becoming reinstated during a year has several times arisen, we herewith recommend to this convention that while such organizations should be represented in conventions by their full number of delegates, they should on roll call votes be only entitled to their proportionate vote according to the number of months they have been in affiliation during the year.

ASSESSMENTS LEVIED UNPROVIDED BY OUR CONSTITUTION

From year to year resolutions have been submitted to our annual conventions requesting the levying of assessments for organization purposes and also in behalf of organiza-

tions which find themselves in need of such financial assistance. The constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides, Article XII, Section 1, that—

The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

It will be seen that the constitution provides the only method and the only purposes for which assessments can be levied and that compliance with the directions of a convention to levy an assessment is in violation of the provisions of the constitution. If assessments are not levied when so ordered by a convention, then the E. C. violates the instructions of a convention.

Your E. C. has frequently been placed in just such a situation. There have been occasions when assessments have been levied in a manner not provided by the Constitution that some international unions, by reason of industrial disturbances in their own trade, have been unable to meet any additional financial burden to their members. In that event they then find themselves confronted with the further provision of the Constitution, Article XII, Section 2, that—

Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the A. F. of L. and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L.

It seems to us unwise that the conventions should continue to direct the levying of assessments, but if it be deemed wise and practical to raise additional funds that the normal and constitutional manner of raising funds should be provided for through increased per capita tax.

ANTITRUST AND INJUNCTION REGULATION AND LIMITATION LEGISLATION IN THE STATES

The enactment of the labor provisions of the Clayton Antitrust Act has forced employers who wish to use antitrust legislation and the injunctive process to assist them in defeating the efforts of their employees to secure higher wages and better conditions of work, to transfer their efforts from federal to state courts. The result makes increasingly important the necessity for the enactment of state laws to prevent the abuse of judicial agencies and the perversion of legislation to exclusive service in behalf of employers. The uses to which writs of injunction and antitrust legislation have been put have made them virtually strike-breaking institutions and union-destroying agencies. Such a condition is subversive to proper respect for our governmental institutions and to the Republic itself.

In our report to the San Francisco Convention we included the text of a model antitrust and injunction limitation bill which had been sent to all state federations of labor and city central bodies. The convention urged all central organizations, their officers and the rank and file of the movement generally to insist vigorously upon the enactment of such a law within their respective states.

During the year the number of injunctions that were issued in industrial disputes and cases against labor organizations increased so greatly that the danger to the labor movement made it necessary to take some definite action to secure protection for the wage-earners. The progress of the labor movement had been so extraordinary during the past months that employers and associations hostile to trade unionism renewed their hostilities and inaugurated determined, bitter attacks upon organizations.

The injunctions that have been issued in the states of Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Massachusetts, California, and many others were most daring invasions of the rights of free men and undisguised efforts to use the agencies of organized society to maintain the power of vested interests.

In the state of Washington the reactionary element of those opposed to the freedom and the power of the workers have attempted to secure an anti-picketing law. Such a law already exists on the statute books of Colorado to the great detriment of the workers.

In Alabama there is a similar law secured through the efforts of corporations that have

holdings in the state. This law was used by the city of Anniston as a model for a city ordinance in the effort to put an end to strikes within the city.

In Connecticut there are laws enacted over two centuries ago that are now being used by employers in order to get possession of the bank accounts and property of striking employees. Similar conditions prevail in many other states.

Realizing that the securing of remedial and protective legislation was of paramount importance to organized workers in order to insure to them the opportunity to better their conditions, we have sent representatives of the A. F. of L. to attend the conventions of the various state federations of labor to present to the conventions the necessity for concentrating all of their political efforts upon the enactment of state legislation modeled after the bill recommended by us. President Gompers personally inaugurated a definite movement for this purpose in four states. At a special meeting of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held in Chicago, on May 28, the abuses of the writ of injunction were considered and it was unanimously decided that the Illinois State Federation of Labor would make the antitrust injunction limitation bill the paramount issue of the coming political campaign.

A similar conference was held in Fort Wayne with the Executive Board of the Indiana State Federation of Labor on May 30. The Indiana executive board decided to recommend the course advised by President Gompers and issued a circular to the affiliated organizations within the state recommending that the antitrust injunction limitation measure be made the paramount political issue.

In March the jury of Mahoning County returned an indictment against the property-holders and responsible officials of the steel companies of Youngstown, Ohio, charging them with conspiracy to keep down wages and to keep up the price of steel products in violation of the Ohio Valentine Antitrust Law. Judge Anderson quashed the indictments and used as his fundamental argument for his position that antitrust legislation did not apply to contracts for labor as the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. This splendid judicial opinion established a precedent in Ohio law which had only to be enacted into the form of law to safeguard the interests of wage-earners and to assure them necessary opportunity for progress.

In Columbus, Ohio, the combine between the chief of police, the mayor of the town and the Manufacturers' Association denied wage-earners the right of free speech—a right that is assured to all citizens equally. The police force of the town had been doing partisan service in the interests of employers against their employees. President Gompers went to Columbus and had a conference with the officers and executive board of the Ohio State Federation of Labor in regard to the state legislation and spoke to a mass meeting of the citizens upon this matter as well as the right of free speech. With the officers of the Ohio State Federation of Labor President Gompers had a conference with Governor Willis and lodged protest against the unwarrantable, illegal and brutal assault upon the workers in Columbus by the chief of police, and insisted upon a thorough investigation and the enforcement by the Governor of the right of free assemblage and free speech. The State Federation Executive Board decided to make the A. F. of L. model law the paramount political issue in the coming campaign and at once took up practical work to carry that resolution into effect.

From Columbus President Gompers went to Detroit, where he had a conference with the officers and executive board of the Michigan State Federation of Labor. That organization already had in progress a campaign to secure injunction regulation legislation as a constitutional amendment under the state initiative law. At a mass meeting held in the evening, President Gompers discussed the uses and the abuses of the injunctive process. The wage-earners of Michigan were not successful in securing sufficient signers to their initiative amendment to make their effort effective. A representative of the A. F. of L. attended the state convention, which was held in Saginaw in October. At that convention it was decided to resume efforts to secure this legislation and concentrate efforts upon that purpose.

A representative of the A. F. of L. attended the following state conventions for the purpose of presenting the A. F. of L. model bill and urging that it be made the paramount legislative demand of the respective state federations of labor: West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Virginia, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Colorado, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Georgia, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Missouri, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Wyoming, and Florida. All of these conventions, and in addi-

tion that of Texas, made the A. F. of L. model bill the paramount legislative demand for the coming year. Similar action had already been taken in other states.

It is very gratifying to report substantial progress in securing this legislation in these various states. There is no issue of greater importance to the wage-earners of the United States as well as to all those who hold dear institutions of freedom and human justice. We urge that all state federations of labor concentrate their efforts to the end that protective labor legislation, securing for the workers their fundamental rights, shall be enacted in all states supplementing the freedom and rights established under the Clayton Antitrust Act.

MASSACHUSETTS "LABOR IS PROPERTY" DECISION

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has declared unconstitutional the state law which was taken as a basis for the first model law drawn up by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to protect associations of wage-earners from the perverted application of anti-trust legislation, and from the abuse of the writ of injunction. The decision of the Massachusetts court has been heralded by the opponents of organized labor as a final refutation of the principles for which Labor has contended and as reason for repudiating all similar legislation.

The plain purpose of the lawyers in the employ of the Antiboycott Association is to create the impression that the methods by which workers have sought protection and the maintenance of their rights will have to be abandoned. The fundamental thesis underlying the contentions of organized labor is that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. The Massachusetts Supreme Court nullifies the state law and justifies that action upon the principle that labor or labor power is property. This unequivocal assertion of the Massachusetts court is wholly dogmatic; the only line of argument that the judges condescend to offer is the declarations of fellow judges. Without investigation the *ipse dixit* is accepted as infallible, as the decision of the court states that a former expression of opinion by a judge has closed forever the question as to whether the right to work is property. Of course we recognize the value and the proper use of precedents in determining legal questions. It is important in every new case that arises to examine all of the principles and issues involved. It is a necessary expedient that opinions and decisions that have been rendered shall be accepted, unless obviously wrong or challenged by the formulation of some new principle or the creation of a new condition. In this case a direct challenge was made to former decisions of the Massachusetts Court; that challenge insisted in the law which had been enacted by the Massachusetts legislature, declaring that labor power was not property. It followed from this declaration that the right to labor was not a property right but a personal right. Since the challenge existed it became necessary for the Supreme Court of the State, in passing upon the constitutionality of that law, to examine anew the data involved in handing down any decision upon the new principle involved in the new law.

Instead of making the investigation demanded by the situation, the court merely referred to and quoted some former decisions in order to justify its own decisions. No method could have been more unscholarly, unscientific and out of harmony with the purposes of real justice.

The method of procedure adopted by the Massachusetts court in this case would preclude the possibility of a new law, a new concept, a new interpretation ever being recognized by the courts of the state.

We contend that property is a commodity or an article of commerce.

Any property right is derived from ownership or right of use.

If the *right* to work is property, then human labor must be an article, a commodity, that is some inanimate thing, something that can be bought and sold. It must also be borne in mind that this involved something more than a mere legal question, but the legal aspect of the question is based upon physical facts, and upon the method of reasoning by which the conclusion is deduced.

The Massachusetts court, in declaring unconstitutional the antitrust and injunction limitation law, did not take into account the physical nature of human labor, or the line of argument of former decisions; one was ignored and the other was accepted dogmatically as something that must be axiomatically true. The purely *a priori* reasoning had been abandoned since the mediaeval ages and the scientific attitude of mind that has given us our modern concepts of rights.

No one who values his reputation as a thinking man will ignore the necessity for dealing with a scientific problem in a way that would be employed by any scientist. Whether, after all, human labor is a commodity or is a human attribute inseparable from the living body and the mind of the worker is something that must be determined after examination of what labor really is.

Among real thinking men it has never been held that work is purely manual labor. The work of the hands, however mechanical, involves something of mentality. In all kinds of work the mental and the physical elements are differentials; sometimes the manual predominates, sometimes the mental, but in no kind of work is either wholly absent. Work whether termed mental or manual is the expression of the creative ability of the individual; it is power to create, whether an idea, a fact, or a piece of furniture; in all, it is the human attribute.

Let our friends the judges examine, as a scientific phenomenon, their own power to work, and determine whether or not they are willing to regard their trained mentalities as commodities or articles of commerce. Then they must pursue their investigation further and examine the power to labor of wage-earners. Let them watch a stone mason at his work, and watch him as the building grows under his skilled effort. If that stone mason falls dead at his work, there is no longer any human labor power that fits together the products and creates something of use to society; the labor power ceases with the life of the man, it is part of that life. There is no manner of human labor that is a thing apart from the body and the mind of the human being. Commodities and articles of commerce are the *products of human labor* exercised upon materials. There is as great a difference between human labor and articles and commodities, as between that wonderful thing we call life, and the materials that have neither thought nor vision.

The Massachusetts court assumes a position that wage-earners are different from other human beings and should be classified as a lower order, and that therefore their right to labor and to earn a livelihood are property rights. They are not property rights, they are personal rights; they are characteristics and attributes of free men and women. The decision of the Massachusetts court is logically unsound and physically untrue.

This decision of the Massachusetts court is doubly deplorable because there seems no recourse under present procedure and regulations. The judges themselves can not be held responsible by the citizens of the state because they hold office for life.

We hold that the right to work is a personal right. The ownership of that right is inherent in the man. If a Massachusetts law court had decided that the right to work is a personal right and the ownership of that right is inherent in a man, none would have more heartily endorsed that position than the American organized labor movement. But a court of equity issued an injunction and such an injunction could not lie unless it was based upon the question of property and property rights. The equity court assumed jurisdiction to issue an injunction to regulate personal relations and could assume that jurisdiction only by assuming the position that the labor of a human being is a commodity or article of commerce, and therefore property, for the application of the writ of injunction is limited only to property or ownership of property.

The Massachusetts Supreme Court cited a number of decisions to substantiate its opinion. All of these judicial decisions were based upon an erroneous conception of the nature of labor power. Upon this false conception the court justified its extension of jurisdiction to regulate personal relations. Refutation of the fundamental underlying basic principle discloses the fact that the jurisdiction assumed by the court was unwarrantable in law or in fact.

Had the court unequivocally declared that the right to work is a personal right and can be controlled only by the person who exercises it, its opinion would have had our hearty endorsement for it is true that no authority outside of a free man has a right to dictate control over the use of labor power, but to declare that labor power is *property*, even the *property* of the man who exercises it, is to make a statement that is untrue physically or philosophically. But the classification of labor power as property is necessary to the issuance of a writ of injunction to regulate that labor power, for even a superficial justification by the court.

The Massachusetts court made a serious mistake in classifying labor power as property even though it conceded the ownership of that peculiar kind of property to those who exercised the labor power.

The situation illustrates one of the characteristics on any governmental agency; it is

always trying to enlarge its jurisdiction—its scope of action, and when it has once secured increased power, it is not willing to relinquish a particle of authority. Equity courts have a large degree of discretionary power. This leaves them unusual opportunity to usurp functions that they may deem necessary to better carry out their work. In issuing writs of injunction, equity courts assume, outside of statutory law, what amounts to both legislative and administrative power; they declare what shall be the rule of conduct for certain individuals, determine whether or not that rule has been violated and the penalty for such violations.

The representatives of the state of Massachusetts enacted a law defining and restricting the equity power that had been exercised by state courts. Except during times of prescribed emergencies, the highest law-making power is vested in the state legislature; that legislature speaks by authority of the citizens of the state. The legislators selected by the people, enacted into law what was the expressed will of the people, and declared that the judicial agents of the people should observe certain limitations in the use of the writ of injunction. In their decision on this injunction case the judicial agents declared that they would not be bound by the will of the people, and that the people had no constitutional right to protection under the law.

It is evident that at least some of the judges of the United States will have to learn the fundamental principles of responsible government and human liberty or else we must find ways to protect the institutions of this country against their theories. Neither judges nor any other political agent in our Republic can exercise irresponsible power.

Irresponsible Power

After the Massachusetts decision was rendered, President Gompers took up the matter with the officers of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and with the attorney who represented the local union affiliated to the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' organization.

We had before us at our June-July meeting several competent attorneys with whom the entire subject-matter of the Massachusetts decision was discussed. By direction President Gompers corresponded with the officers of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, the attorneys in the case, and with a great constitutional lawyer with a view of securing a rehearing of the case before the Massachusetts Supreme Court, have the case reargued, and taking under consideration the right and opportunity of appeal to our highest federal courts.

From every source of information it appears that by a peculiar course of action of the Massachusetts Supreme Court in rendering its decision, and by the practice prevailing in Massachusetts, Labor is practically barred from a rehearing or from the opportunity of an appeal. However, we recommend that the E. C. shall further pursue the investigation of the case, and if there be any opportunity for a rehearing, or appeal, that that procedure be authorized by this convention.

It appears, therefore, that it devolves upon the organized labor movement of Massachusetts and the cooperation of justice loving citizens of the state to carry out the course laid down by the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—that is, to secure the enactment of legislation embodying the basic principle that human labor is not a commodity or article of commerce, thereby reversing the position taken by the Massachusetts court with a direct stipulation in the law that it shall not be annulled by the courts of the states. A constitutional change to provide for this subject-matter or the right for the recall of court decisions must be established. It may not be amiss to call attention to the following recommendation made by President Gompers to the constitutional convention held in New York last year. It is as follows:

"That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and the legislature shall not pass a law, nor the courts construe any law of the state contrary to this declaration."

HIGHER JUDICIAL CONCEPTS

The spirit of humanity, the broad, deep conception of human rights, and the reverence for human life which have been injected into the thought of the present day by the organized labor movement have not failed to have an effect upon the members of the judiciary. Judges and lawyers have felt the impulse toward the new freedom, and there is an aggressive move-

ment in legal organizations for reform of legal practices, and toward the abandonment of viewpoints that belong to the earlier stages of social development. There is a growing understanding of the real service that law ought to perform for society, that it ought to serve the best interests and the welfare of the people—that human welfare is of greater significance to a nation than undeviating conformity to precedent.

Precedent has been made the dominating element of law; the result has been to dehumanize justice. This brings the old legal spirit in direct conflict to the prevailing spirit of humanity that is seeking for itself firm establishment and more complete sanction. Discontent with the old concepts of justice is manifest in legal circles in their efforts to secure various legal reforms and in many decisions that have been rendered either wholly or in part in conformity with the ideals and standards of Labor. During the last year there have been several conspicuous decisions of this nature. We have space, however, to call attention to only a few.

Judge Anderson dismissed an indictment returned by the grand jury of Mahoning County, Ohio, charging several steel companies and Elbert H. Gary with unlawful combination and conspiracy for the purpose of creating and carrying out restrictions in fixing, establishing, raising and reducing the selling price of iron, steel, merchandise, and other commodities, as well as the rates of wages. Judge Anderson declared that antitrust legislation did not rightfully apply to associations of wage-earners organized not for profit, and based his decision upon the grounds that trusts undertake to manipulate commodities and articles of commerce, whereas labor organizations organized not for profit, have control over nothing but the labor power of human beings. Judge Anderson cited that part of section six of the Clayton Antitrust Act which declares that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. His opinion establishes a precedent in Ohio law which needs only to be enacted into statutory law to complete the protection to wage-earners in the full enjoyment of their rights.

The opinion which Judge Dickson of the Ramsey County District Court rendered in refusing to grant an injunction to the Grant Construction Company against the Building Trades of St. Paul, represents a very broad appreciation and understanding of the purposes of the organized labor movement. While Judge Dickson did not express an opinion upon the fundamental contention of Labor that injunctions could not be issued to regulate personal relations, he declared that the specific acts presented as reasons for granting the injunction were not sufficient justification. In his decision he makes the following declarations:

"Every man may refuse to work for or to deal with another man, and may refuse to handle his products or work with his tools for any reason sufficient unto himself; and what he can do in this respect individually he can do collectively by agreement with others and through a federated agency. It is only unlawful acts that can be enjoined, and it is not unlawful to dispose of one's own labor or patronage where one pleases, nor is it unlawful to refuse one's labor or patronage to another.

"The word 'unfair,' as interpreted by its use as shown in the evidence, means no more than that the one to whom it is applied is considered to run an open shop or a non-union business and to be opposed to organized labor, and to be such an one as union laborers refuse to work for or deal with. The letters in evidence written by the officers of the various unions to various subcontractors state that because plaintiff is 'unfair' no union laborers will be allowed to work on his jobs. This language is construed by the plaintiff to be a threat that union laborers will be prevented by unlawful coercion from working on the plaintiff's jobs. But such a construction is manifestly unfair, and fairly construed, the letters amount to no more than to say that the conditions of membership in the unions will prevent union laborers from working upon the plaintiff's jobs."

For months the patternmakers of Detroit had been on strike for the eight-hour day. Their employers had secured injunctions forbidding them to do practically everything that could in any degree assist them in winning their strike. The patternmakers made a firm stand for their rights as citizens and for protection under the laws of the state. So firmly and clearly and insistently did they present their rights that the judge dismissed charges

of contempt of court against thirty-two workers; dismissed five cases pending on appeal before the State Supreme Court, and dissolved twelve injunctions.

The campaign which trade unionists have conducted to secure their rights, and the enactment of legislation protecting them against the perversion and the abuse of the writ of injunction, has had a very wide educational effect, not only upon lawmakers, but upon members of the judiciary. The effort which resulted in the enactment of the labor sections of the federal Clayton Antitrust Act has had an effect upon all of those who have to do with labor problems. The revolutionary declaration enacted by the Congress of the United States and signed by President Wilson, that the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, embodies that principle firmly in national thought, and must have a modifying or determining influence upon all of those who act as agents of the people. An appreciation of the far-reaching significance of that declaration by Congress was expressed thus by Samuel Untermyer in his address to the Commercial Law League:

"A long stride in the direction of progress was made when Congress wrote into the Clayton Act the sentiment that human labor is not a commodity in connection with certain exemptions of labor organizations from the laws aimed at trusts."

The activity and the insistence of the labor movement, both in national and state fields, will result in the spirit and the concept of humanity and freedom filtrating through all the thought and action of the nation, and determining the direction and the scope of national development.

DECISION OF THE U. S. CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS IN DOWD VS. UNITED MINE WORKERS

Again are we reminded of that proverb of Junius:

"One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate and constitute law."

The great wrong that was done in the Danbury Hatters' case may be eradicated after long years. The aged, infirm Danbury Hatters have been ordered to pay the Shylock award claimed by the Antiboycott Association. The shadow of the Hatters' case which for years hung like a threatening pall over the labor movement still has power to menace.

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1912 established a precedent which judges are trying to make law, although the highest lawmaking body of the country—that agency to which the nation delegated that function—has enacted legislation to remedy the great wrong done by that decision. Justice, hampered by the judiciary, works slowly and in devious ways.

A decision in a case begun just six weeks previous to the enactment of the Clayton Act seeks to rivet upon wage-earners the precedent of *Loewe vs. Lawlor* and to carry that interpretation to even greater lengths of injustice. This decision was rendered by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in *Dowd vs. United Mine Workers of America*.

A. S. Dowd was the receiver for the mining companies organized by an adventurous promoter with little capital—Franklin Bache. Bache had organized several "wild-cat" coal companies in Arkansas, and after about five years found himself confronted with inevitable bankruptcy. As Bache had no assets and his creditors had proved in court that his business methods were illegal, he found himself facing financial ruin and moral discredit. It is said that for a while he prevented action on the part of his creditors by threatening to give publicity to information that he had of their use of money to influence legislation. Bache then conceived the plan that he might atone for all of his financial misdeeds by creating the impression that he had been bankrupt through an effort to defeat unionism and to operate his mines on a non-union basis.

Early in 1914 all of the group of mines involved in the suit of *Dowd vs. United Mine Workers of America* announced that they would conduct their mines on a non-union basis, and close down preparatory to superficially appearing to reopen later under the new policy. These mines then shut down except the Coronado Coal Company, which continued operation several weeks longer. In closing down their mines the companies declared their contracts with the United Mine Workers null and void.

When the company endeavored to put the same plan in operation in the Coronado plant, the union men refused to work under non-union conditions. As the plan had been to use the income from the Coronado mine to conduct the fight for non-union mines, Bache again found

himself confronted with bankruptcy. He imported a band of industrial outlaws, to take the place of the union miners, but he found that these were only mine guards and had no knowledge at all of the work of operating mines.

The results of introducing this lawless element into the mining community were a series of riots, shooting and every conceivable crime that always follows in the wake of outlaws. Bache found himself facing absolute ruin. He was replaced as receiver for the mines and A. S. Dowd appointed as his successor. Dowd fell heir to the fight for non-unionism and instituted a suit for damages against the United Mine Workers of America.

The litigation which ensued was the same type of litigation that is always conducted by the Antiboycott Association. It is one form of the fight in the effort to exterminate unionism. The suit fastens upon the decision in the case of *Loewe vs. Lawlor* and endeavors to perpetuate that precedent in judicial thought and to substitute that interpretation for existing law.

Although since the decision rendered in the Danbury Hatters' case the Congress of the United States has on several separate occasions endorsed the declaration that antitrust legislation does not properly apply to associations of wage-earners organized not for profit and has enacted declaratory legislation formally stating that these associations of wage-earners are inherently different from trusts, to which antitrust laws properly apply, yet the United States Circuit Court of Appeals has again tried to write that old, false interpretation into the laws of our country.

The opinion delivered by Circuit Judge Carland inserts in its margin the complaint against the United Mine Workers. The statement by interpretation, by phraseology, by implication as well as by direct assertion belongs to that old period of thought that regarded labor unions as illegal conspiracies and any collective effort to secure higher wage or better conditions of work as a conspiracy detrimental to industrial necessity and criminally withholding from employers profits which would arise from the normal course of production. According to this viewpoint strikes and every other policy that interferes with the absolute rule of employers are criminal.

This interpretation of law and concept of justice belongs to that abstract variety that ignores the human facts involved, industrial conditions that made trade unions policies what they are, and the whole industrial struggle. The court was totally blind to the meaning of unionism. It was ignorant of union standards and why they exist as well as their purpose. The court accepted the interpretation that the development and the influence of the United Mine Workers of America were conspiracies against the interests of mine operators. The court was unjustified in taking that interpretation without having investigated the facts.

About twenty-five years ago the mine workers of this country endured the most miserable and deplorable conditions of life and work of any group of workers. By persistence and determination they have succeeded in building up an organization that protects them and enables them to secure some of the decencies and comforts of life. As a result, the miners have become better citizens and more capable of taking an effective and constructive part in the affairs of the nation.

The 400,000 miners affiliated together under the name of the United Mine Workers of America have done much to conserve their own lives and necessarily the lives of those dependent upon them and to give to the nation citizens with strong, healthy bodies with a power of production not stulted or frittered away with over-exhaustion, and with minds and hearts capable of living the lives of free men and conceiving of the ideals of a free country and doing their part to give these reality.

The work that has been accomplished by the United Mine Workers of America is not a conspiracy but has been an open crusade for freedom and humanity.

There are two fundamental principles involved in the decision of the federal Circuit Court of Appeals. First, the court lays down the principle that an unincorporated body can be sued for threefold damages. In taking this position the court forces the decision in the Hatters' case to a broader application. All members of the Miners' unions, whether involved in the strike or not, become liable for damages.

In supporting its position the court makes a very subtle effort to discredit the protection secured under the labor provisions of the Clayton Antitrust Act. The court quotes part of section 6 of that act in order to prove that associations of wage-earners are legal associations and then ignores the portion of section 20 which declares as lawful the acts for which the miners are adjudged guilty under the interpretation of the court.

The opinion of the court makes special mention of the supposed intent of the lawmakers

in enacting the Sherman Antitrust Act and ignores the intent of those who, twenty-four years later, enacted the Clayton Antitrust Act, taking labor organizations from under the purview of antitrust legislation. The Clayton Act became law after the suit in question was instituted, but if the court wishes to invoke part of that law, it can not arbitrarily exclude other portions, if it desires to do justice.

The second principle which the court lays down is that an interruption to the process of production by a cessation of work—a strike—is interference with interstate commerce. This is a bold proposition that makes a strike criminal. Stripped of all legal verbiage and misleading terminology which the court employs, what was the real purpose that the mine operators had in mind against which the miners struck? The purpose that mine operators have in establishing non-union policies is to secure a greater share of the income from production. In order to increase their share they wish to have employees who will not resist any effort to decrease their wages and force them to work longer hours under poorer and less safe and sanitary conditions of work. The purpose of mine operators is to secure greater profits in order to increase their power.

The purpose of the United Mine Workers of America is to protect and safeguard human life and to give to miners the necessary means and opportunity for making life the better worth living.

To decide which organization has a sinister purpose that makes its policy a conspiracy we are quite willing to leave to fair-minded citizens.

The decision rendered in the case of Dowd *vs.* United Mine Workers of America is an example of colossal injustice. If that decision is allowed to become part of the law of this country, it will result in the destruction of unionism. It is a clear, fundamental issue: Who shall be the lawmakers of this country—the members of Congress or the judges of the United States? The members of Congress have enacted a law which embodies the thought and the will of the people of the country. They have, by statute, declared that the labor of a human being is not property and, therefore, associations of wage-earners organized not for profit but to protect human beings and to enable them to control their own labor power are legal associations and that the legitimate activities necessary to carry out the purposes of these associations shall not be considered or held to be violations of any laws of the United States.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit has endeavored to elude the purpose of the Clayton Antitrust Act and to discredit it. The decision of the court is in conflict with the laws of the land, is at variance with the ethical concepts and standards of the citizens of the United States and with the facts of life and work.

It is a dangerous condition in our Republic when judges who exercise discretionary and almost wholly irresponsible power can suspend the laws of the land and rule contrary to the wishes and judgment of the citizens.

We had knowledge of this case only as its incidents were published in the newspapers and the labor press, and after its conclusion under date of September 20, 1916, through President John White of the United Mine Workers we received under date of September 26, 1916, a copy of the decision and a letter from the attorneys in the case. For convenience, we quote the attorneys' letter as follows:

FORT SMITH, ARK., September 26, 1916.

Hon. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: By request of Mr. John P. White, President of the International Miners' Union, we are instructing the clerk of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, at St. Louis, to forward to you at once printed copy of opinion of the court recently delivered by Carland, Circuit Judge, in the case of—

A. S. Dowd, Receiver of Coronado Coal Company et al.,
Plaintiffs in Error,

vs.

United Mine Workers of America et al.,
Defendants in Error.

This opinion contains a copy of the complaint filed in the United States District Court for the Western District of Arkansas by the plaintiffs against the

defendants. You will observe that nine distinct coal corporations joined in one complaint, alleging a destruction of property and an interference with their interstate commerce; they allege unlawful conspiracy and combination in restraint of trade and commerce in the several states in violation of the Sherman Anti-trust Act, approved July 2, 1890.

We contended and now contend, notwithstanding the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, that the United Mine Workers of America, being a voluntary unincorporated association, is not liable under the Sherman Act, and can not be compelled to respond in damages for the torts of its membership; that the provisions of the act were not intended to reach voluntary associations not engaged in some kind of business for profit, but only such associations as were at the time of the adoption of the act, organized under the trades union act, or such as might in the future be organized under those acts, or associations engaged in business for profit only. This view is based upon an unbroken line of decisions extending over a period from 1842 down to the decision in the Hatters' case. The opinion in the Hatters' case supports our contention, that is, the opinion states emphatically that those who participated in the wrong and those who aided and abetted were liable and "no others." The jury in the Hatters' case were instructed by the trial court to return a verdict against those who participated in the boycott and those who aided and abetted them, and "no others." This instruction was upheld by the Circuit Court of Appeals, and last February the Supreme Court of the United States held this instruction to be a correct interpretation of the law.

The question of whether a voluntary association organized solely for the purpose of bettering the condition of its membership by obtaining shorter hours, higher wages and better working conditions is, as such, liable under the Sherman Anti-trust Act for the torts of its membership, has never been raised in any previous case brought under that act. In fact, before the decision in the present case, all the courts and the bar throughout the country seems to have regarded the law as being well settled that a voluntary unincorporated association is not such an entity recognized by the law as to empower and authorize a suit by or against it. In handing down the opinion of the court in the instant case Judge Carland appears to have stressed the fact that the word "association" as used in the Sherman Anti-trust Act has a broader and even a more sacred meaning than when used in any other statute, state or federal. It will be observed that he has broadened and extended the word to cover voluntary associations such as the United Mine Workers of America, an organization engaged in no kind of business, having for its sole object the betterment of its membership, as hereinbefore stated.

In 1842 Chief Justice Shaw, of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, handed down an opinion in the case of *Hunt vs. Commonwealth*, abolishing the harsh rule of the English courts which had been adhered to in some earlier cases in the United States, and established the rule that a voluntary association, innocent in its inception, was not responsible for the wrongs of its membership who afterwards perverted the object and purpose of the association, but that only those engaged in the perversion, or aided and abetted, were liable. This rule has been universally followed. It has been recognized by every court in every jurisdiction, in the absence of a specific statute to the contrary, but the decision in the miners' case has reversed and overthrown the unbroken line of decisions since the opinion in the *Hunt* case.

Carland's opinion is unprecedented in the judicial history of this country, and a reading of his opinion forces us to the conclusion that should the Supreme Court ultimately sustain his construction of the Sherman Act, the corporations then will have accomplished indirectly what the Government has never sought to do directly—destruction of unionism. This is what it means, nothing more and nothing less.

In our judgment the opinion in this case is of such magnitude, is so far-reaching and of such vital importance, as to demand the attention of every friend of labor throughout the country.

Sincerely yours,

COVINGTON & GRANT.

This one thing must be settled soon: Will judges read and learn the primer of human liberty or will they devote their ability and mentality to the service of winning cases for men of wealth and line up with the exploiters and the predatory interests of the country?

LEGAL DEPARTMENT

We are not in a position to report any material progress in carrying out the directions of the convention to establish a Legal Department of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of drafting bills for uniform legislation and preparing briefs to be used by attorneys in labor cases, though we have been engaged in the endeavor to work out a plan for such a department. Our greatest difficulty has been the lack of funds which will be necessary in the establishment of such a legal department and which are not available at this time.

HATTERS' CASE

Since the Hatters' case in 1908 was made a matter of official concern to the whole labor movement by accepting it as a test case in order to secure a decisive opinion of the highest court in the land upon the use to which hostile employers were putting laws and judicial agencies, a report has been made to each annual convention of the status of that case. When the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its final decision in 1914, it was definitely decided that the little homes and savings of the Danbury Hatters, the results of their toil and frugality, must be handed over to satisfy the demands of the Anti-Boycott Association. Many of the 186 Danbury Hatters were old and grey-headed, unable to work longer and were dependent upon what they had laid aside in former years.

Under the threefold damages awarded to D. E. Loewe and Company these men and their families were to be deprived of their little homes. Their bank accounts had been taken from them early in the trial which began in 1903. The interest that had been accruing in the meanwhile has, by a court decision, been given to D. E. Loewe and Company.

The condition of the Danbury Hatters was considered by the San Francisco Convention. The delegates to that convention were unwilling that one cent of trade union funds should be used to pay the damages awarded to Loewe and Company. They wished to prevent the Danbury Hatters from being victimized because of the part they had taken in service to the organized labor movement, and in establishing clearly and finally the injustice of those existing laws and judicial practices.

It was decided by the convention that the workers of the United States should be asked to contribute the wages earned during the second hour of any shift worked on January 27, 1916, to the Danbury Hatters. In accord with this action, on December 18, 1915, a circular was issued to all international and national unions, and to their local unions, to all state and city central bodies, and all local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, asking them to give the wages of one hour's work to the cause of the Danbury Hatters. This action expressed the conviction of the workers that the cause of the Danbury Hatters had been the cause of all organized labor; the fight which the Danbury Hatters made in the courts was for the benefit not only of themselves but for all.

As a result of that fight in the courts a definite campaign was undertaken which enabled the organized labor movement to demand legislation protecting all of the workers and assuring them their rights. By the legislation secured, known as the Labor sections of the Clayton Antitrust Act, they have been acknowledged even by the enemies of the labor movement to make impossible in the federal courts action similar to that against the Danbury Hatters, and to secure regulation and limitation of the use of the writ of injunction and provision for jury trial in contempt cases.

Fully appreciative of the service that had been rendered by the Danbury Hatters, the wage-earners were contributing generously to their assistance. When these contributions were being taken, there was circulated through the press of the country the statement that the contributions had already reached an amount three or four times that necessary to reimburse the Danbury Hatters. This statement was untrue and evidently was schemed and timed for the purpose of making the wage-earners think that further contributions were no longer necessary. As a result there was an immediate falling off in contributions sent in. There is every reason to believe that the statement was circulated by those who had been most virulent in their opposition to the cause of organized labor.

It was soon evident that the contributions would not reach the amount accumulated under the Shylock award to D. E. Loewe and Company. Three hundred thousand dollars is a large amount to be secured through voluntary contributions—contributions from those whose wages are not large. On this account it was necessary to issue a second circular, informing the wage-earners that the amount already raised through contributions was \$132,183.35; this left \$117,000 still to be raised. All the workers who had not contributed were earnestly requested to contribute the wages of an hour's labor on Thursday, June 15, 1916. In response to this second appeal additional contributions were received which up to and including September 30, amounted to \$25,552.08. The contributions together with the bank interest made the total amount raised for the Hatters \$158,730.10.

THE RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS' STRIKE

For nearly a century the labor movement of America has conducted a campaign for the establishment of a maximum eight-hour workday. Since the formation of the American Federation of Labor, a systematic movement has been conducted for eight hours. This movement resulted in splendid achievements in 1886, which were the beginnings of the eight-hour workday as enjoyed by the several trades, and was again actively renewed in 1890, and has been followed up in every day and year since that time.

The campaign for the eight-hour workday, reported to the 1915 convention, has been continued during 1916. The successes of last year have been duplicated and amplified in the progress of this year, and in no one period in American history has there been greater progress in securing recognition for the eight-hour principle than during the past two years.

A notable movement for eight hours during the past year was that made by the railroad workers organized in the four Railroad Brotherhoods.

It was early in the year when the railroad men declared that the eight-hour workday ought to be in force for all railroad workers in operating trains. Railroad men, particularly in the freight service, were subject to practically unlimited demands of their time. Freight service was regulated entirely in furtherance of interests of railroad profits. Freight trains have been increased in length, and speed proportionately cut down, until it had become practically impossible for men in the operating service to finish their runs within a normal workday. The men had to be always ready for service; they did not dare to leave their homes on most ordinary business or for a few hours' outing without first having telephoned into headquarters where they could be found. This company rule was rigidly enforced, the first violation of it meant discipline; the second dismissal.

The responsible nature of the work performed by the railway men in the operating service, the exacting demands upon health and vitality, the hazardous nature of the work and the occupational diseases that inevitably followed convinced the men that the eight-hour day was for them a paramount issue. The shorter workday has been established as the primary step in conserving the lives and the working power of wage-earners. It is not only a necessary step for conservation, but it is the necessary step for securing opportunities for workers and for enabling them to improve standards of work and life. The eight-hour workday has demonstrated wherever it has been established that it results in more efficient and more productive workers; makes of them better men—a better citizenship.

The railroad men's demands for the eight-hour workday presented no new idea; they were based upon a well-established principle of human welfare; a principle that can not be disputed and therefore it is not properly a matter for arbitration. Because of the railway men refusing to arbitrate this principle which involved a principle of personal relations, they brought a halt to the efforts of the railroad managers to force them to submit all of the issues to arbitration, and brought their conferences to an end. It was then that the President of the United States, acting as the representative of the nation, requested the railroad men to come to Washington for conference. As a result of that conference, all of the 640 representative railroad men in their respective divisions, who had been in the New York conference, were asked to go to Washington for a personal conference with President Wilson in the White House. The railway managers, and later the railroad presidents, were also asked to confer with the President. As a result of these conferences the President recommended that the eight-hour workday should be conceded as a right that ought not to be arbitrated, but that all other issues involved should be submitted for investigation and arbitration.

In taking this position in regard to the eight-hour workday neither President Wilson

nor the railway brotherhoods rejected the principle of arbitration as the railroad presidents have wrongfully claimed. They took the position that the eight-hour day was a principle not subject to arbitration. In this they were in harmony with that demand by all of the most ardent advocates of arbitration, of conceding that there are certain fundamental rights that are not arbitrable or not justiciable. When an industrial matter is the subject of dispute, all personal relations must be excluded from the purview of arbitration. Those matters are arbitrable which concern property and property rights.

When the railroad presidents refused to agree to President Wilson's suggestions, they left the railroad men no alternative but to strike, unless they intended to concede the whole case and to confess thereby that they were wrong in making their demands. It was then the strike order (previously decided by the men themselves) was issued. After the strike order was issued, President Wilson, in a joint session of both Houses of Congress, presented the following program which he thought necessary to deal with the situation:

First, the immediate passage by the Senate of a bill, which has already passed the House of Representatives, reorganizing the Interstate Commerce Commission and enlarging its powers.

Second, the enactment of an eight-hour day law for all railroad operatives on trains engaged in interstate commerce.

Third, the establishment of a commission, appointed by the President, to investigate and report upon the working of the eight-hour day system.

Fourth, explicit approval by Congress of any increase made in freight rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission which is rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day law.

Fifth, a provision making illegal any railroad strike or lockout prior to the investigation of the merits of the case.

Sixth, provision for the government to take any necessary action to keep trains running that may be needed for military purposes.

The two essential features of the President's legislative proposals were the eight-hour workday and compulsory governmental institutions to regulate industrial relations in an occupation not owned or operated by the government itself. The representatives of the railroad organizations felt the seriousness of the situation which confronted them. The proposal to establish compulsory institutions is a matter that involves and affects the interests of all of the wage-earners in the country. It is a revolutionary proposition totally out of harmony with our prevailing institutions and out of harmony with our philosophy of government. The representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods asked for a conference with the representative men of the A. F. of L. then in Washington. This conference was the first held in the A. F. of L. new office building. Its importance is evident. In that conference the Railroad Brotherhoods were again assured of the support and the cooperation of the A. F. of L. in their struggle, and in the hearing which took place before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce August 31, upon the legislation which President Wilson had recommended for enactment by Congress, the wishes and the demands of the wage-earners were presented by the representatives of the railroad organizations and by the President of the A. F. of L. The eight-hour workday was secured for the railroad men but the proposition providing for "compulsory investigation" carrying with it compulsory service, was not enacted.

The bill introduced in Congress for the declared purpose of preventing strikes and interruption of transportation, is modeled after the Canadian Compulsory Investigations Act. It provides that during a period when the demands for changed conditions are under consideration it would be unlawful for the railroad workers to strike. During this specified period it is the purpose of this law to compel railroad men to work even against their will.

This effort to again subject wage-earners to involuntary servitude has aroused the determined resistance of wage-earners generally. To their declarations against involuntary servitude the proponents of the legislation have replied that although a strike would be made illegal under the proposed law and strikers criminals, yet individual workers were not deprived of the right to quit work.

This is a curious kind of reasoning that may make an appeal to those who have no definite knowledge of industrial conditions, but wage-earners know that individuals have ceased to exist from the standpoint of modern industry. The individual worker is a mere

cog in industrial machinery, without voice in determining conditions that affect his work or his relations with his employer, and for an individual to quit work would have no effect at all except to leave him without employment. The individual worker has neither the power nor the opportunity to secure redress for his industrial wrongs or to establish justice.

It is only through organized effort that wage-earners have the rights and opportunities of individuals or have any hope to establish better industrial conditions and standards of industrial justice. It is pure sophistry that only augments the sense of injustice that wage-earners may feel for industrial wrongs to allow them by law the right of individuals to quit work and to declare that they can not agree with fellow-workers, that conditions are so bad that their only hope of justice and fair dealing lies in agreeing together to quit work, that is, to refuse to perform their usual tasks—to strike.

The distinction between slaves and free men is that slaves must work as their owners will. They have no will of their own which they can enforce. Free men are masters and owners of their own labor power. They can not be compelled to work against their will. The exercise of their right not to give service is at their own peril, that is, loss of wages with what they may entail.

Such a law providing for making criminals of men who cease work during the period of compulsory investigation of industrial disputes would not prevent strikes. It would only make strikes illegal and strikers criminals. It would revive again the old conspiracy laws.

The only protection that wage-earners have is the right to withhold their labor power—the right to strike. To deprive them of this protection in the name of industrial peace would only result in increasing their feeling of injustice and in converting governmental agencies and institutions into agencies that bind them powerless against employers, however rapacious and inhumane.

Compulsory institutions to prevent strikes are not new. They have been tried in other countries and found wanting. New Zealand established compulsory arbitration in 1894 after the close of a maritime strike that practically stopped transportation on the island. The compulsory arbitration law was a desperate effort to protect the so-called public.

But strikes have not been abolished in New Zealand; many bitterly fought strikes have occurred. It was only last year that another general strike occurred, again tying up transportation agencies. This strike was characterized by the most cruel and brutal conduct on the part of the so-called public. Many farmers joined gunmen, gangsters, and professional strike-breakers, armed themselves with pitchforks and other agricultural implements and marched against the striking workmen.

Compulsory institutions either in the form of arbitration or wages boards have been established in all of the states of Australia and for the Commonwealth, but in none of the states or in the commonwealth have strikes been abolished or is there any reason to feel that this principle has solved the industrial problem.

The wage-earners of the United States will oppose any proposition to impose upon them compulsory institutions which disguise involuntary servitude. They hold that the principle involved in voluntary institutions is the key to personal and industrial freedom and that this principle is of more importance to them than any other consideration.

The immediate problem involved is a class problem but the principle involved in compulsory institutions, even for a class in our Republic, is of concern to the whole Republic, for we know that the Republic can not be maintained part free and part slave.

Involuntary and compulsory labor once enforced, even for a single hour, will not halt at its temporary enforcement but will go on and become permanent.

In human institutions when a wrongful course has been pursued it inevitably is held or driven on to its logical conclusion of error. There then is no retrieving except by a convulsion brought about by a revolution.

The human labor power which this law compels wage-earners to give to employers against their will is inseparable from the body and the personality of the wage-earners. It is part of the men and women themselves. They can not be forced to work for an employer against their wills without reducing them to the legal condition of slaves and transforming their minds and spirits into those of slaves. No more dangerous proposition has ever been proposed than this compulsory investigation measure.

Problems of industrial justice and redress for industrial wrongs can not be worked out by laws. Human relationships are involved and these can be adjusted on a basis of equity only through cooperation and mutual consent. Neither employers nor wage-earners can be forced by law to a state of mind and cooperation necessary for the protection of the

rights and interests of the human element in production, transportation, and distribution.

The institutions for achieving industrial justice and industrial freedom must be agencies that permit of the freest and best development of the people, for the establishment of justice and freedom come only through the growth and development of right thinking and right living so that opportunities for freedom and justice are used for the best interests of all.

In only one state of the Republic has there been a law providing for compulsory investigation of industrial disputes. That law was enacted in Colorado in 1915 and has been discussed in the following issues of the *American Federationist*: October, 1915; December, 1915; June, 1916; October, 1916.

As a result of their experiences under this law the trade unionists of Colorado in their convention held at Colorado Springs in August, 1916, declared emphatically against the law by practically unanimous vote—that is, with only one dissenting voice—and have pledged themselves to work for the repeal of the law.

It should be our aim to aid our fellow-workers of Colorado in their laudable purpose.

The action taken by the Colorado trade unionists in August is identical with that taken by the Canadian trade unionists in their last Trades and Labor Congress held in September, 1916.

For many years those who were personally affected by the operation of the Canadian law have denounced the principle upon which it was based, but the opinion never became general enough in Canada to become the demand of the organized labor movement until the Canadian law had been extended by an administrative act to apply to a greatly increased number of workers in Canada.

The experience of the workers during the past year under the extended application of the Lemieux Act resulted in a practically unanimous demand on the part of the Dominion Congress that the law be repealed.

This action of the Canadian trade unionists is dealt with in the report of the Secretary of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress which is in the appendix to this report.

We recommend that this convention take an unequivocal position against compulsory institutions and in favor of the maintenance of institutions and opportunities for freedom.

POLITICAL ACTION

In 1906 the American Federation of Labor inaugurated a policy of positive participation in politics for the purpose of securing the election of those in favor of the aims and purposes of the labor movement and the defeat of those who had demonstrated their hostility to the cause of Labor. That policy has been successfully followed and has resulted in a splendid record of legislative achievements.

During the past year there has been issued a pamphlet entitled "Legislative Achievements of the A. F. of L." which shows the gradual increasing volume of humanitarian legislation that has been secured from each congress from the fifty-ninth through the sixty-third.

As a result of Labor's non-partisan political activities a tremendous change has been wrought in the policies and in the spirit of those who make up the administrative and legislative divisions of the federal government.

It is an obligation that the members of the organized labor movement owe to those who have done so much to make possible the splendid humanitarian legislation that has been enacted, and to the spirit of administration mindful of humanity and justice, that our support should be given them that they may retain their positions in which they are able to accomplish so much for the movement.

In accord with our custom, representatives of the Executive Council, including the members of the Labor Representation Committee, attended the conventions of the three great political parties and presented to them the following demands:

Government and all civilization exist for the service of human beings and the promotion of their betterment. Such purposes are best achieved when those who are primarily affected by policies and methods have the power of determining them. Under such conditions only will there be relations of good will between fellow-citizens and a spirit of true patriotism essential to the best development and unity of our nation. There must be reason for the conviction that citizens can rely upon the government for impartial maintenance of rights and protection. Such an atti-

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

tude can result only when principles of human welfare are made paramount to any other consideration. Experience of other countries and scientific information substantiate the contention that sweated industries, overstrain, long and burdensome hours of toil, tend to physical deterioration, loss of mental virility and consequent decreased producing power. Standards of life and work, daily hours of toil and wages have a direct relation to economic progress and development as well as to preparedness for national defense.

• • •

We pledge our party to maintain the federal law enacted by Congress securing to the workers the legal right of voluntary association, for mutual protection and welfare, protecting their rights against unwarrantable issuance of writs of injunction, and guaranteeing the right of trial by jury in alleged contempt cases committed outside the presence of courts.

• • •

National preparedness, as well as commercial development, in keeping with the importance and the dignity of our nation, require that we shall have competent and able American seamen. We urge as essential to this purpose the vigorous enforcement of the seamen's act and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. We are opposed to any minimizing of present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public. It is essential to national safety as well as to the maintenance of an American merchant marine that conditions of work for seamen shall be such as shall induce resourceful, capable, liberty-loving Americans to follow that vocation. Such American seamen will constitute a trained reserve force in times of national peril.

• • •

In order to protect the wages of our workmen and their standards of living against the dangerous competition of low-priced labor, which will be largely increased at the close of the European war by the migration of such labor to this country, we demand that the immigration and contract labor laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States all persons who can not read some language.

• • •

The fundamental step in national preparedness for development and growth as well as for defense, is education that will develop the power and faculties of all citizens and will enable each to take advantage of opportunities for life and work. We demand that there shall be provisions for industrial education and vocational training in addition to cultural education. National industrial efficiency is not a haphazard occurrence but is the result of carefully considered methods and policies. The initial requisite for any policy to further industrial efficiency is liberal appropriations for necessary education. As this is a matter of national concern we demand the early enactment of a law providing for adequate assistance to public educational institutions in the various states, which shall provide for industrial education and vocational training in accord with federal provisions and standards.

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We demand the enactment and rigid enforcement of a federal child labor law which shall give adequate protection to the child life of the nation.

• • •

We demand the faithful observance and enforcement of all the federal eight-hour laws and their extension to comprehend all departments of government.

• • •

We urge the enactment of a law by Congress for a comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation act.

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We demand the enactment of legislation excluding from interstate commerce the products of convict labor.

• • •

We demand legislation that will abolish present preventable and appalling loss of life and maiming of human beings in American industry and transportation.

We favor the creation and maintenance of a Bureau of Safety under the Department of Labor, which shall be authorized and directed to collect and collate data dealing with industrial hazards and to devise and recommend to Congress any further legislation necessary for securing safety and conservation of human labor power, as well as to formulate and put into operation methods whereby adequate protection shall be afforded to workers from the hazards of industry and transportation.

• • •

Under the euphonious and misleading term "Scientific Management," and systems of time study and stop-watches many have been deceived. Any system which ignores principles of human welfare, disregards consideration of fatigue and the effects of highly specialized methods of production which subdivide mechanical and other operations into such units that the individual tasks become machine-like and injurious to mind and body, can not be countenanced. These systems not only have injurious effect upon the lives—the physical and mental well-being of our workers—but curb the development of skill among the toilers of America. We therefore demand that all adaptations of speeding-up systems shall be forbidden in all work in which the government is concerned.

• • •

For the safety and the protection of the workers of America we declare for the extension of the powers and functions of the federal bureau of mines.

• • •

We pledge our party to the enactment of a law bestowing upon the people of Porto Rico the full right of American citizenship.

We favor adequate compensation for all employes in the civil service and legislation establishing a reasonable minimum wage for all such employes.

We favor the creation of a tribunal to which all employes in the competitive civil service may appeal for redress of grievances.

We favor the enactment of a comprehensive federal compensation law to apply to all civil service employes.

We favor and pledge our support to secure the enactment of an equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employes of the civil service.

We assert that the acceptance of employment in the civil service of our government must in no case impair the employes' right of petition.

• • •

We favor government ownership of telegraphs and telephones.

• • •

We favor the absolute suffrage of women co-equal with men.

The responses which the conventions of the various parties made to Labor's request are contained in the labor sections of the various platforms.

The platform of the Republican party contains the following planks of interest to Labor:

"The civil service law has always been sustained by the Republican party, and we renew our repeated declaration that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable."

• • •

"We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a federal child labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all government employes. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of Labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

"The Republican party, reaffirming its faith of government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizing the right of each state to settle this question for itself."

The Progressive platform contains the following response to Labor's demands:

"A nation to survive must stand for the principles of social and industrial justice. We have no right to expect continued loyalty from an oppressed class. We must remove the artificial causes of the high cost of living, prevent the exploitation of men, women and children in industry by the extension of the workmen's compensation law to the full limit permitted under the Constitution, and, by a thoroughgoing child labor law, protect the wage-earner; and by a properly regulated system of rural credits encourage the farmer and give to the landless man opportunity to acquire land.

"A country must be worth living in to be worth fighting for."

Labor's demands were presented to the Democratic party which placed in its platform the following Labor planks:

We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities, and have secured to the workingman the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

* * *

We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the federal government, wherever it acts as the employer of Labor, should both on its own account and as an example put into effect the following principles of just employment:

1. A living wage for all employees.
2. A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.
3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.
4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.
5. The standards of the "uniform child labor law," wherever minors are employed.
6. Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.
7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employees of the civil service to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the states with regard to Labor within their borders, and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the nation should be conserved.

* * *

We declare our faith in the Seamen's Act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

We favor the speedy enactment of an effective federal child labor law and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

We favor the creation of a federal bureau of safety in the Department of Labor, to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the federal bureau of mines.

We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means already begun under the present administration to assist laborers throughout the nation to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the federal government,

by the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its excellent record in settling industrial strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

* * *

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as to men.

We continued the Labor Representation Committee, consisting of President Gompers, Vice-President O'Connell, Secretary Morrison, and directed them to carry into full effect the declared policy of the A. F. of L. in the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the working people of our country. The committee has submitted a report to the E. C. which will be made an appendix to this report.

REPORT ON LEGISLATION

Before reporting in detail upon legislative matters referred to us by the San Francisco Convention, we present herewith a summary of the federal legislative accomplishments secured during the last session of Congress (the first session of the Sixty-fourth), on measures of interest to Labor, and in addition thereto we furnish the status of unfinished legislation of interest to Labor which is upon the calendars of both Houses and may be pressed to a successful conclusion next session.

It will be noted that twenty distinct measures of interest to Labor were passed last session and six hostile measures were defeated; five measures are still pending.

Summary of Legislation Enacted

1. Passage of the Child Labor bill prohibiting the transportation of articles made by children under fourteen along the highways of interstate or foreign commerce. Children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years employed on work or articles intended for interstate or foreign consumption will not be permitted or required to work over eight hours in any day nor more than six days in any week, nor after the hour of seven o'clock at night or before the hour of six o'clock in the morning. Interstate commerce will be construed in this act to include shipment by rail or water. This is a much broader provision than ordinarily contained in interstate commerce acts. (Public No. 249.)

2. Passage of the Tavenner bill prohibiting the use of the stop-watch or other offensive time-measuring devices in government navy yards, naval stations, arsenals, gun factories and other government producing establishments which had been introduced for the purpose of speeding up workers beyond human endurance. The payment of premiums or bonus for excessive production was also prohibited. The Tavenner bill was incorporated as an amendment to the four large appropriation bills for the Army, Navy, the Fortifications and the Sundry Civil Supply measures. (Public Nos. 132, 143, 241 and 242.)

3. Enactment of a Farm Loan Law so as to provide capital for agricultural development, creation of standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgages; to create government depositories and financial agents for the United States with the further object of equalizing rates of interest upon farm loans. (Public No. 158.)

4. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust enforcement appropriations to prosecute Labor and farmer's organizations under the Sherman Antitrust Act. These restrictions are known as the Hamill-Rodenbury provisos and formerly as the Hughes amendment to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act. (Public No. 132.)

5. Passage of law containing minimum and maximum fines for the enforcement of the railroad employees' Hours of Service Act of 1907 better known as the Sixteen-Hour Law for railroad men. (Public No. 68.)

6. Congress ordered the printing of the Industrial Relations Commission report together with the testimony and exhibits gathered by the Commission. The testimony consists of seven volumes, the exhibit three volumes and the report one volume.

7. Enactment of comprehensive federal Employees' Compensation-for-Injuries Law. (Public No. 267.) Through the American Federation of Labor legislation of this character was first proposed and introduced in the Sixtieth Congress in 1908 and was intended to cover all federal employes, but because of the domination of that Congress by the reactionary forces a very narrow and insufficient substitute was enacted. Neverthe-

less it was the means of furnishing some financial benefits to many government employees engaged in hazardous work who met with injury in the course of their employment. From time to time that act was extended to cover larger numbers of government employees and in addition, continuous efforts have been made for the enactment of the present law so as to cover all federal employees and afford them more adequate protection. Since the original act was first written thirty-eight compensation laws have been enacted covering thirty-three states, the territory of Alaska, the Canal Zone and the insular possessions of Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines. (Public No. 267.)

8. Passage of a law prohibiting enlisted men in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps of the United States from competing with citizens in private employment. The A. F. of L. endeavored for many years to secure protection for civilian musicians from competition with enlisted musicians. The law as written is much broader and applies to "any pursuit, business or performance in civil life for emolument, hire or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in their respective arts, trades or professions." (Public No. 85.)

9. Through the efforts of the A. F. of L. and the affiliated postal employees' organization a number of remedial features and wage increases for clerks, carriers, printers and laborers were included in the Post Office Appropriation bill. Several thousand clerks and carriers will receive an increase of salary, a number of printers can be promoted to \$1,200 per year and 900 clerks to \$1,300. The minimum rate for post office laborers hereafter will be \$840 annually; the lower salary grade of \$720 has been abolished. The Postmaster General was ordered by Congress to restore to their former salary grades letter collectors whom he had demoted. Other minor remedial features were incorporated in the bill benefiting post office employees. (Public No. 169.)

10. Thirty days Leave-of-Absence secured for federal employees in navy yards, naval stations, gun factories, and arsenals. This law equalizes holiday privileges for all per diem government employees. (Public No. 241.)

11. Eight-hour law passed for all railroad employees engaged in train service of interstate carriers and a commission ordered appointed to investigate fiduciary obligations. (Public No. 252.)

12. Secured increase of 20 per cent in salaries for janitors and caretakers of public schools and for the street cleaners of the District of Columbia. (Public No. 250.)

13. Secured average increase of 10 per cent in wages for machinists, plumbers, electricians and other mechanics and helpers in the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C. (Public No. 132.)

14. Secured an additional annual appropriation for navy yard employees. Through negotiations between trade union representatives, the Chief Executive, President Wilson, navy and army officials, an average increase of 5½ per cent in wages was secured for navy yards mechanics and other employees including the unorganized. On June 1, 1913, there were 16,898 employees in navy yards. After the new policy of public construction in navy yards was more generally adopted, the number of employees was increased so that on July 1, 1916, 24,383 employees were so engaged. The average daily wage prior to June 1, 1913, was \$2.72. The average daily wage on July 1, 1916, was \$2.99, equalling an average increase of 27½ cents per day.

15. Secured additional appropriations for the Bureau of Mines, exceeding \$200,000.

16. Secured an increase in wages for machinists, boilermakers and other metal mechanics on the Panama Canal Zone. Defeated a proposed reduction of wages for other employees and prevented a charge being made for quarters, light and fuel.

17. New appropriations amounting to \$6,000,000 were secured in the naval appropriations bill for the purpose of equipping the government navy yards at Boston, Massachusetts; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; League Island, Pennsylvania; Norfolk, Virginia; Mare Island, California; and Bremerton, Washington, for general construction work for the navy which is to also include first-class battleships. The A. F. of L. has continuously urged this legislation for years. Public competition with the shipbuilding trusts in private yards has been the means of saving the nation many millions of dollars. (Public No. 241.)

18. Legislation enacted and \$20,000,000 appropriated authorizing the President to construct and equip powerhouses for the production of nitrates or other products needed for munitions, for use in the manufacture of fertilizer and other useful products. This law will afford the widest latitude to the government and enable it to protect the general economic interests of the people, whenever necessity requires. (Public No. 85.)

19. For the better protection of the public from extortion by the Bethlehem, Midvale and the United States Steel Corporations, \$11,000,000 was appropriated to establish an armor plate plant owned, controlled, and operated by the Government. (Public No. 241.)

20. A United States Shipping Board was established for the purpose of encouraging, developing and creating a merchant marine and a naval reserve to meet the requirements of the commerce and the defense of the United States. (Public No. 260.)

Hostile Legislation Defeated

21. Defeated the Borland amendment to the Legislative Appropriation bill in which Representative Borland proposed to increase the hours of labor of government employees.

22. Defeated obnoxious bill by Representative Small of North Carolina in which he attempted to abolish Compulsory Pilotage.

23. Defeated the Sterling Compulsory Investigation of Labor disputes amendment to the Eight-Hour law for railroad men.

24. Defeated objectionable amendment to the Eight-Hour law for railroad men by Senator Underwood in which he proposed extending authority to the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix hours and wages of railroad employees "either on its own initiative, petition of employes, managers of railroads or the public."

25. Defeated a proposition offered as an amendment by Senator Newlands to the Eight-Hour law for railroad men, which if enacted could have been interpreted to penalize workmen agreeing to cease work on railroads.

26. Defeated every endeavor to mutilate or reduce the efficiency of the Seamen's Act.

Status of Unfinished Legislation

1. The Immigration bill, H. R. 10384, passed the House by a vote of 307 to 87. The Senate during its last session agreed to make it unfinished business and take it up for consideration and action in the next session, on December 7, 1916.

2. The Vocational Trade Training bill, S. 703, urged by Labor since 1910, passed the Senate by unanimous vote. It is upon the House calendar and favorable action may be obtained upon it during the next session.

3. Bureau of Labor Safety measure H. R. 153, passed the House without opposition, it is now upon the Senate calendar as the Senate Committee on Labor reported it favorably with amendments. This is a valuable labor measure, the passage of which may be secured next session.

4. The Convict Labor bill advocated by the A. F. of L. has been reported by both Committees of Labor of the House and Senate and now occupies a favorable position upon the respective calendars.

5. Considerable interest was manifested by Congress in behalf of the Nolan Minimum Wage bill for government employes. Its passage next session is expected.

Record of Previous Legislative Achievements

It is deemed advisable to furnish also a historical summary of previous legislative accomplishments secured during other periods when Congress was in session, so that the information may be at hand for ready reference by students, friends and critics. We present that summary herewith showing the accomplishments in each Congress commencing with the Fifty-ninth, at which time our celebrated Bill of Grievances was submitted to the executive and legislative officials of the United States, and closing with the Sixty-third. These data together with the summary herewith recorded of the present Congress (first session, 64th) will make the historical references complete to date.

Record of Fifty-ninth Congress on Measures of Interest to Labor, December 4, 1905-March 2, 1907.

1. Employers' liability act secured.
2. Immigration laws amended and strengthened.
3. Law limiting railroad men's hours of labor to sixteen in any one day enacted.
4. Federal investigation of industrial conditions among working women and children ordered.
5. Amendments to Chinese Exclusion law defeated.
6. Ship subsidy and conscription defeated.
7. Anti-compulsory pilotage proposition defeated.

Record of Sixtieth Congress on Measures of Interest to Labor, December 2, 1907-March 3, 1909.

1. Employers' liability law passed, substituting the act passed by the Fifty-ninth Congress which was annulled by the United States Supreme Court.
2. Compensation for Injuries to Government Employees' Act passed.
3. Child Labor law for the District of Columbia enacted.
4. Proposed reduction of wages of employes of Panama Canal and Railroad defeated.
5. Ship subsidy and Conscription bill again defeated.
6. Law enacted disapproving unfair personal injury act of territory of New Mexico.
7. Compulsory investigation of labor dispute bill defeated—a mischievous proposition intended as a forerunner for compulsory arbitration.
8. Proposal to waive contract labor provision of immigration laws in Hawaii defeated.
9. Efforts to establish censor of publications in Post-office Department defeated.
10. First federal appropriation for investigation of accidents in coal mines secured.
11. Self-emptying ash pan law for locomotives enacted.

Record of Sixty-first Congress on Measures of Interest to Labor, March 15, 1909-March 3, 1911.

1. Employers' Liability Act amended and strengthened.
2. Federal Employees' Compensation-for-Injuries Act extended.
3. Law passed requiring railroads to report all accidents.
4. Bureau of Mines established.
5. Standard Equipment Act for railroads passed (a valuable safety appliance measure).
6. Federal Locomotive Boiler Inspection law enacted.
7. Immigration law relating to deportation amended and strengthened, also extended to prohibit interstate transportation of so-called "white-slaves."
8. Eight-hour provision incorporated in Naval Appropriation Acts of both sessions.
9. Eight-hour provision included in act authorizing construction of revenue cutters.
10. Federal Commission appointed on Workmen's Compensation and Employers' Liability.
11. Postal Savings Bank law enacted.
12. Porto Rican legislation enacted providing for an eight-hour day on public works; prohibiting employment of children under fourteen years of age, and providing an employers' liability law.
13. Rules of House of Representatives amended to prevent the practice of smothering legislation in committee.
14. Amendment to Constitution providing for income tax passed.
15. Law enacted compelling publicity of political campaign contributions.
16. Child Labor Law for the District of Columbia amended and strengthened.

Record of Sixty-second Congress on Measures of Interest to Labor, April 4, 1911-March 3, 1913.

1. "Gag" rule abolished. Rights of hearing, petition, and association restored to post-office and other civil service employees.
2. United States constitutional amendment providing for popular election of Senators passed.
3. General eight-hour law enacted covering contracts for public work.
4. Eight hours in the contracts of fortification bill provided.
5. Eight hours in the contracts of naval bill provided.
6. Eight hours for letter carriers and clerks in post-offices made mandatory.
7. Extension of federal Compensation-for-Injuries Act to Bureau of Mines employes.
8. Children's Bureau established.
9. Industrial Relations Commission provided.
10. Second-class postage rates assured for trade union and fraternal publications.
11. Eight-hour law of 1892 amended by extending it to dredgemen.
12. Law enacted providing for a Department of Labor, the Secretary of same to be a member of the President's Cabinet.
13. Bureau of Mines Act amended and strengthened.
14. Seamen's bill passed Congress, vetoed by President Taft.
15. Immigration bill passed Congress, vetoed by the President.

16. Free smoker bill passed (in interest of cigarmakers).
17. Anti-phosphorus match bill enacted.
18. Antitrust proviso passed Congress exempting organizations of labor from prosecution under Sherman law, vetoed by President Taft.
19. Physical valuation law for railroads and express companies passed.
20. Parcel post law passed.
21. Increased appropriations obtained for rescue work in Bureau of Mines.
22. Federal investigation ordered of the industrial conditions prevailing in the iron and steel industry, also a congressional investigation ordered of the United States Steel Corporation.
23. Law passed establishing the three-watch system in the merchant marine, for masters mates and pilots.
24. Public construction in government navy yards of naval vessels and colliers secured.
25. Secured 5 cents an hour advance for pressmen in Government Printing Office.
26. Secured 10 per cent increase in wages for employes of Naval Gun Factory.
27. Federal investigation textile strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts.
28. Congressional investigation of the Taylor "stop-watch" system.
29. The amendment to the federal Constitution providing for an income tax, ratified by three-fourths of the states and made effective.

Record of Sixty-third Congress on Measures of Interest to Labor, April 7, 1913-March 4, 1915.

1. Organizations of Labor and Farmers taken from the purview of the Antitrust Act.
2. Limitation of the use, and prevention of the abuse of the writ of Injunction in labor disputes.
3. Legislation defining and restricting punishment for alleged contempts of injunction writs and providing jury trial in contempt cases.
4. Trade unionist appointed first Secretary of the Department of Labor.
5. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. First session.
6. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. Second session.
7. Department of Justice prohibited from using Antitrust appropriation funds to prosecute labor and farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act. Third session.
8. Passage of Seamen's law, abolishing involuntary servitude, providing better treatment of seamen and improving life-saving provisions on vessels at sea.
9. Old conciliation, mediation and arbitration act repealed. New law enacted with permanent officials appointed to administer it in behalf of railroad employes engaged in operating service.
10. Eight-hour law enacted for women and child workers of the District of Columbia. (Decided constitutional March 13, 1915, by Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.)
11. Eight-hour law passed for employes under the Alaska Coal Land Act.
12. Public construction of Alaska railroad, with eight-hour provision for employes.
13. Industrial Education provided with appropriations for farmers and rural residents under the Agricultural Extension Act.
14. Taylor System, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in United States arsenals prohibited.
15. Taylor System, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in the United States Navy Yards, gun factories and torpedo stations prohibited.
16. Piecework prohibited in Post-office Department, Washington, D. C.
17. Public construction of battleships, transports and other vessels in U. S. navy yards extended. Repairs to vessels of the Navy to be made in governmental instead of private yards. Steadier work assured to employes of government navy yards.
18. Licensed officers, such as masters, mates, and pilots guaranteed right to quit, and protected when reporting defects of their vessels to government inspectors.
19. Bureau of Mines Act extended and strengthened. Ten new experiment stations and seven new safety stations provided.
20. Senatorial investigation of industrial dispute in coal fields of West Virginia, whereby peace was restored; the eight-hour day secured; check weighmen provided, and 10 per cent

increase in wages gained—right of organization guaranteed and other improved working conditions included.

21. Compensation for Injuries Act extended to Post-office employees.
22. Post-office employees—annual promotion maintained, notwithstanding the Postmaster General's efforts to substitute biennial for annual promotions.
23. Eight-hour law for Post-office clerks and carriers retained, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to change radically.
24. Letter carriers' salaries restored, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to reduce the pay of letter carriers, known as collectors, from \$1,200 to \$1,000 per year.
25. Locomotive boiler inspection act extended to cover locomotive engines and tenders.
26. Leave of absence with pay to employes of Government Printing Office extended from 26 to 30 days per year.
27. Impeachment proceedings of Judge Wright responsible for his resignation.
28. Special congressional investigation of industrial disputes in the Colorado coal fields and the Michigan copper region, wherein all of the complaints and charges made by the men of Labor against the mining companies and the alliance of these companies with the political and military powers of the states were officially verified and substantiated.
29. An additional annual appropriation of \$240,000, for the years 1914-15 was provided for the pay-roll of the metal trades mechanics employed at the Washington, D. C., Navy Yard. This was equivalent to a 7.81 per cent increase in wages.
30. The statutory enactment of an income tax in conformity with the recent United States constitutional amendment.
31. An additional appropriation of \$139,000 for the work of the Children's Bureau.
32. More adequate appropriations for the Department of Labor to carry on its work.
33. Senate resolution demanding information from cabinet officials as to what uses, if any, were made of Rockefeller or Carnegie funds in their departments.
34. Prevented a reduction in wages and installation and collection of rents for employes on the Panama Canal Zone.
35. Immigration bill providing for the literacy test, passed by Congress and vetoed by the President.

CHILD LABOR

We consider, as an organization of thoughtful, devoted and persistent advocates of judicious legislation that will protect the youth of our land, as well as to conserve the best interest possible for the children yet unborn, that we should congratulate ourselves upon the fact that due to most persistent efforts we have finally secured a federal law which will protect the children of our land in each and all of the states, in so far as such protection to the children can be afforded by federal authority.

The Federal Child Labor bill has been passed and is now a law. It will become effective September 1, 1917.

We reported in detail to the San Francisco Convention, the incidents of the Owen-Palmer Child Labor bill of the Sixty-third Congress, and we reported that it came before the Senate too late for favorable consideration. We then said:

"It is our opinion that if the bill could have been properly brought before the Senate at that session it would have become law.

"We are confident that this measure or one similar to it will become a law in the near future, because we believe that the Congress of the United States is not inclined to set itself against the enlightened public sentiment of the people in behalf of better opportunities for the children.

"We recommend that this issue be made one of the chief features in our forthcoming legislative program."

That recommendation was accepted by the convention.

We gladly cooperated to the fullest possible extent with our friend and associate, Representative Keating of Colorado, one of the honored members of the Labor Group of the House of Representatives, who introduced the bill, H. R. 8234, in the House on Janu-

ary 7, 1916. It was referred to the House Committee on Labor and that committee reported it favorably on January 17. It was called up in the House on January 19 and passed on February 2, by a vote of 337 "ayes," 46 "nays." It was then referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. Largely due to our solicitation it was referred to that committee rather than to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The opponents to the welfare of the children and the advocates of the "House of Have," mostly cotton mill owners of a few of the Southern states with their paid advocates (the attorneys), headed by former Governor Kitchin of North Carolina, stormed the Senate Committee in their opposition to the children's welfare.

The Senate committee was composed of exceptionally broad-minded, sympathetic men. They made it at times uncomfortable for the advocates of child exploitation, and they refused to permit the hearings to be prolonged indefinitely or to encourage the old tactics of killing good legislation by interminable talk from attorneys.

The Senate committee reported the bill favorably with an amendment on April 19. Many efforts were made to obtain consideration of the bill and reach a vote, but not until August 3 did the Senate give the subject serious consideration and not then till after President Wilson made a personal visit to the Senate in its behalf. It was then made the unfinished business, and after much discussion it was passed by the Senate on August 8 by a vote of 52 "ayes" to 12 "nays," the twelve opponents being Senators Bankhead of Alabama, Bryan and Fletcher of Florida, Hardwick and Smith of Georgia, Oliver and Penrose of Pennsylvania, Williams of Mississippi, Overman and Simmons of North Carolina, Smith and Tillman of South Carolina.

The bill was then referred to conference, was reported by the conferees and agreed to in the House on August 18 and the Senate on August 25, was signed by the President September 1, and will become effective one year from that date.

The passage of this Child Labor law will prohibit the transportation of articles made by children under fourteen years of age along the highways of interstate or foreign commerce. Children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen who are employed on work or on articles that are intended for interstate or foreign commerce will not be permitted or required to work over eight hours in any one day, nor more than six days in any one week, nor after the hour of seven o'clock at night nor before the hour of six o'clock in the morning. The phrase "interstate and foreign commerce" will no doubt be construed in this act to include shipments by railroads or by water. This in itself is a much broader and a more sweeping provision than is ordinarily contained in acts covering interstate commerce.

The Secretary of the United States Department of Labor is authorized to enforce this act under rules and regulations made and published from time to time by a board consisting of the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor. It will be the duty of each district attorney to whom the Secretary of Labor shall report any violation of the act or to whom any state factory or mining or quarry inspector, commissioner of labor, state medical inspector or school attendance officer or *any other person* shall present satisfactory evidence of any such violation to cause appropriate proceedings to be commenced and prosecuted in the proper courts of the United States without delay. Violations of the law can be enforced by the following penalties: Maximum fine \$200 for first offense; a maximum fine of \$1,000 for each subsequent offense and a minimum fine of \$100 or by imprisonment for not more than three months or by such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

Evilly disposed persons and professional fault-finders have already attacked this Child Labor law, its sponsors, the party in power responsible for it and the administration officials, with the broad statement that it is a "gold brick." They deliberately attack the law and either ignorantly or designedly fail to distinguish between producing plants, shops or factories and warehouses or store houses which, of course, frequently are and always may be located under the same roof as the producing plant and still be absolutely distinct under the meaning of the provision, prohibiting from interstate commerce any product removed from a plant in which child labor had been employed within thirty days previous. When this complaint or criticism was brought to the attention of the Honorable William B. Wilson, he declared "that any removal of a commodity from the point where it was produced by child labor, even though it was stored a foot away for thirty days, or any other period, would make it forever unacceptable in interstate commerce."

In closing our report upon this subject we venture the suggestion that the toilers

throughout the whole United States will do their utmost to prevent violations of this splendid piece of legislation designed for the protection of the children of our nation.

TAYLOR SYSTEM IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Resolution No. 58 adopted by the San Francisco Convention recognized the value of the adoption of the Deitrick bill as an amendment to the Army and Navy Appropriation bills in the Sixty-third Congress, by which the premium bonus and the stop-watch system were prohibited from use in the navy yards and arsenals of the United States. The resolution, however, reaffirmed similar declarations at previous conventions in behalf of definite statutory anti-stop watch legislation and directed the Executive Council to prosecute its endeavors to that end. We now report that we secured the introduction of an anti-stop watch bill through Representative Tavenner of Illinois. It was referred to the House Committee on Labor and unanimously reported out by that committee without delay and without unnecessary hearings, the committee taking the ground that the subject had been fully and properly discussed by the House Commission which investigated the subject in the Sixty-second Congress, as well as the hearings which had been held on the Pepper and Deitrick Anti-Stop Watch bills in the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses.

A day or two after the bill was ordered reported by the committee, sudden opposition was registered by James Emery, general counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, together with several self-styled "efficiency engineers." They insisted upon hearings. The committee withdrew its report and heard the opponents commencing its hearings on March 30, closing them on April 4. The following representatives of the American Federation of Labor made arguments in its defense: Mr. N. P. Alifas, President, District No. 44, International Association of Machinists; Mr. John P. Frey, Editor of the International Molders' Journal and Mr. Thomas Flaherty, Secretary of the National Federation of Post-office Clerks. The committee again favorably reported the bill to the House on May 17, 1916.

The National Association of Manufacturers still smarting under its disgrace inflicted by Congress as a result of the Lobby Investigation in 1913 which so thoroughly discredited the members of that organization, sought to find a channel through which to voice their protests against social welfare legislation advocated by the A. F. of L. The National Association of Manufacturers then arranged a community of interest with the Chambers of Commerce, the Boards of Trade and other "business organizations." This new combination of Labor antagonists flooded Congressmen with letters, telegrams, circulars and petitions deliberately designed to intimidate Representatives and Senators from giving favorable consideration to the Tavenner bill, and yet there was nothing in the measure that could be directly or indirectly found to clash with the industrial interests of private employers. They did, however, fear the moral effect of the United States government enacting this legislation, and they ventured a prophecy that future contracts let by the United States government to private concerns might contain an inhibition of public contracts going to private concerns who oppressed their workmen with the Taylor or stop-watch schemes.

We readily found that a congestion of business on the legislative calendars prevented direct action on the Tavenner bill, consequently, efforts were made to add the Tavenner bill as a rider to the several important appropriation bills, for the Army, Navy, Fortifications and Sundry Civil Expenses. This was successfully accomplished—first by adding it to the Naval Appropriation bill on June 1, 1916, when the Committee of the Whole House accepted it by a teller vote of 100 "ayes" to 74 "nays." No contest was made when that bill reached the House. Second, on June 22 it was included in the Fortifications bill, but only after a vigorous struggle, the House finally passing it on a roll-call vote of 197 "ayes," 117 "nays," 14 answering "present" and 106 "not voting."

Third, on June 24, it was added to the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill without contest after a short observation by Representative Fitzgerald of New York, the chairman of the committee.

Fourth, on June 26, it was added to the Army Appropriation bill by a teller vote of 75 "ayes" to 47 "nays," in Committee of the Whole. There was no contest when the bill reached the House.

On June 30, when the Fortifications bill was under consideration in the Senate, Senator Weeks of Massachusetts moved to strike the Tavenner amendment against the Taylor system from the bill. Senator Bryan of Florida moved to lay the Weeks' motion on the

table. The Bryan motion to table carried by a roll-call vote of 36 "ayes" to "20 nays."

On July 25 when the Army Appropriation bill was before the Senate, the committee reported it with the Tavenner amendment stricken out but on a roll-call vote of 36 to 15, it was reinserted by the Senate.

On June 26, Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire made a desperate attempt to nullify the Tavenner anti-stop watch proviso included in the Military Appropriation bill by offering an amendment to strike out the premium bonus part of the proviso, as follows:

"Nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any government plant."

If this amendment had carried it would have practically devitalized the Tavenner amendment. The Senate rejected the Gallinger motion by a vote of 40 "nays" to 15 "ayes."

No further contest was made after the Gallinger motion was defeated. The bills named were signed by President Wilson and are now law.

From reliable reports we have since received, Brigadier General Crozier, Chief of the Ordnance Bureau of the War Department and Secretary Baker of the War Department who had tenaciously advocated the Taylor system in the government arsenals, have now consented to accept congressional action as the final word and they have withdrawn the schemes formerly in vogue in the Government arsenals under their supervision. This is made a matter of record because of the fact that because the Deitrick amendment was not incorporated by the Sixty-third Congress in the Fortifications Appropriation bill of that year, the Army officials construed it to mean that Congress had not intended it to apply to the appropriations made for the manufacture or the maintenance of coast defenses, weapons and fortifications. We think the way is now clear to obtain more easily a statutory enactment of this law so that it will not be necessary to struggle continually each year to add it as a rider to the appropriation bills.

We can not close this part of our report without paying tribute to the fidelity of the following Representatives and Senators who diligently and faithfully fought to protect Labor against the inhuman features of the Taylor system: Representatives Keating, Nolan, Tavenner, Farr, Buchanan, Key, Sherwood, Casey, London and Van Dyke; Senators Borah, La Follette, Hughes, Martine, Cummins, Kenyon, Chilton, Fletcher, Ashurst, Reed, Poindexter, and Sutherland.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT LEGISLATION—FARM LOANS

The San Francisco Convention adopted the report of the committee upon this subject wherein it said:

"Your committee does not believe that it is either wise or expedient for this convention to make recommendation of a definite plan for the basis of securing rural credit. The several plans that have been presented for general consideration possess each its own distinctive quality of merit and while we believe that legislation of a national character to secure the funds for the extension of rural credits, in order that farm operations may be carried on with the least possible expense and with the greatest avoidance of hindrance, to the end that producer and consumer will be brought closer together and on terms that are mutually advantageous, we believe that national conditions vary so widely with the several sections of the country that it would be unfair, if not actually dangerous to undertake to prescribe one system or plan for the guidance and control of all.

"We would, therefore, recommend that the matter of rural credits aside from the enactment of a general law to govern the fundamentals be left to the determination of the different sections or states for the carrying out of the matter in detail, until such time as experience shall have determined what, if any, is the better course to pursue to insure the rights and properly safeguard the interests of all."

We were guided by the expression of the convention on this matter and an act has been passed which was approved by the President July 17, 1916, for the purpose of providing

capital for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgages, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create government depositaries and financial agents for the United States and for other purposes.

The act is now in force under a board of five members including the Secretary of the Treasury, the Hon. William G. McAdoo, who is chairman ex-officio; J. Herbert Quick of Berkeley Springs, West Virginia; William A. Smith of Sioux City, Iowa; Charles E. Lobdell of Great Bend, Kansas, and George W. Norris of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The bill, S. 2986, was introduced by Senator Hollis of New Hampshire and referred to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency which committee reported it favorably on February 15, 1916. It passed the Senate on May 4 by a vote of 57 "ayes" to 5 "nays."

It was referred to the House Committee on Banking and Currency on May 4, 1916, and was promptly reported back to the House with an amendment the same day. The bill was freely discussed by the House and passed with the amendment May 15, by a vote of 295 "ayes" to 10 "nays."

The bill then went to conference and was finally agreed to in both House and Senate on June 27, 1916. It was approved by the President July 17.

It is generally agreed to by those who will be most vitally affected by this law and who of course are the most interested, that it is an eminently practical and valuable measure and that it will work to great advantage to agriculturists in general.

The Federal Farm Loan Board is authorized to divide the United States, excluding Alaska, into twelve districts, which shall be known as federal land bank districts and may be designated by number. Said districts shall be apportioned with due regard to the farm loan needs of the country, but no such district shall contain a fractional part of any state. The boundaries thereof may be readjusted from time to time in the discretion of said board. A Federal Farm Loan Bank will be eventually established in each federal land bank district located in such city within the district as the board shall designate. Each of said federal land banks will be temporarily managed by five directors appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board. No loan on mortgage shall be made under the act at a rate of interest exceeding 6 per cent. Loans will be limited to 50 per cent of the value of the land mortgaged and 20 per cent of the full, permanent, insured, improvements thereon ascertained by appraisers appointed by the Board. No borrower can obtain more than \$10,000 and no loan will be for less than \$100. Defaulted payments will be charged at the rate of 8 per cent.

It is not to be assumed that this new law is the last word upon this important subject. As conditions require and the administration of the law develops, it will undoubtedly call for changes that will accommodate its purpose to accomplish the greatest good to the greatest number.

AMENDMENT TO THE HOURS OF SERVICE LAW

In response to the directions received from the Philadelphia and San Francisco conventions to continue our efforts until the Hours of Service Law enacted in 1907 should be amended so as to provide a minimum and maximum fine to insure the enforcement thereof, we cooperated with the officials of the railroad brotherhoods and success has attended our efforts.

The bill S. 3769 by Senator Robinson of Arkansas was introduced and referred to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on January 24, 1916, it was quickly reported out of committee and passed the Senate without a dissenting vote on April 20. It passed the House on April 27 and was signed by the President and became law May 4, 1916. (Public No. 68.)

The minimum fine is \$100 and the maximum fine \$500, which can be recovered in a suit at law brought by the United States District Attorney against any common carrier, officer or agent of such common carrier requiring or permitting railroad employees in train service to remain on duty more than sixteen hours in any twenty-four-hour period. This success has been finally obtained after persistent, determined efforts since the original law was first drafted.

Let us hope that the officers of such railroad companies will have a better respect for the laws of the United States and not continue to violate them in the future as freely as they have in the past. The Interstate Commerce Commission's records show that during the years of 1913, 1914, 1915, no less than 543,993 violations of this humane law were perpetrated

by railroad corporations engaged in interstate commerce, but it is generally understood by railroad men in train service that this number of violations recorded by the Interstate Commerce Commission is far from complete. It is also a great satisfaction to know that some of the courts in their friendliness to railroad corporations will not be longer permitted to dismiss complaints and suits against the railroads for violation of this law with the paltry fine of one cent as many such cases have been facetiously treated by the federal courts of our land in the past.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION'S REPORT

Difficulty was encountered in obtaining the passage of a suitable resolution by Congress ordering the printing of the report of the Industrial Relations Commission, and the hearings taken by the commission and the exhibits obtained by it. After persistent effort, a satisfactory resolution was passed by the Senate April 17, by the House on April 21 and approved by President Wilson April 26, 1916, which provided for the printing of 100,000 copies of the report, 10,000 copies of the testimony and 10,000 copies of the exhibits. The complete set, report, testimony and exhibits consists of eleven volumes. These are now ready for distribution on request sent to Representatives and Senators.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION FOR INJURIES

It is very gratifying to report the final enactment of a comprehensive compensation-for-injuries law for federal employes, in harmony with the principles contained in the original bill first introduced in the Sixtieth Congress in 1908 at the request of the American Federation of Labor for the protection of all federal employes. Because of the antagonistic attitude of several members nevertheless, who served upon the Judiciary Committee of that Congress, a very limited and ineffective substitute for the proposed bill was enacted, which applied only to certain hazardous occupations and was limited to one year's wages for death or permanent total disability.

Through our endeavors, we were able from time to time to have that act extended so that it embraced larger numbers of government employes, and have achieved our original purpose through the enactment of the McGillicuddy bill, H. R. 15316, which was passed by the House of Representatives by a vote of 285 "ayes" to 3 "nays," on July 12, 1916, and the Senate without any opposing votes on August 19, 1916. After being referred to conference to adjust slight differences between the House and Senate bills, it was agreed to on September 4 by both Houses and was approved by President Wilson, September 7, 1916.

Authority for the administration of the law will be vested in three commissioners to be appointed by the President. Up to this writing this commission has not been named.

Since our original bill was written and introduced in Congress in 1908, thirty-eight compensation laws have been enacted in the following thirty-three states and five others in the territory of Alaska, the Canal Zone, and the insular possessions of Hawaii, the Philippines and Porto Rico. The states having compensation laws are: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Since we last reported test cases have been made in several of the states on the constitutionality of their compensation laws, among them being, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Texas. The law has been sustained by the state courts in every instance. Test cases are before the U. S. Supreme Court from Washington, Iowa, New Jersey and New York. Our friends and associates in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Missouri, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, and Virginia are conducting campaigns in behalf of compensation laws and we have been giving them all the assistance within our power.

Representative Crosser of Ohio and Senator Kenyon of Iowa introduced bills during the last Congress urged by us to provide compensation benefits for the employes of the District of Columbia. In both Houses they were referred to the respective committees on the District of Columbia but no action was taken. We hope that during the next session or the succeeding session of another Congress that the working people of the District of Columbia will cooperate more heartily in behalf of such beneficent legislation.

It was found impractical and impossible to do anything during the last session of Congress on Resolution No. 100 which called for a federal compulsory compensation law covering all industries or as far as practicable within federal jurisdiction.

This subject or method of dealing with it must be held in abeyance for a while longer.

PROTECTION FOR MUSICIANS

Resolutions Nos. 1 and 2 adopted by the San Francisco Convention were similar to other resolutions adopted by several previous conventions, directing us to secure protection for civilian musicians from competition with enlisted men in the Marine Corps and other government bands. Our experience in the past has been disappointing in our efforts to obtain this legislation. We have frequently secured favorable reports from committees and at times even secured the passage of this measure in the House, only to see it fail of enactment in the Senate, largely because of congestion of the calendars. During the past Congress, through the splendid assistance rendered by Senator Reed of Missouri a new section was offered to the National Defense bill, H. R. 12766, and on April 18, 1916, the Senate, without opposing vote, included the following measure in behalf of civilian musicians and other civilians engaged in the arts, trades or professions:

"Sec. 35. Enlisted Men Prohibited From Civil Employment.—Hereafter no enlisted man in the active service of the United States in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, respectively, whether a non-commissioned officer, musician, or private, shall be detailed, ordered, or permitted to leave his post to engage in any pursuit, business, or performance in civil life, for emolument, hire, or otherwise, when the same shall interfere with the customary employment and regular engagement of local civilians in the respective arts, trades, or professions."

This new section was accepted by the House and became law when approved by the President June 3, 1916.

We trust that our friends and associates will promptly report any violation of this protective measure.

POST OFFICE CLERKS' SALARIES, ETC.

During the last session of Congress every endeavor was made to carry out the full letter and spirit of Resolutions Nos. 13, 40, 115, 118, 119, 126, and 127, adopted by the San Francisco Convention dealing with the subjects of night work for post office clerks, annual promotions, maximum eight-hour day for railway post-office clerks, protest against the reduction of salaries, demotions, leave of absence for railway mail clerks, etc. Many bills were introduced in both Houses covering these several subjects, some of which were finally included in the Post-office Appropriation bill. We report the following progress:

A number of remedial features and wage-increases were included in that bill for post office clerks, railway mail clerks, letter carriers, post office compositors, and laborers. Several thousand clerks and carriers will in future receive an increase of salary. Under the salary classification law, twelve printers in the employ of the Post-office can be promoted to \$1,200 per year and 900 clerks from \$1,200 to special clerks at \$1,300 per year. One hundred and twenty special clerks will be promoted from \$1,300 to \$1,400 and there will be a total of 1,218 promotions in the various supervisory grades of post-office clerks from \$1,200 to \$2,200. Five per cent of the clerks and carriers in second-class offices will be promoted from \$1,100 to \$1,200.

The usual automatic promotions are provided in the bill as well as promotions for 75 per cent of the clerks and carriers from \$1,100 to \$1,200 per year in the first and second class offices. No increase was provided for the rate of pay for substitutes, but a clear distinction is made to prevent unfair manipulation at their expense.

Special efforts were made to secure more substantial increases for compositors employed by the Post-office Department, from \$1,200 to \$1,500 per year. At our request these promotions were included in the bill, reported by the committee, but when that section was up for consideration in the House, Representative Stafford of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, objected, and the provision was stricken out. Our request of the Senate Committee met with acqui-

escence and passed the Senate without question; the conferees, however, struck it from the bill.

We shall continue our endeavors in the next appropriation bills, to secure justice for the compositors. We did, however, secure promotions for twelve compositors, from the lower grades to \$1,200 per year.

Promotions were provided for the Post-office laborers to the minimum of \$840 and the Postmaster General was ordered by Congress to restore demoted collectors to their former salary grades. This action sustains our position when we protested to the Post-office Department against the reduction of collectors' salaries from \$1,200 to \$1,000 per year. Henceforth, no salary distinction can be made between delivery carriers and collectors.

Postmaster General Burleson is also authorized to pay to every rural carrier a sum of money from the postal appropriation of 1915, representing the difference between the money they actually received and the money authorized to be paid to them by a joint resolution of Congress adopted March 4, 1915. That resolution made legal a series of payments ranging from \$1,200 a year for twenty-four mile routes operated six days a week down to \$480 for four-mile routes. Post-office officials, however, demurred carrying out the letter and spirit of that resolution, consequently it was necessary for Congress to reaffirm its attitude and order restitution of salaries authorized by Congress. A number of other much-needed legislative reforms were passed in behalf of the rural carriers.

One of the greatest features of importance to post-office employees was the insertion by the conferees of a provision nullifying the obnoxious 150-day sick leave regulation. The proviso now reads:

"The Postmaster General shall not approve or continue any rule or regulation which terminates the employment of any employe by reason of absence on account of illness for a period of less than one year, and that any postal employe who has entered the military service of the United States or who shall hereafter enter it shall, upon being honorably discharged therefrom, be permitted to resume the position in the Postal Department which he left to enter such military service."

Compensatory time will now be allowed for holiday service on any one of the thirty days following the holiday on which post-office employees are required to work, the holidays being specifically mentioned, such as New Year's Day, January 1; Washington's Birthday, February 22; Memorial Day, May 30; Independence Day, July 4; Labor Day, the first Monday in September of each year; and Christmas Day, December 25, and such other days as the President of the United States may set apart as holidays.

Special clerks will hereafter come within the scope of the eight-hour law for post-office employees, thus assuring them pay for overtime and compensatory time for Sunday service, and other regulations accorded to the regular force, thus assuring to special clerks equal rights of all in the service.

The Federal Employees' Compensation law approved September 7, 1916, will supersede the old compensation regulation for post-office employees as they with other federal employees will now be included within the purview of that law.

Some of the grievances of the railway mail clerks were adjusted and several remedial provisos were included in the bill conserving their interests, such as a fifteen day vacation, compensation for dead-heading and more liberal allowances provided while traveling.

We can not close this part of our report without extending congratulations to the post office employees affiliated to our American Federation of Labor, for their marked fidelity to duty and their resourcefulness and ingenuity in behalf of their economic interests. Their hearty cooperation with us in behalf of their own interests materially helped to secure the advantages above recorded.

PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION OF NAVAL AND OTHER VESSELS

We report herewith a continuation of our efforts to extend industrial activities in the government navy yards. In cooperation with our associates in the Metal Trades and the present officials of the Navy Department, sufficient sentiment was created to secure an appropriation of \$6,000,000 for the purpose of equipping the government navy yards at Boston, Massachusetts; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; League Island, New York; Mare Island, California, and Bremerton, Washington, for general construction work for the Navy.

These yards will now be equipped to build the heaviest tonnage in competition with private yards and thus be the means of saving the people many millions of dollars annually on naval work.

An appropriation of \$11,000,000 was also provided by Congress for the installation and equipment of a public armor plate plant. This innovation was the cause of perturbation among the steel magnates of the country, particularly the officials of the Bethlehem Steel Company, the Midvale Steel Company and the United States Steel Trust, which three concerns have, in the past, furnished the government all of its armor plate at prices which were generally considered extortionate. At this writing the officials of the Navy Department are conducting an investigation for the location of this plant. Representative business men from over 130 cities are pressing the advantages and facilities of their locations so as to secure this new government industry.

It is hoped that when this plant is established, it will be sufficiently equipped by the department so as to be able to provide other material for the Navy, such as bars, plates, shapes, forgings and other essential elements which are required in naval vessels, as well as armor plate. By adding these features, it would insure greater economy, greater efficiency and enable the government to depend upon its own efforts and insure the people against every undue advantage which the large steel trust corporations have in the past pressed to their own profit. Other provisions of the Naval Appropriation bill prohibited the Taylor system with its stop-watch, premium bonus schemes, and extended the annual leave of absence for federal employees in the navy yards and arsenals from 15 to 30 days.

The Naval Appropriation bill also carries increased appropriations allowing wage increases averaging $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the navy yard mechanics and other employees. This average includes unskilled laborers and other employees who are not members of any labor organization.

The new policy of public construction in navy yards by the present administration has resulted in an increase of 7,485 employees over the number employed June 1, 1913, when there were 16,898 navy yard employees. The number on July 1, 1916, was 24,383. The average daily wage has been increased $27\frac{1}{2}$ cents per day from \$2.72, June 1, 1913, to \$2.99, July 1, 1916.

In further cooperation with our metal trades associates, we secured an increase in wages for machinists, boilermakers and other metal mechanics on the Panama Canal Zone and through conferences with administration officials we succeeded in defeating a proposed reduction of wages for other employees, and prevented charges being instituted for quarters, light and fuel for all employees on the Isthmus.

AMENDMENT TO POSTAL SAVINGS BANK LAW

An amendment added to the Postal Savings Bank Law is expected to be a great boon to the people as well as to the postal savings service. The maximum interest-bearing account which a depositor may now have has been increased to \$1,000 as against \$500 under the original law. The restriction upon the monthly amount that could be accepted by post-office officials from a depositor has been repealed so that any one may now deposit any part of the maximum amount which may stand to his credit at any one time. It has been estimated by post-office officials and others interested in the postal savings division of the department that the former restrictions on deposits compelled the department to turn away as much money as it has been possible to accept at depository post-offices. The number of depositors now is considerably over a million and the deposits in the postal savings division exceed \$100,000,000; the average weekly deposits now exceed \$1,000,000.

We found it impossible to obtain legislation enabling school trustees to take their school district bonds to the trustees of the postal savings fund and borrow money direct thereon as urged in Resolution No. 91 adopted by the Seattle Convention.

MERCHANT-MARINE-SUBSIDIES-SEAMEN'S ACT

Resolutions Nos. 19, 21, 22, 25, 32, 33, 41 and 56, acted upon by the San Francisco Convention, all dealt with marine subjects such as the development of the merchant marine, opposition to government subsidies and opposition to any weakening of the Seamen's Act.

Several bills were introduced during last session of Congress by opponents of the Seamen's Act, for the purpose of weakening or defeating its main beneficent principles. None of

such bills were acted upon by either the House or Senate committees. Several speeches were made in both Houses in behalf of subsidies but Congress gave no encouragement to a revival of that obsolete scheme of public aid to private speculators.

Resolution No. 33 declared specifically and emphatically in favor of the immediate creation by the United States of an American Merchant Marine and for the establishment of a shipping board for the building or purchase of vessels by the United States government to be operated for the development of our foreign trade under conditions that will give safety to the traveling public and seamen and to provide an effective naval auxiliary or naval reserve for defense purposes and for the protection of our country in time of war.

H. R. 15455 by Representative Alexander of Missouri included the majority of these purposes. It was reported to the House on May 9, 1916, and after a stirring debate was passed on May 20 by a vote of 211 "ayes" to 161 "nays." It was reported out of the Senate committee on July 19 with some amendments and was discussed for eight days, when it finally passed by a vote of 38 "ayes" 21 "nays" and 36 "not voting." After a short consideration by the conferees their report was agreed to and the bill was approved by the President on September 7. Representatives Bennet of New York, Humphrey of Washington, Moore of Pennsylvania, Greene of Massachusetts and Senators Gallinger of New Hampshire, Harding of Ohio and Weeks of Massachusetts were the most conspicuous opponents to this marine development measure.

The law calls for the appointment by the President of five commissioners to administer its provisions. That commission has not been appointed at this writing.

The capital stock authorized by Congress is limited to \$50,000,000 for the several corporations that may be formed, and the Board is permitted to subscribe for all purchases on behalf of the United States to an amount not less than a majority of the capital stock of any such corporation formed to carry out the purposes of the act and so protect the interests of the United States. The Board may sell any or all of the stock of the United States in any of the corporations so formed but at no time shall the Board permit the United States to be a minority stockholder of such corporations. The Board must make an annual report to Congress, including its recommendations and the results of its investigations, a summary of its transactions and a statement of all expenditures and receipts under the act. No rebates to shippers will be permitted, neither will the Sherman Antitrust Act, approved July 2, 1890, or amendments and acts supplementary thereto be permitted to impede the activities of the Board in making agreements for transportation rates or fares.

No discriminatory contracts in favor of any shipper will be permitted. The Board is given very wide latitude and is authorized to contract, purchase, build, charter or lease vessels required in the commerce of the marine trade of the United States, or for use as naval auxiliaries, army transports or other naval or military purposes. All such vessels may also engage in the coastwise trade of the United States. Senator Harding of Ohio frequently manifested his solicitude for that old monopoly.

We are confident that the outcome of this law will at least have one good result: it will discourage any further attempts by the advocates of subsidy to revive that unwise and un-American scheme to take funds from the public treasury of the United States to swell the coffers of private shipowners and other merchant marine speculators.

The result of our correspondence with Senators and Representatives was very encouraging in support of the resolution adopted by the San Francisco Convention in which it read:

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor stands unalterably opposed to the repeal of the Seamen's law or any attempt to impair the safety of travel at sea or renew the bonds under which seamen have been compelled to labor."

When we stop to review the tremendous activities against the Seamen's Act made by the private shipping interests with their predatory allies in the Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, we feel that our firm attitude in behalf of the seamen's law is cause for congratulations by the men of Labor.

HOSTILE LEGISLATION DEFEATED

We found it necessary to be especially vigilant and continually active during the last session of Congress in order to prevent detrimental legislation being enacted, either as direct measures or as amendments to other legislation.

The Borland Amendment to Increase Hours of Federal Employees.—A proposition by Representative Borland of Missouri attempted to increase the number of working hours of the employes of the government. However, the humanitarian sense of other Representatives quickly responded to our protests, when the Borland amendment to the Legislative bill came before the House for a test vote on March 14, 1916, it was overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of 282 to 67. No effort was made in the Senate to attach the Borland proposition to the Legislative Appropriation bill. Nothing further was heard from it.

Attempt to Repeal Compulsory Pilotage Laws.—The Compulsory Pilotage laws of the United States are still a thorn in the side of private shipowners. We had expected that after the old Littlefield bill was defeated on December 6, 1906, that no further efforts would be made to endanger the lives of passengers and the value of property in transit to our ports, but during the last session of Congress, Representative Small of North Carolina made vigorous attempts to secure favorable action upon his bill, H. R. 6973, which was a drastic Anti-Compulsory Pilotage bill.

Again we had to cope with the short-sighted, unsympathetic combinations of business organizations in the Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, etc.

We are pleased to say that in our cooperation with representatives of the American Pilots' Association, we successfully thwarted all designing efforts of the aforementioned oracles of greed and pelf to interfere with the safety features of the national or state pilotage laws. The officials of the Pilots' Association acknowledged our service in most appreciative terms in a letter addressed to the members of Pilots' Association.

Compulsory Arbitration Side-Tracked Again.—During the closing days of Congress, after President Wilson had met the House and Senate in joint session on Tuesday, August 29, relative to the threatened suspension of service by railroad employes engaged in train operation, and later when the Adamson Eight-hour bill was before the House on September 1, Representative Sterling of Illinois and his associates, Messrs. Mann, Parker and others, made vigorous efforts to include in the bill an objectionable section requiring in the future official compulsory investigation of labor disputes which might affect interstate commerce. We are gratified to report that such a proposition, which is only a forerunner of compulsory arbitration, was readily defeated in the House by a vote of 282 "ayes" to 87 "nays."

On the following day, September 2, when the bill reached the Senate, Senator Underwood of Alabama endeavored to add a section to the bill that would, if enacted, give authority in future to the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix hours and wages of railroad employes, either on the initiative of the commission, on petition of employes, on demand of managers of railroads or what might be construed as an expression of sentiment by the public. It is needless to say that such a proposition did not carry much weight with members of the United States Senate and it was not difficult for us to persuade them to reject it. On a roll-call vote of 57 "ayes" to 14 "nays," it was defeated.

Desire to Penalize Strikers.—Immediately following the rejection of the Underwood wage and hour-fixing proposition, Senator Newlands, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce that had the Adamson bill in charge, offered the following astounding amendment to the bill:

"Sec. 5. Any person who shall knowingly and willfully obstruct or retard the operation of trains mentioned in section 1 of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and be punished by a fine not exceeding \$100, or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both."

Of course, if any such proposition as this could be written into the laws of the United States, it is easy to see what would happen to any group of men who would undertake to cease work in concert. We are pleased to report that the Newlands amendment did not need any excessive effort upon our part to convince Senators that it was unwise, uncalled for, impracticable and of course manifestly unjust. It was defeated by an overwhelming vote of 52 "nays" to 14 "ayes."

Seamen's Act Must Be Upheld.—Much noise against the Seamen's Act was made in the public prints by the profiteers. Several bills were introduced, which if serious attention had been given them might have caused us some disturbance, but nothing of an untoward character was done either in committees or on the floors of Congress to cause any immediate

apprehension for the safety of the Seamen's Act and we are glad to say that the administration of the act is still improving. We believe that it will only take a short time until even the shipowners themselves will agree with the traveling public, the shippers and the seamen that instead of amending the Seamen's Act to make it weaker, they will heed the public demand to improve and strengthen it. We can not close our reference to this subject, however, without calling the attention of our friends and associates to this timely warning, that it will require continual vigilance and maybe vigorous protest if we would preserve this great humanitarian law intact. This word of warning is not out of place. Safety of life and property at sea must not be impeded in future as it has in the past by those who are hardened to the needs and rights of humanity and whose only goal in life is larger and larger profits. We are glad to add that the Seamen have also greatly benefited during the short period that this law has been in effect and we know that they can be depended upon to do their part to defend this bill of rights which the International Seamen's Union and the other organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. secured for them.

IMMIGRATION

In cooperation with our friends, members and associates throughout the country we did everything humanly possible in behalf of the Immigration bill, H. R. 10384, including the literacy test, introduced by Representative Burnett of Alabama on January 29, 1916.

After a short hearing before the House Committee on Immigration, it was reported favorably on January 31. So that it could come up for consideration at an early date, Representative Henry of Texas, Chairman of the House Committee on Rules, reported out a rule to consider the bill on March 24. After a vigorous debate, the rule carried by 283 "ayes" to 73 "nays," and on March 30, the bill was again brought before the House in regular order. After considerable debate, in which the opponents led by Representatives Bennet and Seigel of New York, Moore of Pennsylvania, Cannon and Sabath of Illinois, and others, a vote was taken on a motion to recommit the bill and strike out the literacy test. That motion was lost by a vote of 284 "nays" to 107 "ayes," or the equivalent of 23 over a two-thirds majority. The bill then passed the House by a vote of 307 "ayes" to 87 "nays" or forty-four over a two-thirds majority.

In view of the general knowledge of the bill the Senate Committee on Immigration gave no time to public hearings. They reported the bill favorably on April 12 with a few amendments, the most important of which was the one specifying Asiatic restriction by geographical lines of latitude and longitude and omitting direct reference to Asiatic races or nationalities.

Because of the voluminous correspondence and demands of our local, state and international organizations in cooperation with other civic organizations and private citizens who advocated the bill, friends of the bill in the Senate used every parliamentary device to get the bill before the Senate for consideration. Senators Ashurst of Arizona, Poindexter of Washington, Hardwick of Georgia, Smith of South Carolina and Borah of Idaho were notably active. Senator Borah made a special endeavor to have the literacy test included in the shipping bill. He offered and urged in a speech of considerable power the following amendment to section 9 which contained the regulations and exceptions of the Shipping bill:

"No such vessel while employed solely as merchant vessels shall be required or permitted to transport for gain any alien immigrant to a port of the United States who can not read the English language or some other language or dialect including Hebrew or Yiddish.

"Any master of any such vessel carrying such an illiterate alien without charge or who violates this mandate shall be subject to a fine of not less than one hundred dollars (\$100) for each offense or imprisonment for not less than three months, or both."

On a roll-call vote that proposed amendment was rejected by 39 "nays" to 20 "ayes."

After all other amendments to the Shipping bill had been disposed of Senator Borah offered as an amendment at the end of the bill, the whole of the Immigration bill as it passed the House. Senators Ashurst, Dillingham and others assisted him in his effort to obtain favorable action, but when this amendment came to a vote it was rejected by 37 "nays" to 22 "ayes."

Later during the session on August 21, the Immigration bill was again brought up by Senator Hardwick of Georgia and on a vote of 27 "ayes" to 24 "nays," it was agreed to give the Immigration bill the right of way, but on the next day, August 22, it was reconsidered, and by a vote of 32 "nays" to 23 "ayes," the Immigration bill was laid over and it was not found possible to have it brought before the Senate again. An agreement has been made, however, to make it the unfinished business of the next session of this Congress and take it up for consideration on December 7, 1916. It will be our pleasure and duty to urge by every honorable means the passage of the bill into law.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION—VOCATIONAL TRAINING

We were hopeful of being able to report to this convention that the Industrial Education and Vocational Trade Training bill, S. 703, by Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia, had become law.

After a very short debate the bill passed the Senate on July 31 without opposition, in fact at no time since we first caused this bill to be introduced in the Sixty-first Congress has there been any opposition to it in the Senate. The companion bill, H. R. 11250, by Representative Hughes of Georgia was reported favorably on February 10, 1916, and is upon the House calendar. Several efforts were made to bring it up for consideration in the House, but on every occasion it was blocked by Representative Mann of Illinois, first on one pretext then on another, none of which were weighty but all sufficient to prevent definite action.

The bill as passed by the Senate would require an initial appropriation of \$1,700,000 the first year and in nine years after the measure becomes effective, according to the present act, the federal appropriations would equal \$7,200,000 annually, of which \$3,000,000 would go toward the salary for agricultural teachers, \$3,000,000 for trade and industrial teachers, \$1,000,000 for additional teachers for vocational work, and \$200,000 for cost of administration. The states that take advantage of this measure will also be required to appropriate an amount for educational expenses equal to that appropriated by the federal congress.

The Senate act provides for a federal Board for Vocational Education, consisting of the Postmaster General, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce and Secretary of Labor. It is specified that the Commissioner of Education shall be the executive officer of the Board. The Board is instructed to work in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture on studies concerning agriculture and agricultural education. On subjects concerning trades and industries, trade and industrial education, etc., the Board must cooperate with the Department of Labor. On subjects concerning commerce and commercial pursuits and commercial education, the Board must cooperate with the Department of Commerce. It is not mandatory for a member of the Board to work in cooperation with the Bureau of Education on courses of study and instructions in vocational subjects.

The Senate bill also specifies that:

"There shall be selected by the Board, among other assistants, a specialist in vocational education to be general director of all the vocational educational work, at a salary of \$7,500 per year; a specialist in agricultural education, at a salary of \$7,000 per year; a specialist in education in trades and industries, at a salary of \$7,000 per year; a specialist in education in home economics, at a salary of \$5,000 per year; a specialist in commercial education, at a salary of \$7,000 per year, who shall be paid out of the appropriation provided for in this section."

In addition, the Board is instructed to obtain auxiliary assistance from an advisory board as follows:

"The Vocational Educational Board is authorized to select an advisory board to be composed of seven men, one from the mechanic arts, one from agriculture, one from commerce, one from labor in general, and three from the field of general education. The said advisory board may be called together from time to time, but their entire service shall not exceed more than thirty days in one year. They shall receive no compensation, but shall be paid their traveling expenses and shall be allowed \$10 per day for subsistence, the expenses of the advisory board to be paid out of the appropriation provided for in this section."

We had hoped that the provisions of the act relative to the Board would have been changed so that the secretaries of the several Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Commerce and Labor would not have been delegated as the Board. We felt that their duties are already altogether too onerous and too complex to have this additional responsibility thrust upon them. There is, in addition, a double danger in having Departmental Secretaries serve as the federal board for Vocational Education; First, Administrations and administrative officials are subject to quadrennial changes and it has happened in the past that sometimes cabinet members have been changed several times during an administration. This objection in itself should be sufficient for us to object to the federal Vocational Education Board being so constituted. The second objection is a more serious one, namely, that of the possible injection of partisanship into the administration of this new field of educational effort.

It is our opinion that this new board should be composed of representative men but not partisan representatives of the administration in power. Its personnel should represent the great fundamental activities of life, namely, agriculture, labor, commerce, industry and education and the local advisory boards should be equally representative, so that the human activities of the Republic could feel assured that experienced, tested men from their own vocations, such as labor, commerce, agriculture, industry and education should be fairly and efficiently represented.

It is our opinion that when this measure is once launched, it should be directed along proper channels at the start. If we permit politicians to direct its energies, there is a danger that it may become a mere political adjunct of the party in power. If we permit the present academic educational group of the nation to dominate, the whole force and virtue of genuine vocational trade training will be in danger of being lost sight of and the nation's appropriations will probably be misdirected along minor lines of endeavor such as manual training, amateur mechanics and other trifling impractical valueless schemes. Neither can we afford to permit this great measure to be over-weighted by any special trade, commercial or vocational interests. The agriculturists should not predominate, neither should the commercial or even the labor and industrial interests. We should insist that the board be properly balanced to start with and that the interest of each of the great divisions of activity should be fairly and properly conserved and unless we are otherwise instructed by this convention we shall make endeavors to change the proposed law according to the lines herein laid down.

BUREAU OF LABOR SAFETY

The Bureau of Labor Safety bill was introduced in the House by Representative Mann of Illinois as H. R. 153 and in the Senate by Senator Kern of Indiana as S. 244. Both bills were referred to the respective Committees on Labor. The House passed the Mann bill on January 19 without roll-call and by practically unanimous vote. The Senate Committee held it until July 25 when it reported the bill favorably with some amendments. It was afterwards withdrawn from the Senate by Senator Smith of Georgia, chairman of the committee, and again reported on August 8.

That part of the bill creating a Bureau of Labor Safety in the Department of Labor with a commissioner at a salary of \$5,000 per annum at its head was stricken out and there was substituted a Division of Labor Safety in the Department of Labor with the chief and other employees of the Division to be designated from the eligible lists of the Civil Service Commission.

Efforts were made to call the bill up for consideration in the Senate but failed. The substitute bill as written is confined strictly to labor safety plans and devices in the industries of the country not covered by the Bureau of Mines or by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

We never intended, neither did the authors of the original bills intend that the good work being performed by the Bureau of Mines and the safety appliance divisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission should be duplicated or the duties of those offices encroached upon by the officials of the proposed Bureau of Labor Safety. Nevertheless one of the chief reasons of delay in the enactment of this necessary safety measure was the fear that the Department of Labor might exercise some unauthorized jurisdiction over the Bureau of Mines and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Senate committee also struck all reference to vocational diseases from the bill. We shall endeavor to have that restored before final action is taken upon it and if possible to have a clause inserted authorizing the Secretary of Labor, through the chief of this pro-

posed new division to collect, compile and publish annually accident statistics as they occur in those industries of the country not covered by the Bureau of Mines and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Representative Casey of Pennsylvania has introduced a bill, H. R. 9420, for the purpose of transferring the Bureau of Mines from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Labor. No definite action has been taken upon this bill. In our opinion this bill ought to be amended so as to provide for the creation of a department of mines and mining with a secretary at its head. The mining industry is second only to agriculture and deserves this recognition. We recommend that this convention go on record as favoring the passage of this bill in this amended form.

CONVICT LABOR

We were hopeful that we could have reported that the Convict Labor bill which Labor has urged Congress to enact for several years had become law. Senator Hughes of New Jersey and Representative Booher of Missouri introduced S. 901 and H. R. 6871. The House Committee on Labor reported the Booher bill January 25, but owing to a new rule adopted in the House last session, limiting any committee to only two "Calendar Wednesdays" during a session until all the committees of the House had been reached, it was impossible to secure a second call of the committee and it was not possible to obtain action upon the bill under the unanimous consent calendar.

The Senate committee held hearings upon the Hughes bill, at which the usual protests against the measure were made by prison contractors and penitentiary officials. We replied vigorously and to such an extent that we convinced the chairman, Senator Smith of Georgia, and others who had doubts concerning the virtues of the bill, so that a favorable report was made on June 3. Several efforts were made to bring it up in the Senate for consideration and action, but unfortunately the usual procedure prevailed and single objections by a Senator laid the bill over.

We have made a survey of the prison laws of the country and we find that during our agitation of the last several years, we have succeeded in having the contract system abolished in the following fifteen states: California, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wyoming and in Missouri restricted to 50 per cent of the convicts. We commend the activity of our friends and associates against the contract system in the states named and we trust that organized labor in other states will be as vigorously active in their efforts to abolish this mischievous competitive scheme for the employment of convicts.

Our survey also showed that the state use and the public works systems of convict labor are being extended in several states and we hope that these two most desirable systems of employment of convicts may become more general in all the states.

We find, however, that state prison and penitentiary officials are becoming over-zealous in behalf of the public account system, in which there is no intervention of outside parties as prevails under the contract system, but the employment of the convicts in all respects is directed by the state and the production of a convict's labor sold for the benefit of the state. If these products were confined and sold within the state there would be less room for complaint, but unfortunately the aforesaid zealous industrial speculators who pose as prison reformers are more eager to obtain a market outside of the state than in the state. The states having the public account system in whole or in part are California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin.

We, therefore, commend and urge immediate action by the officers and delegates of state federations and city central bodies to exert themselves against the public account system, as well as the contract system of employment of convicts. There is no question but that the agitation which we have conducted during the last several years for the institution of valuable prison reforms has brought splendid results. The most lasting and most effective way, however, would be to take the profit system out of a convict's labor, and stop prison officials as well as prison contractors from obtaining the profits from a convict's labor either for state or private use and to apply such profits to the dependent members of a convict's family, or in cases where there are no dependent families, for the benefit of the convict himself when released.

Labor should still continue its efforts in behalf of the Booher-Hughes bill. We hope to receive the same hearty cooperation of our friends and associates during the next session of Congress as we have in the past.

CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES—POLITICAL LIBERTY OF—APPEAL COURT FOR

Resolutions Nos. 9, 103, and 122 recounted the grievances and voiced the protests of federal employes under the civil service rules by which they are denied the common rights accorded enlisted men or criminals at the bar or inmates of penal institutions by denial of the right of appeal to an impartial court of review. These resolutions were in harmony with our report to the San Francisco Convention under the caption "Political Liberty of Civil Service Employes."

When we called the attention of Representative Keating to the protests and vigorously expressed grievances of the federal employes, he prepared bill H. R. 9921 which was referred to the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service and after considerable effort he secured a hearing before that inactive committee. Representatives of civil service employes cooperated with us in behalf of the Keating bill. Representatives Van Dyke of Minnesota, Nolan of California, Tavenner of Illinois, Farr of Pennsylvania and others participated and cooperated in efforts to get favorable action by the Committee on the Keating Right of Appeal bill.

Representative Keating, aided by the Labor Group and other sympathetic Representatives urged the adoption of the bill as an amendment to the Legislative Appropriation bill, but the amendment was ruled out by the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole as being out of order as not germane to the measure.

We shall, however, continue our efforts in behalf of a greater measure of industrial justice for the federal civil service employes. The task will be considerably easier now than formerly for the fact that the federal employes themselves have shown a willingness to act for themselves. Several thousand of them have organized into federal labor unions since our last convention, and their representatives sit in this convention. We gladly welcome them to our ranks.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolutions Nos. 12, 34 and 132 adopted by the San Francisco Convention reaffirmed the expression of previous conventions in favor of old-age pensions for federal employes and directed us to render all the aid possible in behalf of such a measure.

During the last session of Congress the old-age pension subject seemed to be a most popular one in the minds of Representatives and Senators. Over forty such bills were introduced. Some were limited to employes in the life-saving service, others restricted to post-office employes, many included all federal employes and one bill, H. R. 11481 introduced by Representative Sherwood of Ohio was drawn to include all wage-earners throughout the United States, regardless of whether they were public or private employes. These bills were referred to the Committees on Pensions, on Post-office and Post Roads, and on Reform in the Civil Service. Hearings were held on the Tavenner bills, H. R. 14302 and 16512 before the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service. These bills are favored by the Joint Retirement Committee of the Naval Gun Factory and other departmental employes of Washington, D. C., and we may state that so far as our knowledge goes there has been no general opposition by any of the federal employes to the Tavenner bills.

The main provisions of the Tavenner bills include, (1) all employes in the federal classified Civil Service; (2) length of service to be computed in the aggregate to include employment in any or all branches or departments of the government; (3) pensions to be determined by length of service according to the following regulations:

- (a) Thirty-five per cent of the average annual salary or compensation for the last ten years' service for employes of thirty or more years' service.
- (b) Thirty per cent of the average salary for 25 and less than 30 years' service.
- (c) Twenty-five per cent of the average salary for 20 and less than 25 years' service.
- (d) Twenty per cent of the average salary for 15 and less than 20 years' service.
- (4) Superannuation retirement shall be optional to any employe sixty-five years of age or on request to be retired at sixty years or over, if the head of the department approves,

or compulsory retirement for superannuation may be ordered by the head of department at any age over sixty.

This bill also provides for widows and children's pensions so that the pension rights of any employe shall be continued upon his decease for the relief of his widow and children entitling the widow to one half of the pension during widowhood and entitling each child under sixteen to one-fifth the pension, providing the total amount shall not exceed the full amount to which the employe would have been entitled had he been retired at the time of death. The maximum annuity provided in this bill is limited to \$600 per year.

The Sherwood bill, H. R. 11481, includes "all American citizens who are and have been employed in the government of the United States or who are and have been employed by individuals, firms or corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and all other American citizens irrespective of by whom employed, shall be entitled to a pension of two dollars per week or not more than \$104 per year." The age limit is sixty-five years and the qualifications, incapacity for manual labor; the present Bureau of Pensions to administer the act.

Representative Tague of Massachusetts was also very active in his advocacy of old-age pension legislation especially in behalf of the postal employes. His bill, H. R. 10130, and that of H. R. 17422 by Representative Rouse of Kentucky were probably the most highly favored by the post office organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Because of the indifference of the House Committee on Reform in Civil Service to the many bills referred to it, a motion was made on May 26, 1916, in the House to discharge that committee and refer the Tague bill together with the bill H. R. 6915, by Representative Griffin of New York to the more active and progressive Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. This motion carried by a vote of 177 "ayes" to 112 "nays" which expressed the general sentiment of the House in favor of action rather than continuous postponement and delay of this much discussed subject.

This is in brief the substance of the progress which we can report. We shall continue to render such assistance as is practical and possible in furtherance of this purpose.

WAGE LEGISLATION FOR PRINTING TRADES AND OTHER FEDERAL EMPLOYES

Resolution No. 155 adopted by the San Francisco Convention declared in favor of a raise in the wages of printers and bookbinders employed in the Government Printing Office at Washington, D. C.

We endeavored to have this and other wage increases included in the Printing bill, H. R. 8664 and S. 1107, and it is our belief that if it had been possible to have completed the consideration of that bill in the House that the wage increases would have been included, but dilatory tactics were followed by those opposing the bill and as a consequence it was laid over as unfinished business. On no occasion was it possible to bring the bill up in the Senate.

Through the kind offices of Senator Reed of Missouri, a bill was introduced as S. 6626 on July 21, 1916. It was purely a wage bill and called for an increase in the minimum rate of wages of compositors and bookbinders in the Government Printing Office from 50 to 55 cents per hour. On August 5, Senator Reed called his bill up under the unanimous consent rule of the Senate and it passed without comment or opposition.

On August 29, Representative Tavenner of Illinois, a member of the House Committee on Printing under the unanimous consent rule called up the Reed bill, but unfortunately Representative Cox of Indiana, in conformity to his attitude of rigid economy on small matters, especially where the interests of the wage workers are concerned, objected and prevented its consideration and passage. This action of Representative Cox was severely criticised by other Representatives. Mr. Cox also made himself conspicuous by his opposition to the Nolan Minimum Wage bill, H. R. 11876, which provided for a minimum wage of \$3 per day for all federal employes. When Representative Nolan called his bill up on August 7, 1916, Representative Cox, in conjunction with Representative Mann of Illinois, displayed their opposition to the bill by calling for a quorum of the House and virtually obtained an adjournment before a quorum could be secured. Representative Cox poses as the "Watch Dog of the Treasury" and he has shown a similar attitude of opposition on practically all legislation which would benefit the conditions of wages, hours and pensions for federal employes.

We shall continue our efforts, however, during the next session of Congress to increase the minimum rates of compositors and bookbinders in the Government Printing Office and in behalf of the Nolan bill establishing a minimum rate for other federal employees.

SAFETY APPLIANCE REGULATIONS

A number of Safety Appliance bills were introduced and referred to the respective Committees on Interstate Commerce. Some related to standard block systems on railroads, others to standard headlights, automatic stops, steel cars for passenger traffic, etc., but none received definite action.

The Railroad Clearance bill H. R. 16681 by Representative Decker of Missouri was reported favorably to the House on July 15, 1916, but all efforts to call it up failed. A similar bill, S. 6550, was favorably considered by the Senate Committee during August and was ordered reported.

In cooperation with the Railroad Brotherhoods we worked diligently in behalf of this great safety measure. We shall continue our endeavors during the next session, when we hope for its successful passage.

We are glad to report that agreements have been made between the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the railroad managers for the standardization of headlights on locomotives without waiting for specific legislation, the headlights being now construed, as they properly should be, as an appurtenance to a locomotive and as such must be "safe and suitable" under the provisions of the Locomotive Inspection Act of 1911.

CITIZENSHIP FOR PORTO RICO

Representative Jones of Virginia, Chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, introduced the Porto Rican Citizenship bill on January 20, 1916. It was reported to the House on January 25, and after lengthy discussion was passed with some amendments on May 23. The measure as passed places limitations upon the right to vote, but when everything is taken into consideration, the bill as it proposes to cover the organic law of the Island of Porto Rico is generally considered to be a progressive measure.

After the bill had been reported by the House Committee and before it was taken up and passed by the House, we requested a hearing before the committee. It was not convenient, however, to the members of the committee to hold another session as they were engrossed in other public matters, and pleaded that they had given as much time as possible to the consideration of Porto Rican affairs. Therefore, we sought a hearing before the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, which was granted us by Senator Shafroth of Colorado, chairman of that committee. President Gompers presented to the committee the harsh industrial conditions obtaining in Porto Rico as they concerned the interests of the wage-earners. He gave the committee information based upon his personal knowledge and contact with the workers of Porto Rico—of the poverty of their homes and the rights for which they have struggled and which have been denied under American rule. He earnestly urged that a Congressional commission should be appointed and authorized to visit the Island for the purpose of making a personal investigation and securing the necessary data to present to Congress before the enactment of the pending new organic law for the Island.

The Senate Committee reported the bill on July 3. Several efforts were made to bring it before the Senate but pressure of other important domestic matters which occupied the attention of the Senate prevented further consideration. It is one of the bills, however, upon which there has been a tentative agreement in the Senate to take action during the next session of Congress.

Attention is called to the report of the representative of the organized labor movement of Porto Rico which is made an appendix to this report.

PROPOSED NEW LEGISLATION HELD IN ABEYANCE

Owing to the tremendous amount of legislative matter referred to us by the San Francisco Convention we were unable to press for attention several subjects, among them being Resolution No. 15, requiring railways to construct adequate buildings over

repair tracks for the protection of the men in the repair of cars, trucks, and other railway equipment; Resolutions Nos. 35 and 50 proposing legislation to prohibit the employment of alien and oriental labor on government work; Resolution No. 71, demanding legislation to insure the interstate transportation of all articles of food in clean receptacles for the better safe-guarding of public health; Resolution No. 72, declarative of public ownership of public utilities for the transmission of intelligence, better known as the Lewis bill 355, providing for the government ownership of telegraph and telephone; Resolution No. 109, demanding the repeal of the sixty-five foot motor boat law; Resolution No. 134, demanding that the Asiatic Exclusion laws be strengthened.

LABOR'S RIGHT TO REPRESENTATION

Labor has a right to representation on all agencies that control or determine public policies or matters of general concern. This assertion of rights has come with the startling challenge of a new demand. Democratic organization of society is a commonplace term that has not the force of full reality in the affairs of life and work.

Under the constant pressure and the irresistible surge of demands for human rights and human justice, demands for equal opportunity carried the additional weight of an accepted principle, and aristocratic forms and concepts have given way to the ideals of democracy, in theory at least. But the principles of democracy have become reality only through the assertion of rights and insistence upon demands.

Under a republican form of government the working men presumably have equal voice in the government with any other group of citizens. Politicians have tried to flatter them by making them believe that they have real representation in the government through sympathetic, humanitarian representatives. The "dignity of labor" has been largely a politician's catch-phrase used for the purpose of vote-getting. The workers know they can be truly represented best by those who have lived their lives, worked at their work, borne their burdens, experienced their wrongs and the deep-rooted sense of injustice that comes from denial of what gives life, hope and opportunity.

However much the workers may have been misled and wronged in the past they have out of it all evolved a better understanding of what constitutes real participation in government and of the character of representative government.

Out in the world of labor and life the workers have put a real meaning into the phrase, "The Dignity of Labor." That reality has been created out of the power of the bones and sinews and the brains of those who work for wages and has been given concrete form in our material civilization. They have given not only their working power but have broken their bones, mangled their flesh, spilled their blood, and have expended the best in life and spirit on the work of the world. It has given the dignity of labor a deeper and more permanent expression in the ideals of humanity, justice and freedom that the workers have been made a part of the guiding and directing forces of our nation. Every day's work has been a demonstration that the workers can and do accomplish things. They supply the creative power that is a necessary part of the processes of material production. The work of their hands and brain is everywhere—buildings of industry and railroads that unite the distant parts of our country, the material agencies of transportation and communication, articles of daily food, use and wear, and in all of that which pertains to the material agencies of life and work. They have contributed something more than mechanical producing power. It is the mind and the insight controlling the muscles of the workers that give them value as producers and as members of society.

Without the miners the wheels of industry and commerce would cease. Workers go down into the depths of the earth, never free from peril to their lives, to fasten securely the foundation of our great steel structures. The structural iron workers climb to dizzy heights and careless of the slight barrier between them and the depths below, join together marvelous skeleton structures. They build the marvels of our great cities and our highways, yet when it comes to formulating the policies, the plans that affect intimately their lives, safety and welfare, they are rarely given a voice in these determinations.

In so far as economic affairs are concerned, wage-earners have established an agency by which they have a voice in the administration of industry and commerce; that agency is the organized labor movement by which the needs and the ideals of wage-earners are presented and considered. As the labor movement is extended, the spirit of industry and commerce will become increasingly democratic. Wherever it has made its influence felt, the

labor movement has sought for human rights and human welfare. It has always called attention to the human side of every problem. But many economic problems and propositions merge into political ones. Although the political phase may be expressed in political terms and discussed from political viewpoints, yet there still remains the human side. No plan or policy can be put into effect except through human agencies. It has been all too common in the political affairs of our country that human agencies have been ignored in industry and commerce and in political administration. This has been due to the fact that those who were interested primarily in the human side of all issues have not been accorded equal representation in the government with all other elements that constitute the nation.

Manufacturers, financiers, the captains of industry and commerce have been accorded ample representation consequently profits and business expediency have been given first consideration. But the wage-earners are fully aware of the necessity of being represented in all organizations or commissions authorized to determine questions affecting their welfare, and they are now demanding a full right of representation in all of the activity of the nation's life. They demand representatives of their own choosing from among wage-earners who know of the life and the problems of wage-earners.

Many situations and problems have developed in both the economic and political organization of society that have resulted in the frequent use of commissions to aid and facilitate governmental agencies provided under our constitution. These commissions, either temporary or permanent, have been authorized to deal with both national and international matters, such as the Pan-American Commission; the Commission on Industrial Relations; the Tariff Commission; Interstate Commerce Commission; Advisory Board of Military Defense, etc. All of these commissions have to deal with great issues that have a human side. The human as well as the material ought to be represented in the commission.

Plans and policies for defense and preparedness for our Republic must be safeguarded to prevent militarism from becoming the dominating characteristic. This evil can be prevented only through establishing and maintaining democracy of organization, administration and control. The workers—the masses of the people—are the most insistent advocates of democracy. Their participation in the formulation of plans for defense and defenses is an assurance that democratic ideals will prevail—that the interests of the people will be of primary consideration. The wage-earners must have representation in the council's deliberations and in the initiation of plans and policies in addition to having a voice in deciding upon the adoption of plans and policies. No national plan or policy can be really effective if it does not have the advice, consent and the cooperation of the wage-earners who constitute the masses of our citizenship.

There are many other problems that must be acted upon in the near future, such as workmen's compensation, industrial education, and vocational training, rural credits, organization of markets, the laying on and distribution of taxes—in the determination of these and all similar problems Labor demands and has the right to real representation and participation. The workers have a right to that representation and participation because they are human beings with lives, hearts and imaginations affected by the determinations of these questions.

The basis for representation and participation in the affairs of organized society is man not property. The purpose of social organization is the furtherance of human rights, interests, justice and liberty—it seeks to achieve a beautiful ideal—fullness of life and opportunity for all. The workers, the masses of the people therefore have a right to participate and will insist upon this participation in the determination and control of all that concerns their lives and the lives of the generations yet to come.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UNEMPLOYMENT AND VAGRANCY LAWS

When this committee was appointed at the San Francisco Convention there was no provision made for any expense which would necessarily be incurred in conducting an investigation of unemployment and vagrancy laws.

In discussing this matter at our meeting after the adjournment of the convention, that point naturally suggested itself. To make a comprehensive investigation and report would involve thousands and thousands of dollars. To undertake to make such an investigation without its being thorough would not only be ineffective, but would call forth criticisms and attacks. Then, again, in the recent past several such investigations and

surveys have been made; one of them by the United States Industrial Relations Commission, involving a large expenditure of money, and the means for conducting that work was provided by the United States Government.

Taking all these matters into consideration, we requested the members of the committee that when the time seemed opportune they should through correspondence or when visiting various cities throughout the country in connection with the affairs of their own organizations or when in their own home towns, make such investigation of the subject as circumstances might permit.

They did so and their replies will be at the disposal of the committee to which this subject will be referred.

ERICKSON JUNIOR CLUBS

A number of organized workers have been very anxious that some plan should be worked out whereby boys and girls could be trained in the fundamental principles of trade unionism and prepared to understand the movement as they will find it in the industrial world and thus be better fitted to protect themselves and to understand their own interests.

Such a plan has been worked out in Wyoming. The originator of the plan is Mr. Emanuel G. Erickson, Secretary of the Trades and Labor Council, Casper, Wyoming, and an active member of the Painters and Decorators' local of that city.

Mr. Erickson is very much interested in boys and girls and enters into their interests and lives as a genuine friend. He worked out his plan with a thorough understanding of the minds of boys and girls, their interests and the activities which appealed to them most strongly. He understood that the period of physical development and formation of character was the time to inculcate the principles of unionism, which are the principles of humanity and freedom.

Among the children of his own locality he organized first an Erickson boys' club and later a girls' club. These clubs were founded upon broad general principles and were not restricted by detailed regulations. The idea was rather to let each individual club develop in accord with the conditions that it had to meet and regulate its course in accord with environment and the individuals who compose the club.

This plan was officially considered by the Wyoming State Federation of Labor at its last convention held in Casper during the month of July. The plan was endorsed by the convention and made part of the activities of the State Federation of Labor. An Educational Committee was created to take charge of this work and also another movement which had special merit.

The United Mine Workers of America, District No. 22, had started an educational fund created by voluntary contributions. Loans from this fund were to be made to worthy young men and women, sons and daughters of wage-earners who had not sufficient money to maintain themselves while securing a thorough education. This educational loan fund was also taken over by the Wyoming State Federation of Labor. Applicants for loans must have proved themselves fitted and competent for higher education by their records in the common schools and their records in the clubs. The loan fund was raised by voluntary contributions, each jurisdiction supporting its own fund and using it for its own people. The aims and purposes of the clubs have been explained somewhat in detail by the educational committee.

The membership of no club is to exceed more than 20 members, who must be not less than ten and no more than sixteen years of age. The leader of the club is to be a good union man for the boys and a union woman for the Fireside girls, with an assistant of equal qualifications. These leaders shall have the endorsement of their respective local unions as being fitted to teach good morals, unionism and able and willing to be friends with girls and boys. It was deemed unwise to handle the clubs with hard and fast rules and laws. The purpose was rather to allow the body of law to grow and expand with the organization, in conformity with the ideals of unionism. This plan is conducive to a democratic atmosphere and would permit the boy and girl members of clubs to formulate their own rules and laws. The members of the clubs are to be taught useful, practical things at all times, some live topic of the day is to be brought up at the meetings of the club for discussion, thereby enabling members to become familiar with parliamentary law as well as to understand current history. However, it is the purpose that only a short period of the club

meetings shall be devoted to study and the rest to athletic sports, camping parties, etc. The idea in confining the clubs to a small membership is to permit of the existence of several in a single locality so that rivalry between clubs may be possible, particularly in athletic sports. The games recommended for boys are wall scaling, rope splicing and knots, first aid training, athletic sports, baseball, quoits, tennis or any other activity suggested by the locality or existing advantages. Of course, cross country tramps and camping afford splendid opportunities for the instructor to instill a love of nature, scientific information such as a knowledge of trees and flowers, wood craft and a regard for wild animals.

The charter application pledges the members of the local clubs to support and advance the cause of organized labor. The clubs have not been given names that would identify them as labor organizations exclusively. This was deemed wise because the emphasis on the educational features of the club would attract the children of all classes and would furnish an opportunity for spreading the principles of unionism in conjunction with other interests.

Some of the clubs have passwords, grips, signs, countersigns, initiation, and so on. These institutions appeal to the imagination of the growing girl and boy.

It has been suggested that a club button shall be provided so that club members shall have means of identifying members from other clubs. However, this matter has been left for natural development.

Some of the clubs have worked out a secret code of communication by which members are identified.

The fee for charter has been established at \$5 in Wyoming. The form for charter for boys' clubs is as follows:

"We, the undersigned, residents of the town of ———, County of ———, state of Wyoming, hereby make application to you for a charter as an Erickson Plan Boys' Club. We and each of us whose names are subscribed hereto pledge our honor as men to abide by and conform to all the laws, rules and regulations of the Erickson Plan Committee and the State Federation of Labor that may now be or are hereafter enacted for the government of such clubs. We, each of us, solemnly promise faithfully and conscientiously at all times and under all circumstances to support the cause of organized labor and to endeavor to spread a knowledge of its objects and purposes among those who are not members of our organization.

Name	Age	Nationality	P. O.
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

and that for girls' clubs:

We, the undersigned, residents of the town of ———, County of ———, state of Wyoming, hereby make application to you for a charter as an Erickson Fireside Girls' Club. We and each whose names are subscribed hereto pledge our honor as women to abide by and conform to all laws, rules and regulations of the Erickson Plan Club committee and the Wyoming State Federation of Labor in relation to Erickson Fireside Girls' Clubs. We, each of us, promise to do all in our power to support the cause of organized labor by demanding union-made label goods, and we will endeavor to spread a knowledge of the educational objects and purposes of organized labor, and show to those who are not members that it is for the betterment of human kind.

Name	Age	Nationality	Address
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Representatives of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor have communicated with the President of the American Federation of Labor suggesting that the Federation take over this movement. The Wyoming organization has found that it is extremely difficult to take care of all the correspondence in connection with the movement, and suggests

that it is an idea that will appeal to the organized labor movements of the various states and ought to be brought to their consideration.

We recommend that the plan be approved and that it be submitted to the various state federations of labor for their consideration and favorable action.

We recommend that the Erickson plan for boys and girls' clubs be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration and action, with authority to undertake the hegemony and administration of the entire plan and to make such provisions as may be necessary for its general dissemination and introduction. Of course we have in mind that the rights and views of the founders of the plan, as well as the State Federation of Wyoming shall be consulted, and that the E. C. of the A. F. of L. shall act as the best interests of all may warrant. We also recommend that if charters are issued to the clubs that the charter fee shall be considerably less than the sum now stipulated, and that the document shall be of a different character than charters issued to affiliated unions.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR PUBLICATIONS

Up to the present time the methods and the agencies for securing publicity for Labor's side of Labor's story have been fairly effective. As time and opportunity come a still more effective campaign of publicity for our movement may be effected. By means of our official magazine the *American Federationist*, the facts and incidents affecting the rights and interests of Labor have been presented through its columns, and the viewpoints and arguments for the position of our movement upon matters affecting the toilers, the masses of the people, have been effectively presented by its editor, President Gompers.

During the past year there has been no change in our methods and agencies for securing publicity.

The *American Federationist* constitutes a valuable source of historical information showing the development of the labor movement. One portion of the magazine, the value of which is not as generally appreciated as it ought to be by the labor press, is the monthly reports of organizers. These reports constitute the real direct news that is published of progress on the firing line of the labor movement.

During the past year, in accord with the instructions of the San Francisco Convention, the histories of the departments affiliated to the American Federation of Labor have been published from time to time and will be completed within the next few issues.

The A. F. of L. News Letter has continued to perform its valuable service to the labor press of the country by digesting and preparing for their use news of the labor movement in all sections.

LABOR PRESS

The newspapers of the country are conducted as adjuncts to enterprises or organizations. As society is now organized the agencies which are opposed to the cause of Labor represent the wealth-possessors—vested interests of the country. The only sources of publicity upon which wage-earners really can rely to give fellow citizens truths of Labor's position and contentions are the struggling labor papers of the land.

These labor papers have been true to their trust. Against adverse and disadvantageous conditions, they perform a heroic and invaluable service. We heartily commend their efforts and their achievements and urge that all wage-earners and friends of Labor give them moral and financial support.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LIBRARY

The completion of the American Federation of Labor building makes it possible to plan for a library on an adequate scale in keeping with the importance of the organized labor movement.

A library room has been provided on the fifth floor of the building. It is planned that the library shall contain all official documents and records issued by all labor organizations; copies of all labor papers and all official journals published by all organizations; the reports and publications of all departments of labor of our federal and state governments, as well as reports issued by foreign countries. It is our purpose to have files of the official publi-

cations of the labor movements of other countries. In order to establish a library upon a proper basis, a trained librarian is to be in charge.

In addition to literature presenting the history, the progress and the ideals of the labor movement, we hope to have in connection with the library, a Labor Museum which shall be the repository for all documents and objects of historical importance to the cause of Labor. Old charters, circulars, scrap books, banners and emblems, have an interest and a value to students and historians. There is no more fitting place for their assemblage than the Labor Temple of the American labor movement.

In former reports we have suggested that labor poetry, labor songs, literature and artistic productions such as pictures, statuary, bas reliefs, prints, etc., interpreting some phase of labor, are of interest in considering the many sides of the labor movement. Now that we have come into possession of our new building, we have opportunity to gather together such a collection as would be representative. We urge upon all affiliated organizations, the workers, and all interested friends to assist in carrying out this purpose.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR EXHIBIT

Those of you who attended the San Francisco Convention experienced the satisfaction and pleasure of examining the exhibit made by the American Federation of Labor at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

A certificate of merit and excellence and a bronze medal were awarded this exhibit by the Exposition management. Both of these are at our headquarters.

That exhibit has been installed in the A. F. of L. Building, where any visitor may have the opportunity of examining it.

The convention directed that it should be retained permanently at headquarters.

GARY INVESTIGATION

The wage-earners of this country have been a powerful influence in calling attention to the necessity of making the public schools serve the needs of all the children of all walks of life and in securing changes in the old system of education to conform to the newer ideals that education must deal with life itself and fit each child to assume the duties and responsibilities of life whether industrial, political, moral or social.

Education which formerly prevailed generally in the public schools was of the old academic type which dealt with the abstract and ignored the necessity of educating the senses and muscles.

When social organization was less highly specialized home training and home activities gave children muscular development and taught them much that now must be acquired through industrial education.

The organized labor movement has done much to promote industrial education and vocational training and to secure instruction in these subjects as part of the general school curriculum.

It is evident now that there is need, particularly in the lower grades of public schools, for radical changes in our educational ideals and standards. The conception is growing that the public schools ought to constitute a community for child life in which the whole child could be trained and developed in natural methods without the repressing conventionalities of the present day school.

There is an important effort to work out this ideal in school organization—the schools of Gary, Indiana, under the superintendency of William E. Wirt. Mr. Wirt has declared that his purpose has been not to superimpose industrial education upon the present school course but to incorporate industrial education as a component element of instruction and make all one organic whole, without invidious distinctions between the cultural and the industrial, but utilizing all knowledge for cultural, educational purposes.

In view of the prominence which has been given the so-called Gary System and the fact that many schools which are seeking new methods and better ideals are considering the adoption of that system and because the wage-earners would be vitally affected by the general establishment of that or any other system, after due consideration in our July meeting we directed that an investigation should be made of the Gary schools for the purpose of finding out whether or not the fundamental principles underlying that system were in accord with or inimical to Labor's concepts of the best interests of the masses of the people.

Organized labor can not take a neutral position toward any system of education. Neither can we afford to endorse a system without first having investigated. While we can utilize reports of many committees and the judgments of many persons in a position to form authoritative opinions, we must have some authentic report from wage-earners to have personal knowledge.

We submit for your endorsement the proposed investigation and recommend that we be authorized to take whatever course is necessary to secure for the masses the best education that has been devised.

CENSORSHIP OF MOVING PICTURES

In the recent past efforts have been made to secure both state and federal legislation providing for government censorship of moving pictures. These proposals have had the support of a number of well-meaning persons who really desire to protect the children of the country and to promote a sense of high morality. However, there is involved in the proposal something more than is generally appreciated. The number, the variety and the uses of motion pictures have been so greatly increased that they now constitute an important means of expression.

Motion pictures are something more than an instrumentality for recreation. They are an agency for education, for dissemination of current information, comparable in many respects to the daily press and the public forum. They have a determining influence in directing and educating public thought and opinion. Motion pictures supplement the spoken and written word by a powerful appeal to the mind through the eye. The event or the thought to be conveyed is visualized.

Since motion pictures are a means of expression and have become established as an agency supplementing our older methods, they must be protected by the same guarantees of freedom that have been bestowed upon oral utterance and upon the press. It is fundamental for the protection of free institutions that freedom of speech and discussion should be assured. Only when there exists most complete freedom to express thought or to criticize is there established a guarantee that political and other representative agents shall not violate the rights of others and shall not arrogate to themselves power and authority that they do not rightfully possess.

Freedom of speech is inseparable from free institutions and the genius of a free people. This freedom must be protected against abuse by holding the individual responsible for his utterances. Legal restriction in advance of presentation limits research, investigation and inquiry for broader and deeper truths.

It has ever been the theory of the few that people can be "made to be good by law." This same theory underlies the efforts of those who propose government censorship. By establishing either state or federal boards to review motion pictures, it is proposed to present to the public only such things as they may be permitted legally to see. This is putting very dangerous authority in the hands of a few for it enables the board of review to restrict and determine the very fountainheads of information.

There has been worked out a voluntary system by which objectionable and vicious information can be eliminated from motion pictures. Since this is based upon no legislative enactment and exercises no governmental prerogative their decisions amount only to an expression of opinion, which carries weight in accord with the honesty, the discretion and the wisdom of the members of the board.

This matter is brought to the attention of the delegates to this convention with the recommendation that the convention take official action in opposition to government censorship of expression of opinion in any form, and that we endorse again the declaration that freedom of expression of opinion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press are the palladium of free institutions.

INTERNATIONAL BRICK, TILE AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS—SECEDING LOCAL UNIONS

Several conferences were held in Chicago between the representatives of the Brick-makers and the seceding organizations of Clay Workers, in which President Gompers participated as the representative of the Executive Council. The report of the final conference and the agreement reached are as follows:

In compliance with the directions of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a conference was held in the city of Chicago, in

which the following participated: Mr. Frank Butterworth, President, and Mr. William Van Bodegraven, Secretary of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance; Mr. William Tracy and Mr. Frank Kasten of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America; Mr. John Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; Mr. John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., for the purpose of bringing about an amalgamation of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America with the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance.

The general subject was fully discussed and recess taken for several days, and the representatives of the organizations primarily involved were requested to meet and endeavor to bring about an understanding to establish harmonious and cooperative relations.

On Monday morning, June 5, 1916, the conference reconvened with all persons represented above mentioned, at which the following understanding was reached as a tentative proposition for future amalgamation:

That all hostilities between the two organizations cease; that they endeavor to cooperate for the purpose of protecting and promoting the rights and interests of the men in the industry.

That the officers of the respective organizations notify each other of any movement for the purpose of organizing men and improving their working conditions and that they cooperate in the attainment of both purposes.

The representatives of both organizations agree to hold a conference prior to the Baltimore Convention of the A. F. of L. for the purpose of drafting a definite plan of amalgamation and for the further purpose of carrying same into effect.

The officers of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance agree to withdraw its protest against the representation of the locals of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America in the Illinois State Federation of Labor and in the City Central Bodies of Illinois.

For the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:

FRANK BUTTERWORTH
WM. VAN BODEGRAVEN.

For the United Brick and Clay Workers of America:

FRANK KASTEN
WM. TRACY.

For the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

J. H. WALKER.

For the Chicago Federation of Labor:

JOHN FITZPATRICK.

For the A. F. of L.:

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

June 5, 1916.

From information officially communicated to us, we have reason to believe that the entire controversy between the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance and the United Brick and Clay Workers of America has been adjusted, and that there is now one united body in the brick, tile and terra cotta industry.

TEAMSTERS—RETAIL CLERKS

In the jurisdictional controversy involving these two organizations, which was dealt with by Resolution No. 76 of our last convention, Vice-President Frank Duffy acted as arbitrator and representative of the American Federation of Labor. Both sides agreed to abide by his decision when approved by the Executive Council.

This is the decision which has been accepted by both organizations and ratified by us:

First: So that harmony and a better spirit of cooperation may be established between the two organizations herein named, the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association agrees to concede to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America all persons working more than fifty per cent of their time outside the store.

Second: The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America concedes to the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association all persons working more than fifty per cent of their time in the store.

Third: That where the question of the right of a person to hold membership in either organization arises, or where grievances or disputes occur between the two International Unions, an Arbitration Committee shall be appointed to decide same. This committee shall consist of three members, one to represent the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, one to represent the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association, and these two to select a third, who must be a member of the central body. The decision of the Arbitration Committee to be final. In case the representatives of each international organization can not agree upon the third party within fifteen (15) days, the president of the central body shall name the third party who shall act as arbiter in the case.

Fourth: Members of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association who come under the provisions of Paragraph 1 of this agreement shall be turned over to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America within thirty days from date of approval of this decision by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

Fifth: Members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America who come under the provisions of Paragraph II of this agreement shall be turned over to the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association within thirty days from date of approval of this decision by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

SLATE WORKERS—SLATE AND TILE ROOFERS

We are pleased to report that at a conference held between the representatives of the Slate and Tile Roofers, and the Brotherhood of Slate Workers, in conformity with the directions of the San Francisco Convention, the following agreement was reached:

A conference of the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers and the Slate and Tile Roofers' International Union was held in Washington, D. C., on January 25, 1916, in regard to Resolution No. 90 of the Philadelphia Convention, at which the following agreement was reached:

It is hereby agreed that the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers does not claim jurisdiction to the erection or application of roofing slate to roofs or sides of buildings.

Signed for the Slate and Tile Roofers' International Union:

J. M. GAVLAK, G. S. and T.

For the American Brotherhood of Slate Workers:

PHILLIP JAGO, Jr.
JAMES STRAUB.

For the American Federation of Labor:

FRANK MORRISON.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT—STREET RAILWAY MEN

Upon the complaint of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor against the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees (Resolution No. 55), we report that the Street Railway Employees consented to drop from their agreements machinists, blacksmiths, and other metal tradesmen. And thus another case of jurisdictional friction has been adjusted.

TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—COMPRESSED AIR WORKERS

The committee appointed under the instructions of the San Francisco Convention in this case was as follows:

The Tunnel and Subway Constructors selected Thos. E. O'Brien, Secretary of that organization.

The Compressed Air Workers chose Henry F. Hilfers, Secretary of the Essex Trades Council of New Jersey.

John Ferguson, President of the Maryland State Federation of Labor, was appointed for the American Federation of Labor.

The committee met in New York, February 9, and thereafter submitted the following report and recommendations:

NEW YORK, N. Y.,

February 9, 1916.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
801 G St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: As per your instructions conveyed to me on January 31, 1916, I beg to submit the following:

On page 401, Tenth Day's Proceedings of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, your Committee on Adjustment reported in part as follows:

"Your committee recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts to bring about an amalgamation between the Tunnel and Subway Constructors and the Compressed Air Workers, and that a Committee of three be appointed, one selected by each organization at interest and the third to be selected by the President of the A. F. of L., to make a personal investigation as to whether the work now being carried on by each organization is of such a character as to warrant an amalgamation of the two organizations, and to report their findings to the E. C. of the A. F. of L.; this investigation to take place within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention."

The report of the committee was adopted.

In accordance therewith you notified me of my selection by you, and that the gentlemen selected by the organizations interested were Mr. Thomas E. O'Brien, assistant secretary-treasurer of the International Union of Tunnel and Subway Constructors of North America, representing the organization of which he is an official, and Mr. Henry F. Hilfers, secretary of the New Jersey Federation of Labor and the Essex Trades Council, representing the Compressed Air Workers' International Union.

This committee assembled in New York City on the morning of February 4, organized, and proceeded with the work to which it had been assigned.

Delegations representing both organizations came before the committee and made exhaustive statements. The Tunnel and Subway Constructors were represented by President Thos. J. Curtis, Michael Carraher, Charles Dempsey and Peter Matthews, Messrs. Edw. Gurney and Theo. Wilkins representing the Compressed Air Workers. Hearings extended over four days. One other day was given to visiting tunnels under construction. Two of the committee, Messrs. Hilfers and Ferguson, went into compressed air and studied the work from air lock to "heading." We questioned contractors, superintendents, physicians, foremen, lock tenders, heading men, iron men, caulkers and muckers. We endeavored to get a complete insight into the work. We found all workmen, including the foremen, applicants for membership or members in good standing of the Compressed Air Workers' Union. We observed a commendable spirit of loyalty to their organization. Colored men and white men worked side by side, contradicting statements heretofore given wide credence that the colored man was barred from the Compressed Air Workers' Union.

We noted in detail the wonderful equipment for work in compressed air. Every employer is required to provide and install gauges in the tunnel for showing the air pressure to which the persons so employed therein are subjected. Such gauges are accessible at all times during working hours to all employees in the tunnels; and a competent man is employed, designated as the lock tender, who is required to take charge of such gauges and other needed instruments. This employee is not permitted to work more than eight in any twenty-four hours. Two air pipes or lines are connected with each tunnel, and a suitable iron ladder for the entire length of every shaft is provided. Every passageway used in connection with such work is kept clear and properly lighted.

For the use of all persons employed in compressed air, dressing rooms are provided. These are kept open and accessible during working hours and during

intervals between working periods, and also a separate room for drying clothes. The dressing rooms contain benches and individual lockers, shower baths with hot and cold water, and sanitary toilets, and are kept properly heated, lighted and ventilated.

When the maximum air pressure in which men are required to work, exceeds 17 pounds, a double compartment hospital lock is provided and maintained. This lock is six feet high, inside measurement, and is suitably floored. It is equipped with inside and outside air gauges and time pieces, and a telephone with proper connections. It contains benches and proper surgical and medical equipment. It is properly heated, lighted and ventilated.

Employers are required to cause all engines, boilers, steam pipes, steam gauges, drills, caissons, air pipes, air gauges, air locks, dynamos, electric wiring, signal apparatus, brakes, brackets, hoists, cables, chains, ropes, ladders, ways, tracks, sides, roofs, timbers, supports and all other equipment, apparatus and appliances to be inspected at least once during every working day by a competent person; and if any defect is found, it is immediately repaired.

Employers are required to employ one or more licensed physicians as medical officers who must be present to render medical assistance at all necessary times at the place where the work is in progress. When the air pressure exceeds 17 pounds, one or more registered nurses must be employed who are competent to handle cases of compressed air illness.

In the employment of workmen no one is permitted to work in compressed air until he has been examined by the medical officer and found to be physically qualified therefor. No one who has not previously worked in compressed air is permitted to work longer than one working period during the first twenty-four hours of his employment. And if the air pressure exceeds fifteen pounds he is not permitted to resume such work until he has been re-examined by the medical officer and found physically qualified. Should an employe in compressed air be absent from his work for ten or more consecutive days for any cause he is not permitted to resume work until he has been re-examined and passed by the medical officer. When an employe works regularly in compressed air for three months, he may not continue thereafter until he has been re-examined by the physician and his physical condition approved. Records of these examinations are kept and are accessible at all times.

When the air pressure in any tunnel exceeds normal but does not exceed fifty pounds, the maximum number of hours which, in any twenty-four hours, a person may be employed, or permitted to work, or remain therein, is as we shall tabulate below. But we would have you bear in mind that in every case the maximum number of hours is divided into two working periods of equal length, and the minimum time interval which must elapse between such working periods is as stated:

When the air pressure						Number of hours in 24.	Interval between working periods.
Exceeds normal but does not exceed	21 lbs.					8	30 mins.
"	21	"	"	"	30	6	1 hr.
"	30	"	"	"	35	4	2 hrs.
"	35	"	"	"	40	3	3 "
"	40	"	"	"	45	2	4 "
"	45	"	"	"	50	1½	5 "

Except in emergency cases, no person is employed or permitted to work or remain in any tunnel, caisson, compartment or place where air pressure exceeds fifty pounds.

No employe is permitted to pass from any place where he has been employed in compressed air to atmosphere of normal pressure without passing through an intermediate lock or stage of decompression. When the employe is passing from a tunnel to atmosphere of normal pressure, the rate of decompression is three pounds every two minutes, except when the air pressure in the tunnel exceeds

36 pounds, in which case the rate of decompression is one pound every minute. Following in tabulated form is the various times of decompression:

When the pressure in a caisson, compartment or place						Time of decompression
Exceeds normal but does not exceed 10 lbs.						1 min.
"	10	"	"	"	15	2 mins.
"	15	"	"	"	20	5 "
"	20	"	"	"	25	10 "
"	25	"	"	"	30	12 "
"	30	"	"	"	36	15 "
"	36	"	"	"	40	20 "
"	40	"	"	"	50	25 "

We found that young men from 20 to 35 years of age are preferred, and no one with any gross lesion is permitted to attempt the work. It seems the Anglo-Saxon and the negro stand the work best, while Poles, Slavs and Turks rarely do well; but we are informed that this difference is largely due to the generally flabby, underfed condition of the latter class, who seem lacking on resistance. Fat men do not endure so well as the slender because, we are told, animal fat absorbs much more gas, under pressure, than the other body tissues.

Yet in spite of all the precautions taken; in spite of all the selection of the men; in spite of all that man today can do, the exposure of workmen to an environment of greatly altered barometric pressure so disturbs the organism which has always been adjusted to the normal atmospheric pressure of fifteen pounds to the square inch, there frequently arise a train of symptoms at once varied and terrible.

No one term has ever been adopted for this affection. It is called "caisson disease," "compressed air illness," and "bends." Workmen are often permanently paralyzed. The death rate is abnormally high. But even where death does not occur, or permanent disability is experienced, after some days or weeks of tunnel work men become pale because they are kept entirely away from the sun and in an atmosphere nearly saturated with humidity, like a Turkish bath.

We have set this down at some length at the risk of wearying you; yet an understanding of the conditions under which these men work is necessary to appreciate the conclusions we have reached.

The laws governing the employment of men under compressed air have been put upon the statute books by organized labor. The Compressed Air Workers' Union has been consistent in its activity for remedial legislation. They stand now as a unit for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions. Under no circumstances should they be disintegrated, hindered or retarded in their work.

It is true that the work done by the members of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' Union is identical with that of the Compressed Air Workers. Both organizations have drill runners, blasters, muckers and laborers. But one class works under air pressure, the other under natural air.

We ascertained the membership of the Compressed Air and Foundation Workers to be approximately 1,600 men. Local unions are situated in New York, Philadelphia, Newark (N. J.), St. Louis and Montreal. The wage-scale is as follows: Foremen, \$5.50; heading men, \$4.50; helpers \$4; iron men, \$4; lock tenders, \$4.50; caulkers, \$3.75; muckers, \$3; caisson men, from \$4.50; to \$6.50 per day, according to air pressure. Hours of labor from 1½ to 8 per day. They were granted a charter by the A. F. of L. as Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada on January 19, 1910.

The membership of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors is approximately 3,600. Local Unions are located in New York (Nos. 1, 5, 7), Yonkers (No. 2), Storm King (No. 3), Cornwall (No. 4), Mt. Vernon (No. 10), Rochester (No. 11), Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10 and 11 are made up of rock drillers and tool sharpeners. No. 5 is a local of rock men. No. 7 is made up of foremen blasters. Fifteen per cent of the membership comprises tool sharpeners; 55 per cent rock drillers; 30 per cent timber men, rock men and laborers. The wage-scale follows: Rock drillers and

tool sharpeners, \$3.68 per day; rock men, \$2.50 to \$2.75 per day; foremen blasters, \$5 per day; timbermen, \$3.50 per day; timbermen helpers, \$3 per day, laborers, \$3 per day. They were granted a charter as the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union by the A. F. of L. in February, 1910.

The initiation fee in both organizations is \$25. Dues amount to 50 cents monthly in both.

We found men holding cards and paying dues in both organizations. Initiation fees in both organizations had been paid. This in order to enable them to work as union men either in natural or compressed air.

Upon our findings we respectfully recommend:

1. That each organization be permitted to retain its charter as at present.
2. That a joint board of 10 men, five from the Compressed Air Workers and five from the Tunnel and Subway Constructors be instituted for the purpose of taking up and adjusting grievances arising out of the construction of tunnels and subways, either in natural or compressed air; and for the further purpose of organizing and improving the conditions of all men employed on this class of work.
3. That this board, immediately upon selection and organization shall proceed to devise some plan which will bring about an exchange of working cards, to the end that the payment of initiation fees and dues in two organizations shall be avoided.
4. That this board shall formulate an agreement which shall be mandatory and binding upon both organizations when either is in controversy with any employer.

It is to be noted that the representatives of both organizations have agreed in so far as lies within their power to abide by the recommendations of this committee, if such recommendations are approved by the E. C. of the A. F. of L.

Trusting our report will meet with your approval, and that the methods we have devised will bring about peace and harmony in the trade and lead up to complete amalgamation, we are, Sir, with great respect,

Yours fraternally,

JOHN H. FERGUSON
HENRY F. HILFERS
THOMAS E. O'BRIEN.

We approved the committee's recommendations.

The Tunnel and Subway Constructors have agreed to carry out their part of the committee's recommendations, and are ready at any time to meet a committee of the Compressed Air Workers.

UPHOLSTERERS—CARPET MECHANICS

It is with pleasure we report that the long standing controversy between the Upholsterers' International Union and the Independent Union of Carpet and Shade Mechanics of San Francisco has been adjusted by the reorganization of the men of that trade in San Francisco into a local union affiliated with the international.

LONGSHOREMEN—MARINE WAREHOUSEMEN—BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CLERKS—FREIGHT HANDLERS

In conformity with the action of the San Francisco Convention a conference was held in San Francisco between the representatives of the International Association of Longshoremen and two representatives of the American Federation of Labor—Organizers Grant Hamilton and Hugh Frayne—on behalf of the local unions of freight handlers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. The conference disclosed that no objection had been made on the part of any organization to the application of the Longshoremen for extension of jurisdiction over marine warehousemen. The application for extension of jurisdiction was thereupon agreed to.

The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks then made application for jurisdiction over freight

handlers. A conference was called of the representatives of the Longshoremen and Freight Handlers and the following agreement reached:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 18, 1916.*

At a conference held this day at Congress Hall Hotel, at which were present T. V. O'Connor and Anthony J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association, and James J. Forrester and W. V. H. Wright of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, matters of jurisdiction affecting the organizations named were taken up, pursuant to action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. It was determined and mutually agreed that:

Where men are employed in marine warehouses, their work consisting of moving freight to and from marine warehouses to deep water vessels of seaports and the Great Lakes, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks concede the jurisdiction of these men to the Longshoremen's International Association.

JAS. J. FORRESTER,
Grand President Brotherhood of Railway Clerks
 W. V. H. BRIGHT,
Grand Secretary-Treasurer Brotherhood of Railway Clerks
 T. V. O'CONNOR,
President International Longshoremen's Association
 ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,
Vice-President International Longshoremen's Association
 SAMUEL GOMPERS,
 GRANT HAMILTON,
Representing American Federation of Labor.

The application of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks for extension of jurisdiction over Freight Handlers was thereupon approved. The local unions of Freight Handlers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. have been notified to transfer their affiliation to the jurisdiction of that organization.

SLATE AND TILE ROOFERS—CARPENTERS

The Slate and Tile Roofers requested the San Francisco Convention to direct the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to refrain from transgressing upon their jurisdiction.

In conformity with your instructions a conference was held between the officers of these two organizations, and the following gives the result of that conference:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 26, 1916.*

At a conference held in the office of the American Federation of Labor Washington, D. C., January 23-26, to consider the question of Resolutions 84 and 85 of the San Francisco Convention and the action of the convention upon the report of the committee upon these resolutions, the following participated:

Samuel Gompers, representing the A. F. of L.

Wm. J. Spencer, representing the Building Trades Department.

Wm. L. Hutcheson, Daniel A. Post, and Thomas Hickey, representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

Peter J. O'Brien and D. J. Ganley, representing the Damp and Waterproof Workers.

Jos. M. Gavlak, representing the Slate and Tile Roofers.

A general discussion ensued to carry out the instructions of the convention to find a means of adjustment of the differences existing between the three organizations. The representatives of each of the organizations contended that they were not in a position to yield any claims of jurisdiction, particularly at this time. President Gompers suggested the advisability of the two roofers' unions endeavoring to work out an agreement to cooperate or to amalgamate, and that thereafter the joint action of the two roofers' organizations be taken up with the Carpenters, regarding the subject-matter of roofing.

The undersigned representatives of the International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers, and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, thereupon met and agreed upon the following:

"It is mutually agreed that the prevailing condition with regard to asphalt shingle existing between the two organizations named shall remain in force as it now exists: that is, in locations where either of the above organizations is doing that class of work, they are to continue to do the same.

"It is further agreed that the two organizations, that is, the International Brotherhood of Composition Workers, Damp and Waterproof Workers, and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, parties to this agreement, request President Gompers of the A. F. of L. to take up with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners the question of carrying into effect the intent and purposes of the San Francisco A. F. of L. Convention, and that a conference at a mutually convenient time and place be held for that purpose, and that in the meantime Secretary Gavlak, of the Slate and Tile Roofers is to have a conference with President Hutcheson of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, for the purpose of helping to effect a better understanding and agreement.

Representing the International Brotherhood of Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers:

D. J. GANLEY.
P. J. O'BRIEN.

Representing the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union:

J. M. GAVLAK, G. S. & T.

All the officers of the two organizations met in further conference, as provided by the above, and the following agreement was reached:

At a conference held at the general office of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America under date of March 6, 1916, the following agreement was entered into between the representatives of the International Slate and Tile Roofers Union of America and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America;

That the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America has jurisdiction over asbestos and asphalt shingles above eaves line.

That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America has jurisdiction over asbestos and asphalt shingles as applied to sides of buildings.

This agreement to apply to cities and districts where there are local unions of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.

It is further understood and agreed that this agreement must be approved by the Executive Boards of both organizations before becoming operative.

For the U. B. of C. and J. of America:

WM. L. HUTCHESON
FRANK DUFFY.

For the I. S. and T. R. U. of America:

J. M. GAVLAK.

The agreement was thereafter approved by both organizations. We therefore have the gratification of reporting an amicable adjustment of another jurisdictional controversy.

EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

Brewery Workers

The Brewery Workers applied for the extension of their jurisdiction to include soft drink bottlers.

After a conference with the Teamsters and it being agreed between the two organizations that in extending the jurisdiction of the Brewery Workers to include the bottlers of soft drinks that there would not be any attempt made to include the men who drive the vehicles in which these goods are delivered, we approved the application, and the jurisdiction of the Brewery Workers has been enlarged to the extent herein specified.

Laundry Workers

Our last convention directed the Executive Council to take such action as might be deemed wise, expedient and to the best interests of all parties in determining the proposed extension of jurisdiction by the Laundry Workers.

A conference was held at headquarters in which the representatives of the Laundry Workers, the Textile Workers, and the Tailors participated. President Gompers and Secretary Morrison represented the American Federation of Labor.

The following is the report of the conference and agreement:

At a conference held at the A. F. of L. headquarters, February 21, 1916, between the representatives of the Laundry Workers' International Union, the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, and the United Textile Workers of America, in relation to Resolution No. 94, introduced by the delegates of the Laundry Workers' International Union at the convention of the A. F. of L. held in San Francisco, November 8-22, 1915, the following mutual agreement was reached:

First. That the request of the Laundry Workers for an extension of their jurisdiction had no bearing whatever upon the existing jurisdiction of the United Textile Workers of America; consequently, this feature was eliminated.

Second. It was mutually agreed by all representatives above named, that the request for extension of jurisdiction of the Laundry Workers' International Union did not apply to dyeing, pressing, and cleaning establishments not connected with a laundry.

Third. It was mutually agreed to by the representatives of the Laundry Workers' International Union and the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America that the question of jurisdiction over dyers, pressers and cleaners employed in laundry establishments that also combined dyeing, pressing and cleaning in the same building should be left to the decision of John Golden, President of the United Textile Workers of America, subject to ratification by the E. C. of the A. F. of L.

President Golden's Decision.—After carefully listening to the arguments of the representatives of the Laundry Workers' International Union and the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, I decide, subject to the approval of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., that full jurisdiction over those employed in laundry establishments, including the work of dyeing, pressing and cleaning, rests within the Laundry Workers' International Union.

JOHN GOLDEN,
President, United Textile Workers of America.

Signed on behalf of the Laundry Workers' International Union:
HARRY L. MORRISON.

Signed on behalf of the Journeymen Tailors' Union:
THOS. SWEENEY
WALTER GIBBONS
H. N. YOUNG.

Endorsed by the E. C. of the A. F. of L.:

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

We approved President Golden's decision and we are advised this has met with the approval of the organizations in interest.

Post-office Clerks

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has asked for extension of jurisdiction to include all postal employes, except railway mail clerks and others eligible to membership in affiliated national unions.

In the meantime two hundred letter carriers of Chicago applied to and obtained from

the National Federation of Post Office Clerks a charter and following that, application for charter was received from Branch No. 11 of Chicago of the National Association of Letter Carriers as a branch to be known as a local union directly affiliated to the A. F. of L.

This latter application has been held in abeyance, it being predicated upon the thought that the letter carriers of Chicago could be organized in a union directly affiliated to the A. F. of L., and to have its distinctive charter so recognized until such time as the National Association of Letter Carriers shall have become affiliated to the A. F. of L.

Conference was held in which the officers of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, the officers of the National Association of Letter Carriers, the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, and the representatives of the local unions, also the President, First Vice-President and Secretary of the A. F. of L. participated, when the entire matter was gone over. Upon the recommendation of the representatives of the A. F. of L., we had the parties in interest with us in conference at our October meeting, when the subject-matter was again gone over and it was decided that action upon the applications be deferred.

United Brotherhood of Leather Workers

The United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods made formal application to us for permission to organize and bring under one international union affiliated to the A. F. of L. all workers engaged in the leather industries, except those coming under the jurisdiction of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and the International Glove Workers' Union of America, with change in title of the organization to read: "United Leather Workers' Union."

The Travelers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union is opposed to this course of action. When the application was made there was not sufficient time for a conference to be arranged between the two organizations. The Leather Workers submitted a formal statement in support of their application. The Travelers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers did not have sufficient time to call together their Executive Board to consider the matter and to prepare a statement in reply. However, the two organizations will later meet in conference.

BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS' CHANGE IN TITLE

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners protested to the Executive Council against the action taken by the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in changing the title of that organization to "International Association of Bridge, Structural, Ornamental Iron Workers and Pile Drivers."

The attention of the officers of that organization was called to the fact that this course on their part was in violation of Section 11, Article IX of the Constitution of the A. F. of L., which provides that, "No affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the A. F. of L."

This matter is referred to this convention for consideration and action.

CARPENTERS—SHEET METAL WORKERS—BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

The San Francisco Convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a committee of four to accompany him to the convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America which would convene at Fort Worth, Texas, September 18, and would remain in session for about two weeks thereafter, for the purpose of pressing upon the convention the necessity of the Brotherhood so changing its claims to jurisdiction as to conform to the rights of other organizations, particularly the Sheet Metal Workers and the Machinists.

After the San Francisco Convention the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance appealed to the Executive Council against the action of the Building Trades Department in reversing the decision of the Tampa convention of that Department.

The appeal was not sustained as we held that deliberative bodies, in accordance with customary procedure, have a right to change decisions previously rendered.

While not sustaining the appeal of the Sheet Metal Workers, yet at the same time we

advised and strongly recommended that the Sheet Metal Workers and the Carpenters, through their executive officers, should meet with a committee of the E. C. to be appointed by President Gompers to carry into effect the action of the A. F. of L., and the Building Trades Department conventions at San Francisco, namely, to draft a mutual agreement in settlement of the dispute.

The conference was held in New York City, August 28, 29, as follows:

Representing the Carpenters—

William Hutcheson, President
Frank Duffy, Secretary
J. H. Potts, Executive Board Member

Representing the Sheet Metal Workers organization—

John J. Hynes, President
John E. Bray, Secretary-Treasurer
Thomas Redding, First Vice-President

The A. F. of L. was represented by—

Samuel Gompers, President
James Duncan, First Vice-President
James O'Connell, Second Vice-President

There was no tangible result from the conference other than an agreement for another conference to be held during our meeting the week of October 16.

Therefore, in view of these circumstances we were convinced that scarcely any particular result would be achieved by a visit of President Gompers and a committee selected by him to the Carpenters' convention, and taking into consideration the time involved in traveling to, remaining at, and returning from Fort Worth, as well as the expense which would be incurred, and having in mind that in all probability something tangible could be accomplished by a further conference between the officers of the two organizations and the E. C. at our October meeting we decided that instead of President Gompers and the committee attending the Carpenters' convention that President Gompers should address a letter to the convention of a practical, suggestive nature, in the hope that the best results in the interest of all organizations involved might be accomplished.

President Gompers' letter reads as follows:

A. F. OF L. BUILDING.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 12, 1916.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Fort Worth, Texas.

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: It is with the deepest regret that I can not in person convey to the officers and delegates of your convention the appreciation which I feel for your great Brotherhood and to orally extend the fraternal greetings of the rank and file of the organized labor movement of America. Events of transcendent importance and circumstances beyond my control make my visit to Fort Worth at this time impossible. My whole desire would be to be with you, not only to communicate officially the conclusions of the convention of the A. F. of L., and to appeal to you for a more general acceptance of the A. F. of L.'s conception as to what will make not only to the greater expansion and effectiveness of your Brotherhood, but also aid in the establishment of more effective, cooperative and harmonious action among the several great trade unions in the American labor movement.

I should have liked to review the history, the growth, the wonderful achievements of your Brotherhood, and the great advantages in the life, the work, and the homes of the carpenters of America. It would have been a great pleasure to me to recount the splendid contribution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to the general growth of our movement and of our fellow-workers, our fellow-men. It would have been an occasion where I could recount some of the achievements not only of the men who are now so splendidly giving service to your organization, but to pay tribute to the memory of some of the great men who have now passed to the Great Beyond; the founder of the Brother-

hood, the late P. J. McGuire; the great work and the passing away of James Kirby, the late president of your organization, whom it was your and my great pleasure to observe occupy the presidential chair of your organization at the last convention, where I had the honor and privilege of meeting you and him; and all the other men, those who have done so much and because of their number can not here be named. It is not vain to express the hope and the confidence that the men, the officers, and the great rank and file of your Brotherhood, will measure up to the great responsibilities devolving upon you and them, and that the work of your convention will redound to the great benefit of the men engaged in the carpentry trade, to the growth, development, strength, power and influence of the United Brotherhood.

The San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L., after thorough discussion, adopted the following:

"Resolved, That the President of the A. F. of L. appoint a committee of five representing international unions, of which he (the President) shall be a member, with instructions that this committee of five attend the convention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and endeavor to get them to recede from the position they have taken in respect to this claim of jurisdiction."

The duty of selecting a committee of five representing international unions was a task of utmost difficulty. Men not only qualified to perform this duty but occupying positions of responsibility are not available. They are all, or nearly all of them, busily occupied in the affairs affecting their own trades and organizations. In addition, the affairs of the labor movement at the present time have so shaped themselves that it is an utter impossibility for the President of the A. F. of L. to leave this vicinity for the time which would be required in traveling to Fort Worth, remaining there for the necessary period required in the performance of the mission directed by our convention, and the time that would necessarily be involved in the return trip. Indeed, you will realize that I can not very well undertake a trip to Fort Worth, Texas, without accepting the invitations of some of our fellow-trade unionists of Texas and other states.

In addition, the most keenly interesting conference was held covering fully two days in New York City, in which President Hutcheson, General Secretary Duffy, and Executive Board member Potts, representing your Brotherhood, and President Hynes, Secretary Bray, and committeeman Redding representing the Sheet Metal Workers, with Vice-Presidents Duncan and O'Connell and the undersigned representing the A. F. of L. Every effort was made for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of the differences and claims to jurisdiction of the respective organizations, but without avail, and yet an arrangement was made by which another conference of the representatives of your Brotherhood and of the Sheet Metal Workers shall be held at the time of the meeting of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., about the middle of October, 1916, and there to make a further effort to reach an agreement.

And inasmuch as a conference had not yet been arranged between the representatives of your Brotherhood and of the International Association of Machinists, in which the same instruction was conveyed as in the case of the Sheet Metal Workers, above, the E. C. of the A. F. of L., realizing all these circumstances, have therefore directed that I should write you instead of at this time undertaking to select a committee to accompany me to your convention.

Of course, I realize that it is not an easy matter to try to persuade men, and particularly a convention of men representing your great Brotherhood, to recede from a course upon which a previous convention had already decided. And yet I feel and express the feelings and the hopes of the great labor movement of America that your convention will rise to the importance of this occasion and authorize your Executive Board, in making agreements with other trades, to recede from some of the claims to jurisdiction which are not only new to the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners but held by many to be unjustified. There is no action which your convention can take in pursuance of such a course but what will bring honor, credit and advantage to your membership and your organization respecting the rights of the men of other crafts and organizations, and make toward a greater effectiveness, harmony, and solidarity of the entire labor movement in

general and the building trades in particular. May I not join in the hope that the appeal which the organized workers of America have commissioned me to express and convey to you will find lodgment in your judgment and your conscience?

Never in the history of the labor movement of America, never in the history of America, has our labor movement been confronted with such potential antagonism on the part of Labor's enemies. Never has it been quite so necessary for the toilers of America to unite, to federate, and act in the spirit of fraternity and solidarity. Never has opportunity been quite so much at our disposal and shaping as now.

The world of labor looks upon the leadership of our great organizations, of our great trade unions, to guide aright the interests and the welfare of the toilers. The hopes of Labor for justice, freedom and humanity lie in the hands of the organized labor movement, of which your Brotherhood is so great a part. May the hopes and expectations of the rank and file of Labor not be disappointed. Officers, delegates, men of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, I appeal to you not only as a man and a citizen, but as President of the A. F. of L., that you may rise to the fullest opportunity and occasion which are now in your hands.

For the general work before you at your convention, as well as that upon which I am addressing you, I hope for the fullest measure of harmony and success and again express to you my deepest regret that I can not be with you at this time to convey the message in person with whatever earnestness there may be in my whole makeup.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*
American Federation of Labor.

To that letter Secretary Duffy replied:

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA

INDIANAPOLIS, October 7, 1916.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your communication under date of September 12, addressed to the officers and delegates of the convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at Fort Worth, Texas, was received by me in due time and read to the convention at the morning session of the second day, after which a motion was made that the communication from the A. F. of L. be received, that the apology of the President for his non-attendance be accepted and that the subject-matter of the communication be referred to the General Executive Board to be disposed of before the adjournment of the convention.

As our General Executive Board is the authorized party in our organization to handle such matters as contained and mentioned in your communication, and as that body had already very minutely defined our claims of jurisdiction, I amended the motion to the effect that a subcommittee of five delegates from the convention be appointed to consider the matter and report back to the convention before adjournment. This amendment was accepted by the maker of the original motion to the effect that instead of the matter being referred to the General Executive Board, it be referred to a special committee of five. This when put to vote was carried.

On the third day, morning session, President Hutcheson appointed the following delegates as a special committee to deal with the subject-matter of the letter received from you:

Barney Fitzpatrick,	Chicago, Ill.
W. A. Crissman,	Pittsburgh, Pa.
M. J. McDermott,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Thomas Flynn,	Chicago, Ill.
S. B. Sharpe,	Kansas City, Kans.

On the ninth day, afternoon session, this committee reported as follows:

FORT WORTH, TEXAS, September 27, 1916.

We have carefully considered the letter from President Gompers of the A. F. of L., in which is embodied the motion passed in the San Francisco Convention of that body, wherein our organization is requested to recede from the stand taken with respect to our jurisdiction, and after hearing statements from delegations from various localities, and also from President Hutcheson and General Secretary Duffy, we are of the opinion that the subject-matter referred to should be taken care of by our delegates to the A. F. of L. and the Building Trades Department conventions.

Your committee recommends to that effect.

The report of the committee was concurred in by the convention.

Any understanding or agreement reached by our delegates with the representatives of any other organization at the conventions of the A. F. of L. or the Building Trades Department or elsewhere must be approved by our General Executive Board before becoming operative. You can, therefore, realize that in all matters of this kind our General Executive Board is the body authorized to act under our laws.

Hoping this vexed question of jurisdiction may soon be adjusted to the satisfaction of all concerned and with best wishes and kindest regards, I am,

Fraternally yours,

FRANK DUFFY,
General Secretary."

For the purpose of conserving time, travel, and expense President Hutcheson requested that the conference should be postponed until just before the opening of this, the Baltimore Convention. The Sheet Metal Workers were agreeable to his proposition. At the time this report is being prepared the conference has not been held. Therefore, it will be necessary to make a supplemental report upon this subject.

MACHINISTS—CARPENTERS

The San Francisco Convention directed the same course to be followed in the case of jurisdictional dispute between the Machinists and Carpenters as in the case of the Carpenters and Sheet Metal Workers.

We had this case also in mind when we authorized President Gompers and the committee of four to refrain from attending the Fort Worth convention of the Carpenters.

The executive officers of the International Association of Machinists and of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners were invited to meet in conference with a representative of the Executive Council during our meeting at headquarters the week of October 16.

The Carpenters later requested the conference to be postponed until a few days prior to this, the Baltimore Convention. The Machinists agreed to the proposition. We anticipate, therefore, making a supplemental report upon this subject.

UNITED ASSOCIATION—I. A. OF M.

There is little of a new nature that can be reported in addition to the report made to the San Francisco Convention upon this subject. The convention directed that if the two organizations did not agree upon the third man within a period of ninety days that the President of the American Federation of Labor should appoint the third man to act in accordance with the action taken by the Philadelphia Convention, that is, to have a special committee of three make a personal investigation of the work involved in the controversy between the two organizations, the Executive Council, upon the report of this special committee, to decide whether the evidence is sufficient to warrant re-opening the case. Despite the most earnest efforts on the part of President Gompers to carry out the instructions of the convention it has been impossible as yet to do so as those selected by him who were acceptable to both organizations found themselves unable to undertake the mission by reason of their own trade affairs.

FLINT GLASS WORKERS—MACHINISTS

The Executive Council reported at two previous conventions of the A. F. of L. regarding the dispute between the Machinists and Flint Glass Workers as to the making of molds for molding glassware. At the 1913 convention of the A. F. of L. the Committee on Adjustment reported on this controversy as follows:

It finds that jurisdiction over the work of making molds for molding glassware is vested in the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and your committee recommends that this exclusive jurisdiction be recognized by all organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L.

Delegate Johnson of the Machinists offered a substitute for the report of the committee as follows:

That a committee of three be appointed, one each by the two trades in interest and one by the President of the A. F. of L.; said committee to visit the shops located at Alton, Illinois; Toledo, Ohio, and all other shops in question, if it deems it necessary, the committee to be appointed prior to the adjournment of this convention and arrange to visit such shops and render its decision on or before March 1, 1914; the committee to have full authority, and its decision shall be in full force and effect from date agreed upon; said decision to become a matter of record and contained in the report of the E. C. to the 1914 convention.

The substitute of Delegate Johnson was adopted by the convention. During the following year, President Gompers endeavored to secure a representative trade unionist to act on the committee who would be satisfactory to both the organizations in interest. After much delay it was finally agreed by both unions to accept Treasurer Lennon as the third member of this committee. During the past year Treasurer Lennon has endeavored from time to time to set a date that would be mutually satisfactory to enter upon this investigation and bring about its final adjustment; prior to the date of the holding of this convention the committee has not acted. Because of the pressure of other business upon the part of the Machinists and the sickness of a representative that they chose to undertake to adjust this matter in August last, at the time this report is being prepared the investigation has not been made but it is anticipated that it will be made as soon as possible after the close of this convention.

FIREMEN—ENGINEERS

A conference was held in Washington the early part of the year, but it was not successful in bringing the two organizations together. Later, another conference was held in New York City, March 24-25, in which President Gompers and Organizer Frayne represented the American Federation of Labor.

After two days discussion on the proposition, the Engineers' made the following proposition:

The officers of the Engineers have been given binding instructions by their last convention to do certain things in the way of organizing, and while requests have come from some Firemen in New York City to organize them, the officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers had concluded not to organize or issue a charter to firemen providing an agreement can be reached with the Firemen; that the representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers proposed that all hostilities between that organization and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen cease, and that the subject-matter of all obstacles to harmony and cooperation with the Firemen would be taken up at the convention of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers during the convention of that organization at Newark, New Jersey, beginning September 11, 1916.

The Firemen, taking the same under consideration, accepted it in the following terms:

The representatives of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen have considered the proposition of the Engineers. Our international now has application for charters from three local unions of engineers, and we have concluded

not to issue them. We accept the Engineers' proposition, and if carried into effect, will remove the obstacles to harmony and cooperation for the Engineers and Firemen, in the best interests of the engineers and firemen throughout the country.

Upon the adjournment of the conference, confidence was expressed that the future relations between the Engineers and Firemen would be harmonious and cooperative. Some weeks later the question of their good faith arose in carrying out the agreement reached at the New York conference. However, in compliance with an oral understanding, President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and President Healy, Vice-President Morton, and Secretary Shamp visited the Engineers' International Union Convention for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about a working agreement between the Engineers and the Firemen's International Unions. The matter of differences between these two organizations is not yet adjusted. Unless otherwise directed by this convention the Executive Council will put forth its best efforts to bring about better working relations between the two organizations involved.

CARPENTERS—BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS

The San Francisco Convention authorized President Gompers to appoint a committee of three, this committee to make a thorough investigation of the status of the Dock Builders of New York City; that pending that investigation the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers should be requested to suspend the charter granted by that organization to a local union in New York, known as Local No. 177.

President Gompers did not avail himself of the right which the convention instructed him to exercise in the appointment of the entire committee, but he requested both organizations to submit to him the names of three trade unionists other than members of their respective unions from whom he selected one to represent each organization.

The committee thus appointed consisted of: Sam Griggs, President of the Journeymen Stonecutters, from the list submitted by the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; William J. McSorley, President of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, from the list submitted by the Carpenters; John H. Ferguson, President of the Maryland State Federation of Labor, as the third member of the committee.

The report of the committee follows:

Committee's Report

NEW YORK, Jan. 25, 1916.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: We, your committee, appointed by you, beg leave to submit the following report:

During the night session of the eleventh day's proceedings of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Dock Builders of New York City," the Committee on Building Trades reported as follows:

"Your Committee on Building Trades recommends to this convention that the President of the Federation be empowered to appoint a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the status of the Dock Builders in New York City relative to the chartering of a local by an affiliated organization while said charter had been revoked by the E. C. of the A. F. of L., and we further recommend that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be requested to suspend the charter granted by them in New York City, known as Local No. 177, pending this proposed investigation."

A motion to adopt the report of the committee, after debate, was adopted.

The committee appointed by President Samuel Gompers, composed of Messrs. Wm. J. McSorley, President of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; Sam Griggs, President Journeymen Stonecutters; and John H. Ferguson, President Baltimore Federation of Labor, met in the city of New York to take testimony. The investigation extended over a period of one week. National officers and representatives of the International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Interna-

tional Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, together with officials of the Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union No. 1456 and Dock Builders' Union No. 177, came before your committee, made exhaustive statements, were cross-examined, were given opportunities for rebuttal and, upon invitation, submitted documents which in their opinion had a bearing upon the case.

President Samuel Gompers was present during several sessions of the committee and submitted a mass of correspondence concerning the matter under discussion. Representatives of the Contracting Dock Builders' Association were also heard during the morning session of January 24, at the request of the Iron Workers.

Your committee visited several of the docks under construction, carefully viewed the work, closely questioned the men employed thereon, and went thoroughly into the nature of the work done by these dock builders, in and around New York City.

We find as follows:

First. That the Independent Dock Builders' Union of New York City, now known as No. 1456, U. B. of C. & J. of A., has controlled for many years the wharf and dock building industry, excepting that portion done by the Department of Docks and Ferries of the City of New York, which department the records show, employed approximately 86 dock builders.

Second. That Municipal Dock Builders' Union No. 13041 was chartered by the A. F. of L. on July 7, 1910.

Third. That Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union No. 1456 was chartered by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on February 13, 1915.

Fourth. That the charter of the Municipal Dock Builders' Union No. 13041 was revoked by the A. F. of L. on June 15, 1915.

Fifth. That the organization whose charter had been revoked was granted a charter by the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, known as Local No. 177, on July 10, 1915.

Sixth. That this Local No. 177 did, on August 10, 1915, enter into an agreement with the Contracting Dock Builders' Association, said agreement covering a term of three years, in which was written: "This agreement shall apply to, and regulate the employment of members of the union (No. 177) employed in New York and vicinity on *all water front improvements and pile driving* on foundation work."

Seventh. That the statements made by the E. C. in its report to the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L. are accurate and true in every respect.

Eighth. That an agreement was reached between the International Union of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in 1909, which contained the following paragraphs:

"Wharf and Dock Building.—The Iron Workers do not claim jurisdiction over wharf and dock building where same is constructed solely of wood; but where iron is used and sheds built of corrugated iron, they claim that part.

"On this matter we agree that where wooden beams and timbers are used, with heavy planking and flooring, that same belongs to the carpenters; but where iron girders, iron columns and steel trusses are used, or iron work in any form, same belongs to the Iron Workers solely."

Ninth. That claims were made, but no proof submitted by the representative of the Iron Workers, that this agreement was repudiated by the international convention, held in Minneapolis, or other subsequent conventions.

Tenth. That correspondence was submitted, dated as late as July, 1914, in which former President Ryan, of the Structural Iron Workers, held the agreement to be in full force and effect.

Eleventh. That a search of the records disclosed this agreement set out in the proceedings of the Building Trades Department Convention of 1910 (see page 15), convention of 1913 (see page 19) and convention of 1915 (see page 20), while an equally diligent search failed to disclose any record of a repudiation of this agreement.

Twelfth. That the chartering of the Municipal Dock Builders by the Iron Workers has brought about a state of chaos, and the tearing down of well-established

lished conditions in the industry, and is making for dissatisfaction and a feeling akin to bitterness throughout the labor movement in the city of New York.

Thirteenth. That the issuance of this charter by the Iron Workers to a suspended federal union was unwarranted and the continued holding of the same inexcusable if not worthy of severe condemnation.

We would, therefore, recommend:

(A) That there be but one union of Dock Builders in the city of New York.

(B) That since an agreement has heretofore been reached between the Iron Worker and the Carpenter regarding wharf and dock building, and since nothing has been submitted to show the abrogation of that agreement, the interests of the industry and the trade union movement can best be served by the Iron Workers revoking the charter of Local No. 177.

(C) That Dock and Pier Carpenters' Union No. 1456, having assumed control of the dock building industry, be required to assume the fulfillment of the agreement entered into between Local No. 177 and the Contracting Dock Builders' Association in so far as the employment of Dock Builders and their hours and wages is concerned; but it must be positively understood that no encroachment must be made by Union No. 1456 upon the jurisdictions of other trade unions chartered by or affiliated to the A. F. of L.

(D) That the claim of jurisdiction over pile-driving be held in abeyance, pending the outcome of the conference to be held by the three organizations directly affected, to wit, the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and the International Longshoremen's Association, in the city of Washington during the month of March, 1916, as per recommendations of the Building Trades Committee, San Francisco Convention (see page 456).

At this point your investigators desire to bring out their views concerning the agreement mentioned above. We feel it is a document that should never have been signed by trade union men and certainly never should have been unwritten by an International Union. Its legal phrasing is perfect, but the benefits to accrue to the union under it are hazy and doubtful. It trespasses upon the rights of other organizations, and as a trade union document it is unsound.

But our teaching has been to hold inviolable an agreement, however bad, when once signed by representatives of the union. We have been taught that contracts are made to be carried out. And as we demand that employers obey an agreement, having once become parties to it, so we insist that unions must fulfill their obligations.

It was this sentiment which influenced us in making the recommendations on paragraph (C).

In conclusion, we desire to emphasize the deplorable and unfortunate condition of affairs as we found it in the Wharf and Dock Building industry in the city of New York, brought about by the selfish ambitions of individuals interfering with and hindering the progress and ultimate success of the recognized labor movement. We condemn unequivocally the use of members of one international union affiliated to the A. F. of L. to destroy the efforts of another international union affiliated to the A. F. of L. to secure better conditions and a more thorough organization of the workers. And feeling as we do in this matter we earnestly urge the organizations affected to comply with the recommendations of this committee, to the end that peace may be restored, solidarity be obtained, and the advancement of the organized labor movement be assured.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN H. FERGUSON
SAM GRIGGS
WILLIAM J. MCSORLEY.

The report was furnished to the Carpenters and to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; both organizations were requested to designate their representatives to meet in conference for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the committee.

Under date of January 29, President McClory, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers replied as follows:

J. E. McCLORY,
American Central Life Bldg.,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BRIDGE, STRUCTURAL AND ORNAMENTAL IRON
WORKERS AND PILE DRIVERS.

Jan. 29, 1916.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
801-809 G St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Upon my return to headquarters this morning I found yours of the 26th inst., among the accumulated mail matter on my desk, together with the enclosed report of the Investigating Committee appointed by you to investigate the controversy between our Association and the Brotherhood of Carpenters, relative to our chartering a local union of Pile Drivers in New York and I will say that I was not at all surprised at the report as I realized from the very outset that it was going to be one-sided and favorable to the Carpenters, of course.

I have been of the opinion, and nothing has developed during that investigation to cause me to alter the opinion, that this report has been prearranged, pre-conceived, and carefully premeditated and I will now say to you, President Gompers, that it is not going to alter the situation in New York. Why should we observe or obey a decision or rather recommendations of a committee so constituted and biased when their report is favorable to an organization that has never in its history observed or obeyed any decision handed down against it. I am going to be brief and say that the only way this matter can be settled is through a mutual understanding and agreement between both organizations along the lines I set forth to President Hutcheson in your presence and in your room at the Continental Hotel at New York, Saturday afternoon, January 22d. If he or his representatives of the Carpenters empowered to negotiate an agreement along these lines are willing to meet myself and associates along such lines, then we will gladly meet them in a spirit of fairness, but there will be no revocation of charter on my part, for in the first place I have not that power and in the second place, I would not revoke the charter of Local Union No. 177, for the reasons set forth in that report, even though I had the power.

In conclusion, I will say that I will be willing to meet President Hutcheson at any date during the coming month that may be convenient to him, provided I am given a day or two notice in advance. This is all I care to say at this time on this subject. With best wishes, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

J. E. McCLORY.

Under the same date President Hutcheson of the Carpenters replied as follows:

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA.
Office of

WM. L. HUTCHESON, General President,
Carpenters' Building,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

January 29, 1916.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
801 G Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your communication of the 26th instant, enclosing copy of the report of the committee which investigated the matter of controversy between the United Brotherhood and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers as it affects the Dock Builders of New York City, has been received and I wish to thank you for forwarding this to me.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

As to a conference with the President of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers will say that owing to arrangements already made it will be impossible for the undersigned to attend such a conference until some time during the month of March, but at that time will be only too glad to do so.

With best wishes, I remain,
Fraternally yours,

WM. L. HUTCHESON,
General President.

Later, February 17, President McClory wrote President Gompers as follows:

N. Y., Feb. 17, 1916.

J. E. McCLORY,
American Central Life Bldg.,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BRIDGE, STRUCTURAL AND ORNAMENTAL IRON
WORKERS AND PILE DRIVERS.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: After submitting a copy of the report of the Investigation Committee that was appointed by you to investigate the status of the controversy between our International Association and the Brotherhood of Carpenters' and Joiners in the Pile Driving and Dock Building dispute in New York, I am instructed by my colleagues of the Executive Board, to enter a protest against said report and recommendations contained therein on the following grounds, to wit:

First. That the committee did not render its report on the evidence that was submitted to them for their consideration, and showed undue partiality in favor of the Carpenters during the investigation.

Second. Upon the ground that the committee appointed were not authorized by the report adopted by the San Francisco Convention to render any decisions, but were simply empowered to investigate and report facts.

Third. Upon the ground that the work of pile driving and wharf building has long since been conceded to the International Ass'n of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers and Pile Drivers at the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L. and its Building Trades Department; and the only body that has the right to decide to whom such work belongs is the A. F. of L. in its convention assembled to the next convention, to which this appeal is to be taken.

In view of this, we respectfully request a copy of the minutes of the committee and with extracts of testimony submitted therein. We sincerely trust you will see that we get copy of these minutes.

Fraternally yours,

J. E. McCLORY,
President.

It will be observed that President McClory of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers states in his letter of January 29, 1916, that "from the very outset it (the report) was going to be one-sided and favorable to the Carpenters, of course;" then again in that same letter he says "that this report (of the committee) had been prearranged, preconceived, and carefully premeditated," and as we have already stated, the course pursued was that one member of the committee was appointed by President McClory himself, another by President Hutcheson, and the third by President Gompers. It should be further noted that the report and the recommendations of the committee were unanimous; it is peculiar that President McClory should cast such a reflection not only upon the other two members of the committee but upon the member of the committee whom he officially appointed.

The entire subject-matter is referred to this convention for such further action as your judgment may warrant.

LONGSHOREMEN—CARPENTERS—BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS

The last convention directed that the representatives of these three organizations should meet in conference, upon call of President Gompers for the purpose of endeavoring to reach a mutually satisfactory adjustment of their respective claims of jurisdiction, as set forth in Resolution No. 106.

The conference was held at our headquarters in Washington on March 20, and continued for nearly three hours. There appeared to be no dispute as to the right of the Longshoremen's jurisdiction over crib and breakwater work. The Longshoremen stated that a number of years ago there was an agreement between that organization and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, which provided that where a local union of pile drivers existed, holding charter from either organization, that the other would not interfere. The representatives of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers declared that they had no knowledge of such an agreement. The representatives of the Longshoremen stated that some years ago there was a provision in the constitution of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to that effect but that it was eliminated in the 1914 convention.

The Longshoremen's representatives also claimed the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers had organized local unions from members of local unions of Longshoremen. It developed at that conference that pile driving and dock building was claimed to be a composite trade, not only from the viewpoint of the workers but from that of the contractors, and that the men performing that class of work should belong to one organization.

There was no conclusion reached in the conference as to which organization properly held jurisdiction.

Since that time the Carpenters have complained against the change in title of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, whereby the title of that organization as it appears upon their letter-heads now reads, "International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers and Pile Drivers."

Section 11 of Article 9 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor reads as follows:

"No charter shall be granted by the A. F. of L. to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the A. F. of L.; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the A. F. of L."

The entire subject-matter together with the assumption of the new title by the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, must necessarily receive the attention of this convention.

METAL LATHERS—PLASTERERS

We continued our effort during the year to secure an adjustment of the jurisdictional controversy between these two organizations as directed by the San Francisco Convention. Some progress has been made. It is anticipated that the representatives of the two organizations will hold a further conference during this convention, when it is hoped the entire matter will be adjusted upon a basis mutually satisfactory.

STEAM SHOVELMEN—STEAM ENGINEERS

The Executive Council reported to the San Francisco Convention that a tentative agreement was reached for the amalgamation of the Steam Shovelmen and the Steam Engineers but that this agreement was rejected by the Steam Shovelmen. The convention directed that we should continue our efforts for amalgamation.

Arrangement was made for a conference to be held in Chicago between the representa-

tives of the two organizations and two representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The conference disclosed that the Steam Shovelmen were limited in authority and that any proposition agreed upon by their representatives at the conference would have to be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership. The Steam Engineers were given full power to act in the matter.

It was finally agreed at the conference that the Steam Shovelmen should submit to a referendum vote of their membership a proposition to authorize their executive board to negotiate such terms and plans with the Engineers as they might be able to agree upon with the purpose in view of the ultimate amalgamation of the two organizations. The result of that vote was against the proposition.

The Steam Shovelmen insisted that the work of steam shovel and dredgemen properly comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and not under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers. That more cordial cooperation between the two organizations would bring beneficial results there can be no question. As to the subject of amalgamation, that is a matter upon which we can give no definite or satisfactory answer and, as already stated, it is one which the Steam Shovelmen have repeatedly rejected.

We submit the matter to this convention for recommendation.

LITHOGRAPHERS—PRINTING TRADES ORGANIZATIONS

The last convention directed that the Executive Council should select a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject-matter in controversy between these several organizations, with power to make recommendations to the E. C.

The E. C. was authorized to bring about, upon an equitable basis, the amalgamation of the unions involved in this controversy, the terms of such amalgamation and the jurisdictional claims of these several organizations to be decided by the E. C.

Desirous of appointing a committee which would be entirely acceptable to all the organizations interested, the president of the Lithographers' organization and the president of the International Allied Printing Trades' Association were requested to submit a list of names of three men, not members of the organizations interested, from which we could select one for each side, the third member of the committee to be selected from our own initiative. The committee thus appointed consisted of: James Wilson, President Pattern-makers' League of North America; Jacob Fischer, Secretary of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union; and James P. Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor.

This method appealed to us as being the best assurance that we could secure a committee representative in character—a committee that would give the subject-matter of the inquiry fair and impartial investigation—a committee which would inspire confidence.

The committee met in New York City April 26-29, 1916. The report and findings of the committee were submitted to us at our July meeting as follows:

Committee's Report

Your committee appointed by action of the San Francisco Convention to investigate conditions existing in the lithographic and printing trades and to report to the E. C. with recommendations, desires to report as follows:

We held several conferences at which all parties at interest were represented. We visited such offices as were designated by the representatives of the printing and lithographic trades, and we saw printing being done by all the different processes that has resulted in the present jurisdictional conflict between these trades.

The trades at interest were satisfied that we had seen the different systems of work performed and the different methods used, and at the conclusion of our visits to these printing plants we requested the representatives of the organizations involved to hold a joint conference for the purpose of adjusting their difference and arrive at a basis of amalgamation that would be satisfactory to all.

The International Pressmen and Assistants' Union and Photo-Engravers were willing to amalgamate and submitted plans of amalgamation, but the Lithographers were opposed to any plan of amalgamation unless it was on a basis of all the printing trades amalgamating into one international union. The Litho-

graphic Press Feeders' representatives were in favor of amalgamating and expressed the opinion that the form of amalgamation as proposed by the Pressmen and Photo-Engravers was the proper way to amalgamate these trades, and was satisfactory to them.

In our investigations we found that the trades affiliated with the Allied Printing Trades complained of the label used by the Lithographers and drew attention to the similarity between the Allied Printing Trades' label and the Lithographers' label and contended that the Lithographers' label was used on printing, part of which was done under non-union conditions.

The label now in use by the Lithographers does resemble the Allied Printing Trades' label and the design of the label was recently changed, and the new design has never been approved by the American Federation of Labor. We recommend in justice to the men engaged in the printing industry, that the Lithographers discontinue the use of their label.

The finished work of the trades involved in this question is very hard to distinguish. Samples of work were presented at our first conference by one trade as having been done by them. At the next conference affidavits were presented by another trade which set forth that their members had done the work. Your committee was repeatedly handed magnifying glasses to view a certain kind of work and was asked to distinguish between the different methods. We make this statement in order that you may understand that while there may be some difference in the process used, the result achieved is the same.

The question of the off-set press enters largely into this question. We find that this press is in use in lithographing plants and is being used in type printing plants. The off-set press, viewed by the man who is not familiar with the different designs of printing presses, could not distinguish the off-set press from any other modern printing press, and is merely an evolution in the method of printing and without doubt there will be even greater changes in the machinery used in the industry. The process of operation and the skill required to operate these presses may be different and we are convinced from our investigations that due to the intricate nature of the press and the character of the work performed on it, that it requires special knowledge and training to become proficient in its operation, but this is true with the introduction of any new machine; the fact remains that the off-set press is a printing press upon which printing is done.

It was natural for the question to arise as to which organization controls the greater number of men who are operating these off-set presses, but in our opinion that should not enter into the question as the larger question is—what will be the best form of organization that will advance and protect the interest of the workers engaged in the printing industry?

On the claims of jurisdiction between the Lithographers and Photo-Engravers, there is no question but that the process of producing lithographic plates is different from the process of photo-engraving. We find, however, that in recent years, and with the rapid development of the off-set press, that the process used by the Photo-Engravers is becoming inseparably involved in the making of plates for off-set printing. From the work done by the men in each of these trades printing plates are made from which printing is done, and regardless of the process used, the same results are secured in the finished product.

We fully endorse what the Adjustment Committee said in its report on this matter to the San Francisco Convention (page 422) and we quote from that report as follows:

"Your committee finds that with the evolution taking place in the printing industry and because of the use of two or more labels which have a tendency to deceive and confuse not only the public but union men, and furthermore the introduction of more scientific and modern methods in this particular industry would indicate that the amalgamation of some of the trades affected would be in the direction of progress, efficiency and beneficial to all parties concerned, and that where workmen are employed in the same workshop producing the same class of work on practically the same kind of machines they should hold membership in the same organization."

From our investigations we are satisfied that the best interest of the men engaged in these different trades will be best conserved by amalgamation and we submit this recommendation, that the Lithographic Pressmen and Lithographic Press Feeders and all printing press room workers in printing press rooms and in lithographic press rooms, regardless of the style of press they are working upon, shall be members of the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union.

That all lithographers, artists, transferers, and those engaged in the process of providing plates from which printing is done shall be members of the Photo-Engravers' Union.

In making this recommendation we realize that we are dividing a union by placing its membership into two international unions, but we believe that under the present Allied Printing Trades organization and the joint movement of the printing trades to protect the workers in the different branches in the printing industry, that the interests of these men will be best served by the carrying out of this recommendation, and under the circumstances it will in our opinion add strength to these workers and tend to improve their condition of employment.

Pending the consummation of the amalgamation of these trades as herein proposed, we recommend that the jurisdiction of the off-set press be conceded to the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union. That the jurisdiction of the making of plates to be used on the off-set press be conceded to the Photo-Engravers.

By the above recommendations you will find that the Lithographic Press Feeders are taken care of in our plan to amalgamate them with the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union, and it is therefore our opinion that no charter of affiliation should be issued to them.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES WILSON, *Chairman*
JAMES P. HOLLAND
JACOB FISCHER, *Secretary*.

We directed President Gompers to call a conference of the organizations in interest for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations contained in the committee's report. Efforts were immediately made after our July meeting to call the conference, but by reason of the departure of President Woll of the Photo-Engravers' Union for England to attend the British Trades Union Conference as fraternal delegate from the A. F. of L., the conference was postponed until after his return.

MACHINISTS—ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS

From year to year the status of the case of these two organizations has been reported to our annual conventions. In the endeavor to carry out the instructions of the last convention, arrangements were made for, and conference was held on March 21 at headquarters between the representatives of the contending organizations, Secretary Berres of the Metal Trades Department representing the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Berres in reporting the result of that conference stated:

I am sorry to have to report that both sides refused to recede from the positions they declared upon this question at the San Francisco Convention, which made it impossible to make any progress toward bringing about an adjustment of this long drawn out controversy. However, both expressed the hope that the time would come when they would be able to adjust this controversy for the good not only of their own organizations but the general movement.

CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS—BLACKSMITHS—UPHOLSTERERS—MACHINISTS—METAL POLISHERS

The San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor directed the Executive Council to arrange a conference between these several organizations for the purpose of endeavoring to secure an adjustment of the long-standing controversy. After much correspondence arrangements for a conference were finally perfected and the conference was held at the headquarters of the A. F. of L., March 20, 1916. The conference was barren of

results. The Carriage and Wagon Workers' organization continues the use of the word "automobile" in its title, nor has the charter of that organization been returned to the A. F. of L. for change of title as required under the decision of the Philadelphia and San Francisco Conventions. The matter is referred to this convention for its further consideration and action.

CAP MAKERS—HAT MAKERS—STRAW HAT WORKERS

We were directed by the last convention to continue our efforts to adjust the jurisdictional dispute between these several organizations.

With that purpose in view conferences were held, and finally at our July meeting, the several organizations were accorded a hearing. Having given the subject our best thought and judgment we decided:

That the making of all felt, panama, and straw hats for men and women comes under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America, and that the finishing and trimming of such hats, through agreement between the United Hatters of North America and the Hat Finishers and Trimmers' Union, comes under the jurisdiction of the Finishers' Union, and that all cloth hat and cap making comes under the jurisdiction of Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.

In addition your attention is called to the fact that this organization has assumed a title, with extended jurisdiction, from the "United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America," to "Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers," this being done in violation of Article 9, section 11, of the Constitution. This matter is referred to this convention for consideration and action.

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT—BOILERMAKERS—MACHINISTS

The Machinists and the Boilermakers appealed to the Executive Council against the decision of the San Francisco Convention of the Building Trades Department in unseating these two organizations upon the ground that as they are not building trades organizations they are not eligible to representation in the Department.

These two national unions and the Building Trades Department, through their respective officers, presented their contentions. The appeal was not sustained; thereupon the Boilermakers served notice of an appeal to this convention against our decision.

JOURNEYMEN TAILORS—JURISDICTION OVER DYERS, CLEANERS AND PRESSERS

In 1912 we granted the application of the Journeymen Tailors' Union for jurisdiction over dyers, pressers, and cleaners, and thereafter turned over to that international union all local unions of this character which were then directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Now the local union of Dye-house Workers of Chicago has requested permission to withdraw from the Tailors' organization and to become directly affiliated to the A. F. of L.

The application was not granted. This local union thereupon gave notice that it refuses to be a part of the Journeymen Tailors' Union, and that it will appeal its case to this convention.

JURISDICTION OVER ACETYLENE WELDERS

The Brotherhood of Blacksmiths complained to the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor against infringement of jurisdiction by organizations affiliated with that department. The jurisdiction point at issue was the acetylene welders. The complaint of the Blacksmiths was not sustained by the convention of the Department. The Blacksmiths thereupon appealed to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. against the decision of the Department. It developed that trades other than those affiliated with the Railway Employees Department were involved in this question. We directed that a conference of all interested organizations, including the Railway Employees' Department, be held with a view to bringing about an adjustment.

The difficulty then arose to select a man familiar with the work and competent to make the investigation, who could give the time to the matter and yet whose trade was in no way involved in the question. The several organizations interested in this matter are the Blacksmiths, Sheet Metal Workers, Plumbers, Electrical Workers, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Machinists, Railway Carmen, Boilermakers, and the Railway Employees' Department.

They were each requested to suggest one or two names from whom a representative of the A. F. of L. could be selected. There were but few of the organizations which made suggestions, and the men thus indicated were either unable to undertake the mission or their trades were more or less involved in the matter.

We submit the whole subject to you for whatever action you may deem advisable to take thereon.

MARINE ENGINEERS

The National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association applied for charter of affiliation; the Steam Engineers, the Machinists, and the Longshoremen protested against the issuance of charter.

The application was considered at our June meeting; the protesting organizations were given the opportunity of presenting the reasons for their objections. We thereupon directed the charter to be issued under the requirements and conditions as set forth in the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 12, 1916.

Mr. BRUCE GIBSON,
President, National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association of the U. S.
of America,
Fontanet Courts, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The application of your National Association for certificate of affiliation (charter) was duly received and seriously considered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and in compliance with the application, the E. C. takes pleasure in issuing the same.

Before issuing the charter the E. C. decided as follows:

On the application of the Marine Engineers for a charter of affiliation to the A. F. of L., and after hearing the parties in interest, the E. C. gave the application, circumstances and protests careful consideration.

Primarily, we declare that all engineers, wherever and however employed, should be members of the chartered organization.

The fact that engineers are employed in any specific line of engineer's work would not of itself constitute authority for considering them entitled to a separate charter. There are, however, circumstances over which we have little control and which circumstances should not debar an organized trade union from affiliation to the A. F. of L. Such a situation is here represented. The marine engineer is not only an engineer in the ordinary sense of the term, but in addition is required by marine law to first have sea-faring experience of a developing and graduating nature for several years, and is required by marine regulations to be qualified to perform, under stress, several other kinds of work of a sea-faring nature and in some instances to take command of a vessel and therefore must have the qualifications to do so.

Under these considerations and believing they constitute sufficient justification, the E. C. voted to issue a charter of affiliation to the applicant Marine Engineers under the following requirements and conditions:

In issuing a charter to the Marine Engineers' Benevolent Association, and having in mind the contentions laid before the Council by the Steam and Operating Engineers, the charter is issued with the distinct provision that should their members go ashore to do engineering work, they shall do so under the card, membership, and rules of the Steam and Operating Engineers.

Having also in mind the contentions of the Machinists the charter is issued with the additional distinct and definite qualification that Marine Engineers on land or when ships are in dock for repairs are not to do machinists' work unless

under the rules, membership, and card of the International Association of Machinists.

Under these conditions and provisions as stated above the charter is issued to your National Association bearing this date, July 12, 1916. Permit me to extend to the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States of America a hearty welcome into the ranks of our great trade union, under the banner of the A. F. of L., and I sincerely hope that you will be entirely successful in your efforts, not only to organize every marine engineer, but that your efforts will also be crowned with success to improve the conditions of your fellow-marine engineers, and by your organized effort contribute to the cause of the labor movement in general.

The per capita tax which your organization is required to pay to the A. F. of L. is three-fourths of one cent per member per month. The same should be paid regularly and thus avoid allowing indebtedness to accumulate, which then might become burdensome or difficult to pay.

It is clearly understood that in issuing this charter to your organization it shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing national or international union, nor the work that may belong to either, but shall be in accordance with the decision of the E. C., herein above quoted.

You are respectfully requested to report to the A. F. of L. at regular intervals provided by the constitution of the A. F. of L. and at such other times as anything may come under your observation of interest to our fellow-workers and our movement.

You are also kindly asked to notify this office upon receipt of your charter and give the name of your organization in all of your communications to this office.

It is also urged that in connection with the title of your organization, you will print upon your letterhead and such other documents the words "Affiliated to the A. F. of L."

Enclosed please find receipt for \$5 which was paid by your organization for certificate of affiliation.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

P. S.—A copy of this letter is also being forwarded to Mr. Comerford, President of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; Mr. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, and Mr. O'Connor, President of the International Longshoremen's Association.

To our surprise the Marine Engineers requested that the charter be held in abeyance until their next convention. The letter making this request reads:

NATIONAL MARINE ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION
Fontanet Courts, 14th and Fairmont Sts.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 18, 1916.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
801-9 G Street, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The National Executive Committee of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, after carefully reviewing the application filed with the A. F. of L. to affiliate, and your communication dated July 12, 1916, have instructed me to notify you that they desire the charter issued held in abeyance until our next annual convention, which will convene at Washington, D. C., January 22, 1917.

The reason for this action was that the membership in voting for or against affiliation, had done so on the jurisdictional claims as per application, and the E. C. of the A. F. of L., in granting a charter had placed certain requirements in force that the members had not been consulted on and at the present are not familiar with. We therefore feel that the matter should be laid before them and the representatives to the convention given the opportunity to express the wishes of each local association.

I am returning the charter; our not having accepted the same at the present time, believe that it should be in the hands of the parent body.

I will further state that in the two meetings our committee had with executive board of the Machinists' Union, the most harmonious and brotherly feeling existed and we will continue to work in harmony with that and all other organizations under the banner of the A. F. of L., that labor may receive the recognition it is justly entitled to.

On behalf of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association of the United States, I wish to extend to you and all your coworkers, the thanks of our organization for the kindly assistance given us and trust that our locals will give thorough consideration to the matter before them on this question.

I am, yours fraternally,

BRUCE GIBSON,

National President, National Marine Engineers' Ben. Assn.

A later letter, more fully explaining their reasons for such request, reached us as follows:

NATIONAL MARINE ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION
Bruce Gibson, Room 1962, No. 50 Church St.,
National President. New York, August 26, 1916.

Mr. SAM'L GOMPERS, *President,*
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: As per your request during our conversation of recent date at Washington, I will give you the reasons why the National Executive Committee of our Association felt that we could not assume the responsibility of accepting the charter issued to us by the E. C. of the A. F. of L., and therefore referred it to our next annual convention which will convene at Washington, D. C., in January, 1917.

The following demands were made by the Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists, when those brothers met our committee in July, at the Hotel Raleigh:

1. The following work shall be done by members of the International Association of Machinists when ships are in port.
2. The installing, assembling, dismantling and repairing of all engines, pumps, dynamos, refrigerating machinery, steering gear, winches, windlass, capstans, fire-mains, sprinklers, discharge systems, or other devices used in handling the ship.
3. The removing and replacing of the rudder, propeller shaft and propeller wheel, and the placing of all deck fittings and mast fittings, including headlights.
4. The installing and repairing of all condensers, lubricators, evaporators, feed-water heaters, check valves, safety valves, blow-off valves, sea valves, and strainers attached to hull.

By the above you will note that it would be practically putting the Marine Engineer out of business, and involving him in considerable trouble with his employer and the U. S. Government that has issued him a certificate that allows him to follow his vocation.

The marine engineer would be compelled to make the stand with his employer that he would discontinue doing the overhauling and repairing of the engines and auxiliaries, which has been his work since the invention of the steam engine and its application as a propelling power to vessels. The machinist is in no position to assist him in making these demands.

The marine engineer is responsible for the operation and care of the mechanical part of all vessels, and if he is not allowed to make the ordinary repairs incidental to the upkeep of his department, he will be further involved in trouble inasmuch that if anything goes wrong after leaving port, it is up to him to make the repair and get his vessel into port, which makes him not only responsible for the vessel but the cargo that may be on board and the lives of those on board intrusted to his care.

Being denied the right to make his repairs, those employes as firemen, oilers and water tenders who assist the engineer in his work would not have the opportunity to learn the business and in time no one in the department would be qualified to repair a breakdown at sea or at an isolated port and get the vessel to its destination or a port of safety.

The man on the vessel should have the first call for his services, and we do not deny that certain new work and some of the repair work should go to the machine shop, but we can not surrender everything as asked, to our own undoing and detriment.

Trusting that I have made it clear why we asked that the charter be temporarily held by the A. F. of L., and hoping that some solution may be reached whereby we can take up the charter under terms that will be agreeable to all concerned, I am,

Yours fraternally,

BRUCE GIBSON,
National President.

ACTORS' ORGANIZATIONS

The San Francisco Convention referred to the Executive Council the subject-matter of Resolution No. 148, dealing with the White Rats Actors' organization. Acting for the E. C., President Gompers held a number of conferences with the representatives of the White Rats Actors' Union, the representatives of the Actors' Equity Association, the Actors' Society of America, the Actors' International Union, the New York State Federation of Labor, and the New York Central Federated Union. Associated with him in these conferences was the New York representative of the American Federation of Labor, and in several Vice-President Duncan took part.

Several plans were suggested by President Gompers, each of which proved unacceptable to the parties at interest. The Actors' Equity Association then made application for charter as an international union to have jurisdiction over performers on the theatrical stage, generally known as the legitimate part of the profession.

The entire subject is so intricate and delicate that though a discussion in the convention of the matter may be helpful, it is doubted that any final direction should be given to the E. C. We are of the opinion that clothed with full power, with the experience already attained, the good understanding and relations maintained with all parties in interest, the E. C. may be enabled to accomplish the best results in the interest of all the members of the theatrical profession.

BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES—INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

The last convention referred to us Resolution No. 114, with instructions that if after investigation it should be found that an international union of building service employes could be formed without violating or infringing upon the jurisdiction or rights of existing organizations and that such international union would be for the best interests of all concerned, that the application should be granted.

After investigating the entire subject it was our judgment that the interest of the janitors and elevator operators would not be furthered but on the contrary injured by the formation of an international union at this time, it being apparent that the maintenance of an international union would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, and further because of the fact that there were many protests made against the formation of such an international union; the charter therefore was not granted.

Considering this subject in its general aspect we are impelled to state that experience has demonstrated the fact that when a national or international union has been prematurely formed—prematurely because of lack of numbers or experience—it has in a very short period of time become inefficient, ineffective, and unable to protect and promote the rights and interests of the membership; that as a consequence several of such national or international unions have disbanded, the local unions weakened in membership and confidence, and that we have then been required to issue charters to such local unions as still remained in existence, issuing them without cost, and again undertaking the work of more thoroughly organizing the trades and the unions.

It has been our course as soon as possible and when there has been some semblance of justification of our belief, to organize national or international unions of directly affiliated local unions of a given calling, trade or industry, for we realize that the American Federation of Labor has its firmest basis in the establishment, maintenance and progress of national and international unions.

It is not necessary here for us to cite instances of the dissolution of national and international unions, but we may refer to one of recent effort, the International Union of Jewelry Workers, which with the aid of the A. F. of L., its officers and organizers, was recently resuscitated and chartered by us.

TRADE ADJUSTMENTS

There were a number of resolutions brought to the attention of the San Francisco Convention dealing with controversies varying in character between unions and employers. To all these matters we have given our best attention. In some instances conferences were held with the employers involved in controversies with employes with good results. In other cases through correspondence or the cooperation of other organizations not directly involved, by the help of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, with the cooperation of the A. F. of L. departments interested in the trades involved, good work was accomplished, and in most instances adjustments reached and more amicable relations established.

In other words, we have left no effort untried to give to those organizations involved in trade disputes and disagreements the very best possible service.

We recommend the continuation of this policy in all cases of a similar character which may be reported to this convention.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

During the past year there has been persistent agitation in favor of compulsory social insurance laws. The agitation originated with an organization that is neither responsible to the wage-earners nor representative of their desires. That organization had introduced identical bills for compulsory social insurance in four or five state legislatures during the past year, and has announced its intention to introduce similar bills in all of the state legislatures that meet during the coming year.

When one of these bills, known as the Mills Bill, was under consideration in the General Assembly of the State of New York, President Gompers was asked to express his opinion of the bill. He did so in a letter to Mr. Thomas D. Fitzgerald, which was given general publicity at the time. His position is also stated in an article published in the *American Federationist* for April, 1916, entitled "Labor vs. Its Barnacles."

It is very significant of the attitude and policy of those who have legislation of this class in charge that the measures they have drawn up were formulated without consultation with the wage-earners and introduced in legislatures with professional representatives of social welfare as their sponsors. The measures themselves and the people who present them represent that class of society that is very desirous of doing things for the workers and establishing institutions for them that will prevent their doing things for themselves and maintaining their own institutions.

A joint resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Meyer London to provide for an investigation of compulsory social insurance and unemployment and the reporting of a plan to Congress whereby compulsory social insurance could be established. This resolution was also introduced without consultation with the responsible representatives of the wage-earners of the country.

President Gompers appeared before the House Committee on Labor when the joint resolution was under discussion, and in an extended hearing which lasted for six hours, presented Labor's position. Copies of this hearing will be of interest to all labor organizations in connection with compulsory social insurance bills that may be introduced in their various localities. It can be obtained through members of Congress by writing for the hearings upon H. J. Res. 159—A Resolution for the Appointment of a Commission to Prepare and Recommend a Plan for the Establishment of a National Insurance Fund and for the Mitigation of the Evil of Unemployment.

The hearings were also published in the May, June, and August, 1916, issues of the *American Federationist*.

Mr. London's resolution did not only include compulsory social insurance in case of sickness, but also unemployment and other vicissitudes of the workers' life and lot, and in the resolution is an assumption of attitude wholly repugnant to the rights, interests, freedom and welfare of the workers.

We are not unmindful of the needs of the workers and the ills from which they suffer; our unions have, to a large extent, provided for social insurance in cases of sickness, unemployment, superannuation and death. A number of the unions have provided for other forms of insurance, such as traveling and tool insurance. We uphold that the installation of social insurance by governors of our states and of the United States of a voluntary character, supplemented by such insurance extended by the trade unions, will make not only for our movement's being helpful to the toilers in their times of need and stress, but, in addition, better, than all, maintain the fundamentals of justice and freedom. It is something not yet generally understood how essential it is for the labor movement of our country to maintain the fullest freedom of normal activities and free from supervision, censorship, direction and control of governmental agencies.

We strongly recommend that the subject of social insurance in all its phases be given greater consideration and extension by the unions and preferentially by the national and international unions, as well as by the local unions, and in any event, in so far as social insurance by the state and national governments is concerned, if established at all, shall be voluntary and not compulsory.

SICK AND DEATH BENEFITS FOR DIRECTLY AFFILIATED UNIONS

Resolution No. 159 adopted by the San Francisco Convention instructed the Executive Council to investigate the feasibility of a system providing for sick and death benefits for members of unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and to make a report to the Baltimore Convention.

After considering the matter and possible plans for the establishment of such a system, we came to the conclusion that a system providing for sick and death benefits administered by the A. F. of L. for its directly affiliated local unions was impracticable and ill-advised.

The federal labor unions directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. are, for all practical purposes, transitory. They are generally made up of members of trades and callings of which there is no national or local trade union in existence. Where there are a sufficient number in a federal labor union to form local unions of trades or callings, that course must necessarily be pursued; and when there are a sufficient number of unions composed of workers belonging to the same trade or calling, these unions are organized into a national or international organization.

During the time of the formation and chartering of such local trade unions and local federal labor unions, the members thereof would have a property right in the sick and death benefit funds to which they contributed, and it would be an almost insurmountable obstacle to transfer such local unions into national and international unions by which the local unions would forfeit their property right in the benefits thus established, if the A. F. of L. would establish and administer the benefit system.

There are additional reasons, too numerous to incorporate herein, why a sick and death benefit fund should not be established by the A. F. of L. Those we have stated are sufficient to warrant our reporting unfavorably upon the inauguration of the project.

CONCLUSION

Our report deals only with those matters which are of greatest importance; but it must be understood that reference to these specific subjects should not be interpreted to mean that there are not many other matters that have been given attention and many other activities through which the organized labor movement has sought to bring about greater justice and better conditions of life and work. But our report upon the subjects mentioned is so lengthy that it is impracticable for us to report upon all matters of interest affecting the labor movement.

As our report indicates, there are opening up before the labor movement tremendous opportunities to mold and influence the foundations of economic, social and political organi-

zation. The labor movement had its origin in the primary needs of the masses of the people: its roots go deep into life impulses and its ramifications extend upward and outward through all the various relations which men have with fellow men.

Though the labor movement has its origin in material needs, its development is directed by the ideals and the spiritual yearnings of the wage-earners. There can be no real organization or effort to accomplish anything worth while that does not take its life and power from ideals. The labor movement embodies the highest ideal that the human mind has yet conceived—the ideal of fraternity. This ideal seeks to extend the spirit of fraternity so that it shall permeate all relations of men, local, national, and international. The labor movement has an economic basis. This enables it to have influence in all things because in the last analysis there is no relationship that has not an economic basis.

In concluding this report of the year's progress it is fitting to call attention to our well-known slogan which represents the way by which present progress was achieved—Agitate! Educate! Organize!—much has already been achieved through organization, and the toilers are just beginning to realize the great opportunities that lie before them; only through better and stronger organization can all enter into that heritage.

It is but fitting that we should express our deep appreciation of the respect and confidence manifested towards us by the great rank and file of the organized labor movement of America and by the liberty, humanity loving people of the continent. Never in history as now has there existed such feeling and spirit of unity, solidarity and fraternity. It all augurs well not only for the well-being of the workers of our own time but all the people for all time.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President

JAMES DUNCAN

First Vice-President

JAMES O'CONNELL

Second Vice-President

DENIS A. HAYES

Third Vice-President

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE

Fourth Vice-President

JOHN R. ALPINE

Fifth Vice-President

H. B. PERHAM

Sixth Vice-President

FRANK DUFFY

Seventh Vice-President

WILLIAM GREEN

Eighth Vice-President

JOHN B. LENNON

Treasurer

FRANK MORRISON

Secretary

Executive Council

American Federation of Labor

APPENDIX

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Mr. William J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Department, presented the following report of the progress of that Department during the past year:

In our last annual report the opinion was ventured that the building industry throughout the country was apparently improving and that indications favored a substantial stimulation for the current year. We are pleased to say that the impression then entertained is satisfactorily justified, for while there has been no abnormal boom in building operations, still the tendency has been essentially better and more assuring as the season advances.

Reports from the eastern and central states including the Dakotas, Missouri and Kansas show for the first six months of 1916 over a like period for the preceding year, a net gain of \$18,401,000 in awarded contracts. While the figures are not obtainable, it is safe to assume that a like condition of improvement obtains in the western section of the country. The outlook for the remainder of the season is even more promising if we are to judge by the building permits which, however, may be somewhat exaggerated.

In the city of New York alone permits to the value of nearly \$45,000,000 have been issued over those of last year. It is safe in any event to say that the total gains for the year will be far in excess of the past, which is most encouraging.

In addition to this trade movements have been adjusted in an extraordinarily harmonious manner so that there has been no serious friction displayed in the various sections of the country, and coupled with this gratifying condition the numerical membership of the Department continues to increase. This, too, in face of the fact that at the San Francisco Convention the International Association of Machinists and the Brotherhood of Boiler-makers and Iron Ship Builders were disqualified from further membership in the Department on the ground that the unions named do not come within the scope of section 1 of the general constitution, which rules that in order for a union to be eligible the members thereof must be universally employed in building erection. The action of the convention with respect to the unions referred to occasioned the loss of some twenty thousand members, but the defection was overwhelmingly counter-balanced by the reaffiliation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which is hereinafter dealt with in detail.

Aliens Employed on the Panama Canal Zone

Attention is specifically invited to the fact that the building artisans of the Panama Canal Zone are confronted with a steadily increasing number of alien laborers who are employed in the different trades composing the building industry.

The officials in charge of our greatest American constructional undertaking have been and are continuing to employ Jamaicans and other alien laborers in competition with our skilled American mechanics. These laborers on being given the privilege of the use of tools have been constantly invading the various trades of the building industry, performing such work as they with their limited skill and knowledge could gradually acquire until now, by reason of the lower rate of wages paid, they are displacing the American mechanic.

This tendency to discriminate against our citizen tradesman to the preference of the non-citizen laborer can be no economy when the misfit at half the scale takes twice the time to do the job in a slipshod manner that a highly trained workman would require to perform thoroughly a similar task.

It has been said that while the Panama Canal was originally understood to be an agency for the furtherance of the world's commerce it must also be considered a defensive undertaking of unusual importance, and as such it would seem to be of the greatest military necessity that only Americans be employed in connection with the maintenance of the great waterway.

The Building Trades Department entered an emphatic protest with the President,

former Secretary of War Garrison, and the present incumbent, Secretary Baker, but without avail. As yet the administration has not manifested any intention to redress the grievances complained of, but has continued to employ not only non-union workmen, and has retained alien laborers in the mechanical divisions of the Building Trades.

This matter is of concern to the Building Trades and should be given consideration at the hands of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department.

Convention Actions

Immediately following the adjournment of the convention of the A. F. of L. in San Francisco last year, the ninth annual convention of the Building Trades Department assembled in regular session.

President Gompers representing the A. F. of L. paid an official visit and addressed the convention in his usual forceful and eloquent manner. In closing he submitted two subjects of interest for the consideration and action of the convention, as per the instructions of the general meeting of the A. F. of L. These are herewith quoted together with the supplemental action:

BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS

SUTTER HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.,

November 22, 1915.

Mr. WM. J. SPENCER, *Secretary,*
Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.,
Sutter Hotel, San Francisco, Cal.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: At the session of the A. F. of L. today the convention decided by a unanimous vote that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America be and they were instructed to reaffiliate with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

I am advised that the executive officers of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, having held a meeting, decided to comply with the convention's instruction. Since the adjournment of the convention of the A. F. of L. this evening at 8.30 information has been conveyed to me that the officers of the Brotherhood in the name of the Brotherhood made application for reaffiliation to the Department and it was conveyed to me that a meeting of your Executive Board was held to take the subject-matter of the application into consideration and that at that meeting the vote stood evenly divided, that is, 3 to 3, or for and against said reaffiliation.

Without having the opportunity for a formal and official session of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., I consulted several members thereof and they join me in stating to you, and through you to your Executive Board, and if necessary to the Department, that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is affiliated to the A. F. of L., that Article XV, section 2, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. reads as follows:

"To be entitled to representation in any Department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the A. F. of L."

Thus you will observe that inasmuch as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is in affiliation to the A. F. of L., it is entitled to representation and affiliation to the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

Your attention is also called to Article XV, section 5, as follows:

"Each Department to be considered the official method of the A. F. of L. for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments."

Now, inasmuch as the A. F. of L. has by unanimous vote instructed the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to become affiliated to the Building Trades Department, and the Brotherhood through its executive officers have declared the compliance of the organization they represent that they decide to become affiliated, there can be no rightful objection interposed by the Department to debar the Brotherhood from reaffiliation and representation.

I have called a meeting of the E. C. to be held in this city tomorrow, Tuesday evening. I should be pleased to have a report from you as to the action of your Executive Council and of the Department in regard to the above matter so that the E. C. may take cognizance thereof.

With best wishes for the success of the convention and the Department, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

In compliance with the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention as conveyed in the communication above quoted, an application for membership in the Department was presented by the officials of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which after mature consideration was favorably acted upon so that the organization is now in full affiliation with the Department.

The following resolution was also referred to the convention of the Building Trades Department by the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, We believe that the many perplexing problems confronting and worked out, in local Building Trades Councils, furnish most valuable experience, which would be of very great benefit to the Building Trades Department, if available in its convention; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the embittered feelings of international officials, over jurisdictional matters, sometimes prevents harmonious action, no matter how righteous the cause; therefore be it

Resolved, That we delegates to the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity, in regular session assembled this 27th day of October, 1915, request the convention of the A. F. of L. to take some action that will cause the Building Trades Department to seat credentialed delegates from local councils chartered by the Building Trades Department, and we hereby instruct our delegate to the convention to do all in his power to secure this most desirable change.

In order that the record may be completely preserved the report of the committee to which the resolution was referred and which was adopted by the convention is herewith quoted:

This resolution was presented to the convention of the A. F. of L. and referred to the Building Trades Committee of that convention and by it referred to the convention of the Building Trades Department, in turn being referred to the Resolutions Committee, the committee having in mind the inadvisability of the adoption of the resolution itself, and having knowledge of the actions of previous conventions of the Building Trades Department bearing upon the subjects-matter contained in the resolution, recommend that the resolution be non-concurred in.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America

It is a great pleasure to report to the A. F. of L. that following the issuance of a charter by the parent body, the Building Trades Department likewise granted a certificate of affiliation to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, so that the remaining link has been added to our chain of International Unions and the group of organizations eligible to membership in the Building Trades Department is now complete.

The addition of the bricklayers has augmented the membership of the Department some seventy thousand members, and while the increase will appear gratifyingly essential to all concerned, still the greatest value of the addition of the bricklayers to the Department lies in the unanimity of action which is now possible as well as our capability to institute local councils in those districts which by reason of their size and territorial location we were unable to charter previously. Indeed a new impetus will be given the local councils of the Department throughout the country in general by reason of the added influence the membership of the Bricklayers will convey.

Amalgamation of Divisional Branches With Basic Trades

It might be well to report at this time the consolidation of the Amalgamated Glass Workers with the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators. This arrangement was mutually entered into sometime prior to the San Francisco Convention, but owing to the fact that we were unable to procure a copy of the agreement at the time referred to we were unable to report it to the last annual meeting.

The absorption will without doubt give the Art Glass Workers added influence and prestige as well as immeasurably strengthen the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. A list of organizations which have consolidated since the inception of the Building Trades Department follows:

Wood Workers with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.
 Amalgamated Carpenters with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.
 Cement Finishers with the Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association.
 Cement Laborers with the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union.
 Steamfitters with the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.
 Amalgamated Glass Workers with the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Summary of Affiliated Organizations

During the past year charters have been granted to the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, the Ohio State Building Trades Council and to the following local councils:

Beaumont, Tex.	Miami, Fla.	Phoenix, Ariz.
Coshocton, Ohio.	Middletown, Ohio.	Pittsburg, Kans.
De Kalb, Ill.	Montreal, Can.	Port Arthur, Tex.
Greenfield, Mass.	Newark, Ohio.	Salem, Ohio.
Jamestown, N. Y.	New Brunswick, N. J.	Texarkana, Ark.-Tex.
Kokomo, Ind.	New London, Conn.	Topeka, Kans.
Lake Co., Ill.	Norwich, Conn.	Tuscon, Ariz.
Lansing, Mich.	Orange & Montclair, N. J.	Wheeling, W. Va.

We have also rechartered the Building Trades Councils in the cities named below:

Akron, Ohio.	Grand Rapids, Mich.	Rockford, Ill.
Champaign-Urbana, Ill.	New Rochelle, N. Y.	San Antonio, Tex.
El Paso, Tex.	Omaha, Nebr.	Tulsa, Okla.
	Ottawa, Ill.	

With the foregoing added to our membership we are now in a position to report two hundred and twenty-four local building trades councils, six state building trades councils and nineteen international unions.

At the same time we regret to advise that eighteen of our local councils have lapsed. However, after deducting these eighteen from the number of organizations chartered in the past year we still have a net gain of sixteen councils, and in spite of the fact that two of our international unions were declared ineligible to membership in the Department at the San Francisco Convention, our affiliated international unions now cover a total of approximately 541,643 members.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Mr. Albert J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer, submitted a report covering some of the more important work that the Department has been engaged in during the past year.

The San Francisco Convention of this Department, among other things of importance, discussed conditions of employment in the navy yards, naval stations and arsenals of the United States government. Realizing the importance of thorough organization in these plants in order to improve conditions and to be prepared to render such assistance as we

can to the officials of the United States government who favor government construction in these plants, the convention, upon the recommendation of the President, amended its constitution permitting the affiliation of all locals whose members are employed in navy yards, naval stations and arsenals and recognized by the American Federation of Labor. As a consequence of this action we have been able to organize councils in four additional navy yards since this amendment was adopted.

There also has resulted a better state of organization, a better understanding and more activity in these plants today than there has ever been before in the history of the government. We are of the opinion that it is well these employes should be given a great deal of attention for if the present program of this administration is carried out it is reasonable to assume that within the next twelve months there will be approximately fifty thousand men in this branch of the government service, which is equivalent in membership to many of the international organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. This statement is made because these employes will have to rely largely upon officers of the A. F. of L. in the city of Washington for active assistance; at this time it is necessary to adjust the greater number of their grievances with the officials of the government at Washington, D. C., and we have been pleased to give much of our time to this work.

It is almost impossible to put in figures what we have assisted in securing for these employes during the past year. The daily pay roll, however, has increased approximately \$25,000 per day during the year. Of course, this is not entirely due to the increase in the wage rate—the amount is influenced some by an additional number of employes.

Label for the Metal Trades Department

The San Francisco Convention of this Department gave consideration to a joint label for this Department and in accordance with the action of the Department the officers have designed a label which will be submitted to the coming convention for its approval. A facsimile is submitted with this report. The use of this label we believe will instill a desire for greater cooperation among our affiliated internationals.

Conditions of Employment on Panama Canal

In accordance with a provision contained in the Canal Act employment on the Canal Zone was automatically changed from "construction" to "maintenance" on June 30, 1916, which change carried with it the taking away of certain privileges granted to the employes such as rent, fuel, electric current, hospital attention, etc.

An effort was made to include in the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill an amendment which would permit of the continuation of these privileges to the employes. We were successful in having the amendment inserted in the Senate but in conference the conferees on the part of the House, who were opposed to the legislation, refused to recede from their position and as a consequence the amendment was stricken out. Later on the President of the United States was appealed to and a conference held with him and later with the Secretaries of War and Labor, to whom the President had referred the subject-matter for investigation and report. A number of conferences followed with the two Secretaries and after a thorough investigation as to the authority of the President to issue an Executive Order continuing the conditions of employment on the Canal Zone, they reported that legal authorities held that the President had authority to issue an Executive Order continuing the conditions of employment. In accordance with the report the President issued the following:

Executive Order

Establishing regulations providing conditions under which the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company employes on the Isthmus of Panama may be allowed the use of quarters, fuel and electric current.

By virtue of the authority vested in me, and the Panama Canal Act approved August 24, 1912, it is hereby ordered:

1. That the Executive Order of January 15, 1915, No. 2120, is hereby rescinded and abrogated.
2. That effective July 1, 1916, officers and employes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama shall be allowed, where

available, quarters, free of rent, and shall be furnished fuel and electric current free.

3. That the Governor of the Panama Canal is hereby authorized to assign to officers and employes of the Panama Canal and of the Panama Railroad Company, such quarters as may be available for occupancy, and to make all rules and regulations necessary to govern the assignment and occupancy of such quarters, including rules and regulations relative to the furnishing of fuel and electric current to officers and employes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company while occupying such quarters.

4. That officers and employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, for whom quarters are not available or who do not occupy such quarters as may be assigned to them by the Governor of the Panama Canal, shall have no claim against the Government of the United States for commutation of quarters not furnished or not occupied, or for fuel and electric current not furnished.

5. That all rules and regulations governing the assignment and occupancy of quarters heretofore promulgated by the Governor of the Panama Canal or the Isthmian Canal Commission, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Executive Order, are continued in full force and effect until such time as they may be changed by regulations promulgated by the Governor of the Panama Canal under authority of this Executive Order; and all rules and regulations heretofore promulgated by the Governor of the Panama Canal in connection with the use and occupancy of quarters and the furnishing of fuel and electric current to officers and employes of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company, inconsistent with the provisions of this Executive Order, are hereby rescinded and abolished.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
25 July, 1916.

(No. 2428.)

Panama Canal Gold Employes' Association

The so-called Gold Employes' Association of the Panama Canal Zone, organized for the purpose of lobbying before the Congress of the United States in support of the measure known as Senate 3457, a bill to provide for recognizing the value of the services of such citizens of the United States not officers of the Army, Navy, or Canal Commission or the Panama Railroad Company, and who served as such officials or employes of the Isthmian Canal Commission or the Panama Railroad Company for a period of three years or more during the construction of said Canal, and making an appropriation therefor, has gone out of existence.

A committee representing this so-called Gold Employes' Association came to Washington. They solicited the cooperation and assistance of this Department but in view of the fact that they were not recognized by the A. F. of L. we refused to give them assistance, confining ourselves entirely to the question of the continuation of the privileges and the wages of the employes organized and recognized by the A. F. of L. The committee did not meet with any success whatever outside of having the bill introduced in Congress. The chairman of the committee has since issued a circular letter in which he gives notice to the membership of the Gold Employes' Association that it has been dissolved.

During the recent past a number of charters have been issued to workers on the Canal Zone, which indicates an awakening and confidence in the bona fide labor movement to secure for them improved conditions.

Consideration will be given to increasing the wage-rate of the employes of the Panama Canal for there has been no increase of a general character during the construction period of the Canal. During this time the cost of living has soared upward to such an extent that it would only be a matter of justice to grant them if for no other reason than this an increase in their wage-rate.

*Jurisdiction of International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers
Over Shipfitters*

For some time past an organization known as the Shipfitters' United Protective Association has been endeavoring to organize and control the shipfitters in the shipbuilding industry. The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers holds jurisdiction over shipfitters and has in its membership at this time a great number of them. During a period covering about eighteen months the shipbuilding industry has been enjoying an unprecedented amount of business. As a result of this the shipfitters have been in great demand and with this demand has come increased activity on the part of this independent organization in the direction of bringing into their fold the shipfitters of the country. We have come in contact with this condition in various localities, especially in the navy yards and it can be said that the fact that this trade is not affiliated to the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers has at times prevented the regular movement from getting more recognition and better results from the Navy Department. In other words, if we hope to continue the present relations which we are enjoying with the government departments, we must assume certain responsibilities with regard to the employment of those employed. In other words, we must be so placed that we can speak authoritatively upon matters affecting any and all of these workers, at the same time not forgetting the government's interests.

We are greatly interested in bringing about the affiliation of this independent organization of shipfitters with the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders and recently I attended their convention held in the city of Brooklyn, N. Y. As a result of my visit a conference between the representatives of this independent organization and the officers of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers will be held either prior to or during the convention of the A. F. of L., when we hope to bring about an amicable adjustment of the differences, and the affiliation of this independent organization with the Brotherhood of Boilermakers.

United States Department of Labor

During the past year as in previous years we have had occasion to call upon the Secretary of Labor for the services of conciliators. In every instance, however, the request was made for this service at the instance of some international organization affiliated with this Department and I am glad to say that every request made by this Department of the Labor Department has been granted. As a result in most instances a very valuable service was rendered to our affiliated internationals in the direction of either bringing about adjustments of threatened disputes or settling strikes that had already occurred.

Legislation

Much beneficial legislation has been enacted during the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, to some of which we gave a great deal of attention and had the assistance and cooperation of our Metal Trades Councils in our efforts to place certain legislation upon the statute books as follows:

The Tavenner amendment prohibiting the payment of premiums and the use of the stop-watch or other time-measuring devices in government establishments.

Leave of absence for employes in navy yards, naval stations and arsenals of fifteen days, which now gives to the navy yard, naval station and arsenal employes thirty days annual leave with pay.

Legislation appropriating money for the purpose of equipping government navy yards for the construction of battleships.

The federal employes' compensation act.

The bill changing the method of fixing the wage-rates in government navy yards, naval stations and arsenals did not pass but this was due largely to the fact that the activities of our Councils and the employes of the navy yards generally were greater toward the enactment of the additional fifteen days leave bill.

Engineers vs. Machinists

A resolution was presented at the San Francisco Convention by the delegates representing the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers complaining that the Machinists were occupying Engineers' positions in several cities. The matter was referred to the Executive Council of our Department. During the year a conference was held between the presidents of the two organizations involved at headquarters and a mutual understanding was reached whereby certain investigations would be made and if the alleged charges of the Engineers were true, the Machinists' representatives agreed that the matter would be straightened out in accordance with jurisdictional rights held by both organizations.

Investigation of the California Shipbuilding Company's Plant

For some time past some metal trades have conducted a strike at this plant. This was the old Craig Shipbuilding Company's plant where our organizations experienced difficulty in establishing fair conditions. The new concern took over all uncompleted contracts, among which was a contract for submarines for the United States government. Several months ago some of the former employees submitted to this Department affidavits in which it was charged that this company was not carrying out specifications. These affidavits were submitted to the officials of the Navy Department and an investigation was conducted. However, the report which was submitted to the Navy Department did not substantiate the charges made, due, we believed, to the lack of proper investigation, but in view of the seriousness of the charges this Department prevailed upon the officials of the Navy Department to conduct a more searching investigation and as a result of our request the Navy Department assigned the Solicitor of the United States Navy to proceed to the California Shipbuilding Company's plant to conduct a personal investigation.

At the present time the report has not been submitted by the solicitor to the Navy Department owing to the fact that he has found it impossible up to this time to take the deposition of a foreman of this plant who has been and is now very ill.

We have taken the position in this case that the organized labor movement is interested in seeing to it that government contracts are carried out to the letter and in accordance with the specifications and further, that we are as interested in the welfare and the future of the men who are to man these ships as we are in the men who construct them.

Organising of Ship Yards

The San Francisco Convention of this Department went on record as favoring the inauguration of the shorter workday in the ship yards. In view of the general condition in other industries it was found impossible to get the affiliated organizations whose members are directly interested in the shipbuilding industry to agree upon a movement in this direction. We are hopeful, however, that a definite and positive declaration will be made at this convention looking to the establishment of the general eight-hour day in the shipbuilding industry. The abnormal conditions in this industry invite such a movement at this time.

The officers of the Department at the request of the internationals have on a number of occasions responded to their call to assist in bringing about the adjustment of acute situations or the settlement of strikes already inaugurated. In fact we have witnessed the most active year of the existence of this Department. We have organized during the year Metal Trades Councils in the following cities:

Anaconda, Mont.	Portsmouth, Va.
Brooklyn, N. Y.	Pittsfield, Mass.
Great Falls, Mont.	Vallejo, Cal.
Jamestown, N. Y.	Wilmington, Del.
	Westfield, Mass.

and reorganized councils at—

Akron, Ohio.	Tri-Cities, Ill.
Baltimore, Md.	Kansas City, Mo.

Increase in Membership

It is safe to report that every international organization affiliated to this Department has increased its membership during the past year and that the activities of each have been greater than in any past year for many years. The possibilities for the future for the metal trades are great. Concerted effort will establish conditions which we have long sought—all that is necessary is to decide upon where our activities are to be centered. There is a gradual but a growing feeling of interest shown in our activities—one that only comes with time and experience, which is the kind that comes to stay.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT

Secretary-Treasurer John Scott of the Railway Employees Department prepared and submitted the following report of the activities for the fiscal year to be included in the report of the Executive Council to the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

At the time of our report to the thirty-fifth annual convention of the A. F. of L. we were emerging from a long period of depression on the railroads in this country which materially affected all of the affiliated organizations, both in regard to the reduction of forces and hours of work. The usual custom of negotiating agreements had been deferred in nearly all cases during the year 1915, and it was not until January, 1916, that conditions had improved sufficiently to warrant the presentation of demands for betterment. The initial step in this direction was participated in by the federated crafts in the southeast, who had since July, 1914, been compelled to postpone their negotiations with the managers of the fourteen railroads in the Southeastern Division owing to the severe depression that followed the beginning of the European war. These conferences were resumed on January 12, 1916, and were finally concluded on March 17, 1916, by the signing up of a joint agreement covering all shop crafts represented, approximately 30,000 men were affected, none of whom received less than one cent per hour increase, while many were granted increases ranging as high as 15 cents an hour in the leveling up of the low rates in effect, over two hundred of these low rates were abolished and minimum rates established for all mechanics, helpers and apprentices; the bulletin hour rule was also established, which provides for overtime to be paid after bulletin hours on all the fourteen roads represented. The agreement is made with the usual thirty-day understanding and may be reopened by either party thereto on receipt of thirty days' notice.

This joint conference, the first of its kind ever held in this country, was a splendid achievement for the organized shop crafts in the railroad industry and bespeaks much for the sincerity of purpose of the members and their devotion to the principles of federation; to them also belongs the credit of being the first to formulate a territorial division in accordance with the constitution of the Department and known as Division No. 3; this we attribute to the fact that the lines in the southeast are more thoroughly organized than other sections of the country. These negotiations were conducted under the direction of the Executive Council of the Railway Employees Department, A. O. Wharton, President of the Department, acting as chairman, representing the employees.

At the close of the Third Biennial Convention of the Department held in Kansas City, April, 1916, Division No. 1 was organized, which comprises the lines west of Chicago and extending to the Canadian border. Arrangements were made to open negotiations on or about July 1 for a wage increase of five cents per hour and the adoption of the eight-hour day and embodying the request for a joint conference with the managers and the several committees similar to Division No. 3. In all 20 railroads have participated in this concerted movement.

The managers declined to meet the committees in joint conference. Not desiring to force this to an issue, we adjusted our plans accordingly and proceeded to meet each road separately. Knowing that the officials of these roads were conferring with one another in regard to our demands we also adjusted ourselves to meet this situation and protect the interests of the men on all roads. Conferences have been going on continuously since July 10.

September 9, at 4 P. M., was the hour we had set to discontinue negotiations and place before the members for their acceptance or rejection such propositions as the respective roads had submitted to the respective committees. The returns of the strike ballot will be compiled and a meeting of the agreement committee and general officers will be held at Kansas

City, Missouri, on September 29, at which time we will know the results of the vote and make final arrangements for bringing these negotiations to a definite conclusion.

In line with progress toward the formation of other divisions of the Department, organizing crews working under instructions from the Department have been assigned to the work throughout the eastern states and have been meeting with good success. This will be known as Division No. 2 comprising the lines east of Chicago, north of the Chesapeake and Ohio, and south of the Canadian boundary. In conjunction with the work of organizing these lines, the officers have devoted a considerable portion of their time to assisting the committees in their negotiations for new agreements. Many of these agreements have been stubbornly contested, extending over a period of several months, and only by the exercise of much patience and forbearance, combined with a determined spirit tempered with good judgment on the part of both officers and members, did we finally succeed in securing a satisfactory settlement.

In many instances we have found it necessary to call upon the United States Department of Labor for the services of a conciliator when further negotiations seemed to be at a deadlock, and it is gratifying to state that our requests have in each case been given prompt attention, many threatened strikes have been averted by the timely intercession of the federal conciliation officers in bringing the employer and employee together to find some mutually satisfactory basis of settlement. The Department deserves the support and commendation of both labor and capital and should be encouraged in its efforts to adjust by peaceful means disagreements that would otherwise spell disaster to all concerned.

It is encouraging to note that with the gradual advance of the federated movement, the advantages of this form of organization are being recognized by both the employer and employee. This has been particularly noticeable during the past year by the number of railroads which have granted federated agreements to the shop trades.

The Railway Employees Department has issued 95 organizers' commissions to the officers of affiliated crafts who are authorized to organize any or all crafts in the formation of system federations, also to represent the Department in rendering assistance in controversies or negotiations, reporting to the President of the Department for directions. During the fiscal year eight system federation charters have been issued; there has also been a splendid growth in the list of members of all affiliated organizations.

The officers of the Department have cooperated with the A. F. of L. in every manner possible toward securing the enactment of beneficial legislation. These important measures advocated by the A. F. of L. have in turn been brought to the attention of all affiliated organizations soliciting their support and cooperation.

The Executive Council of the Department held several meetings during the year for the purpose of discussing many important matters and arriving at decisions directly affecting the welfare and progress of the affiliated organizations.

We have enjoyed the hearty cooperation and support of affiliated organizations in our efforts to perform the functions for which the Department was intended, and we feel fully assured that with this continued support the Department will become more and more effective in advancing the interests of the membership.

MINING DEPARTMENT

James Lord, President of the Mining Department, submitted the following report for that Department:

In accord with established custom, I hereby submit a brief review of the activities of the Mining Department, since the San Francisco Convention.

On account of the terrific situation confronting the Western Federation of Miners, superinduced largely by the Michigan strike and the near destruction of the Miners' Union in Butte, I have of necessity devoted most of my time during the past year to being helpful to that organization, and I am glad to report that persistent effort and cooperation on the part of the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners, the Mining Department and the American Federation of Labor, have begun to bear fruit. The metalliferous miners are in better shape than they have been for some years, and the scope and influence of their organization is being extended.

At the adjournment of the San Francisco Convention, I went directly to what was known as the Clifton-Metcalf-Morenci strike situation in southern Arizona. This had

been non-union territory for many years. Conditions and wages were of the usual execrable status existing in non-union fields, and in addition to this there were local evils existing peculiar to that field. Grafting and selling jobs were found to be prevalent on the part of the bosses and under-bosses—men on the same job and often working in the same stope were paid different wages and there was a general discrimination in the wages paid Americans, Spaniards and Mexican workmen. In some cases the pay for Mexicans doing a practical miner's work was as low as \$1.65 a day.

The men locally tried to get some measure of redress, through representative committees, but were usually unsuccessful, and these efforts generally brought on the rankest kind of discrimination.

On September 11, 1915, made desperate by the continued unreasonable and inhuman attitude of the companies, the entire field walked out. Ninety (90) per cent of these mine workers were Spaniards and Mexicans, but the spirit and solidarity manifested by them have challenged the admiration of the entire labor world.

On October 2, 1915, the matter was brought to the attention of the federal Department of Labor by the Honorable George W. P. Hunt, governor of Arizona. The Department of Labor commissioned Mr. Joseph S. Myers of El Paso, and Mr. Hymel Davies of Lexington, Kentucky, to try to work out an amicable adjustment of this matter, and the two gentlemen were on the ground at the time I arrived. I addressed the miners, went over the field and conferred with the parties at interest. There were about 4,800 men affected, and being forced by the unwarranted and unreasonable attitude of the employers, the strike was launched before the Executive Board could properly consider the matter, or before plans could be made to finance it adequately. In spite of the best efforts of everybody at interest, the financial support coming in was woefully insufficient, and I found a community of hungry men, women and children. I came to the conclusion that with the splendid spirit of the mining population, both men and women, and the inadequacy of funds, I could best help the cause of the strikers by trying to raise funds. Families were actually subsisting a week on the price of a fairly good meal, relief being given out in the form of beans and flour. A local groceryman, had, at the time I was there, exemplified his faith and sympathy with the cause to the tune of extending credit to the amount of \$25,000, and had about reached the place where he could go no further. The sheriff also acted splendidly, and kept the district free from the hired, professional murderers who seem to be a peculiarly American institution in connection with industrial disputes. The sheriff and governor acted splendidly in this connection, and were both determined that the bloody history of Colorado and other western states should not be duplicated in Arizona. They saw to it that law and constitution were for all men alike. After numerous conferences between the federal commissioners and the local mine managers, together with the stockholders from Dunfermline, Scotland, an adjustment was reached on March 16, 1916, which practically carried with it all the demands of the miners. Following are the important features of this adjustment:

1. A minimum wage fixed on the basis of other mining camps in Arizona, regardless of race.
2. A general advance of not less than 20 per cent, to Mexicans and Spaniards.
3. The wages of "skilled" workmen to compare more favorably with the best in the state than ever before.
4. Immediate reemployment of old employes without discrimination, excepting ten men, charged with criminal acts, this matter to be carefully and impartially considered.
5. The Camp Duncan refugees (scabs) to return without friction and to receive equal treatment with the resident strikers.
6. Guarantees that foremen guilty of exploitation or grafting for individual profit, or permitting it to be done, be promptly discharged.
7. The job to fix the wage, regardless of race.
8. Mine committees to be recognized, the managers to hold monthly conferences with their respective committees, and all disputes fairly considered.
9. Recognition of the local organization.

The results have been fairly satisfactory, and are a step in the right direction. The old atmosphere of fear and discrimination has been largely cleared up, and every man in this field is walking up and paying his dues and taking an interest in his organization. The committees act individually on local matters, and collectively on matters affecting the district

as a whole. The spirit of this settlement is being observed by both sides, and race prejudice entirely removed.

The men are deeply appreciative of the support given them in their struggle by the Arizona union, and the labor movement in general. The federal commissioners acted splendidly and intelligently in handling this affair, and Governor George Hunt, by his fearless and humane attitude, has won a place in the minds and hearts of all lovers of democracy, on the same plane as the immortal Altgeld.

The most striking feature in connection with this matter, and the methods of dealing with it, is that not one life was lost or one dollar's worth of property destroyed.

On February 13 I attended a conference of the iron miners at Dover, New Jersey, for the purpose of helping them to formulate a proposed schedule of prices and working conditions. They are building a splendid organization in this field, and the probabilities are that in the very near future an agreement will be reached, carrying with it several needed improvements, full recognition and the check-off.

On February 16 I sent the following circular letter to the members of both houses, relative to the Burnett Immigration bill:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Feb. 16, 1916.*

DEAR SIR: In the name of the nearly one-half million men affiliated with the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., and for the good of all workers of America, I am hereby requesting you to vote for the passage of the Burnett Immigration bill.

Employers of labor, especially those connected with employers' associations and shipping trusts, are utterly selfish and un-American in their desire for unrestricted immigration conditions. Their greedy desire for profit overshadows all attempts of the workers to resist the breaking down of American standards of working and living and, as some of them have brutally stated, they find the pauper immigrant laborer an excellent wage regulator.

We in the ranks of labor do not propose to be so regulated; we object to being brought to the economic and social conditions of the Southern European pauper laborer, and we ask you in the name of Americanism, justice, and common decency and honesty, to vote for the passage of this bill, even over the President's veto.

The A. F. of L. and all the affiliated international, district and local unions are unanimous in their desire for the provisions of the bill, and we sincerely hope that our plea to you will not be in vain.

Yours truly,

JAMES LORD,
President, Mining Department, A. F. of L.

During the month of March I attended the convention of the striking Smeltermen at Pittsburg, Kansas, and with representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, put forth every effort to secure an amicable solution of the trouble. An agreement was finally reached, signed by the representatives of the employers and the organization, carrying with it many improvements, including the check-off. This agreement now affects about three thousand men in the Pittsburg field and vicinity.

On April 21 I went to the Copper Hill, Tennessee District, and began the work of organization there. This field is situated on the borders of Tennessee, Georgia and North Carolina. The Miners and Smeltermen are gradually building up their organization, and the future outlook is promising.

A deplorable state of affairs has existed at Rosiclare, Illinois, for five months. This field is located in Hardin County, Illinois, one of the two counties of Illinois that are absolutely without railroad facilities. The only means of transportation in or out of Rosiclare is the Ohio River. There are two companies operating there—The Rosiclare Lead and Fluorspar Company and the Fairview Fluorspar and Lead Company. The Rosiclare Company is the larger concern and dominates the other company and is part of the John R. McLean Estate. It has always been operated on a non-union basis, and the only reason for the lock-out continuing now is the continued declaration of the company that it will not allow any of its men to join a labor union. Every demand for a conference on the part of the men has been repulsed. Almost every crime on the calendar has been committed by the hirelings

of the company, with the full knowledge and apparent sanction of the Sheriff of Hardin County.

The Department of Labor, through Mr. Hymel Davies and Mark Crawford, has tried to settle the matter, but up to date has not met with success. I have put forth every effort, both on the ground and in Washington, the headquarters of the McLeans, but have always met with that union hating spirit that characterized those in control since the beginning of the trouble. Gunmen from across the Ohio River in Kentucky have been imported, they have marched up into the town with masks on their faces and have driven practically the entire mining population out, including the mayor and city marshal. Women and children were brutally treated, and everyone either on strike or in sympathy with it were ordered to "not let the sun go down on those in Rosiclare." At the present time, the gunmen have been removed, at least openly, and the inhabitants gradually coming back into the town. The spirit of the men and women is splendid, and they are determined to win the rights of constitutional government and full citizenship in this fight.

The labor movement in Illinois is helpful in every possible way and is determined to clear up this disgraceful system of peonage.

Some splendid progress has been made by the affiliated unions during the past year.

From September 1, 1915, to September 1, 1916, the International Association of Machinists made a gain of 47,413 members.

One hundred and twenty-eight strikes in 35 cities were won. About 50 cents per day increase and a reduction of one hour per day have been won, and 12,511 machinists have had their hours reduced from 9 to 8. They have paid out in strike benefits \$32,370. In death benefits \$67,552.55. This is in addition to money spent by local lodges.

Wherever a reduction of hours or increase in pay was secured as a result of these strikes, other trades in the shop were similarly benefited, especially the metal trades.

The United Mine Workers of America has been singularly successful, having established the mine run system, which means paying for all coal mined, and the abolition of the former basis of paying only for the coal that passed over the screen, practically throughout their jurisdiction, with a general advance in wages. They are carrying on propaganda work in practically every non-union field in America and have chartered 206 new local unions during the past year.

The Western Federation of Miners has also met with encouraging success. They have been extending their organization in the Southwest, Canada, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma and New Jersey. They have suffered a minimum of reverses in Canada as a result of the European war and have made some substantial gains in Quebec and Ontario. They had one of the best conventions at Great Falls, Mont., that they have ever held, and some valuable legislation was enacted at this convention that will prove beneficial to them in their future work, the unanimous approval of the convention being given to the changing of the name, "Western Federation of Miners," to "International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers," and the establishment of the District or "home rule" plan of organization wherever practicable, similar to that of the United Mine Workers of America. They are making steady progress and increasing their membership and gradually emerging from the terrific difficulties they have been encountering during the last few years.

The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has also adopted the District plan, the United States being divided into five districts, and Canada into two districts. This course of action has resulted in working conditions being improved about 50 per cent, and has proved a most efficient way of handling the business of the organization. They have District headquarters at Chicago, Illinois; New York City; Knoxville, Tennessee; San Francisco, California; Spokane, Washington; Edmonton, Alberta, and Thorold, Ontario.

A jurisdictional dispute is pending between the Brotherhood and the Steam and Operating Engineers which could easily be settled by the interested parties getting together and agreeing on the terms of jurisdiction of each organization. It is to be hoped that at some time during the Baltimore Convention this is done, and the Mining Department will be glad and willing to be helpful in any way in adjusting this matter.

The prospect of organizing Butte, Montana, looks encouraging. After the Great Falls convention, I went to Butte and held two splendid meetings, and all the organized trades expressed their willingness to go the limit in the work of re-organization. A district organ-

ization, with self-governing locals at the different mines and smelters, with a District headquarters in Butte, will, in my opinion, be established in the near future.

The unions affiliated to the Mining Department at this time are:

The United Mine Workers of America.

The Western Federation of Miners.

The International Association of Machinists.

The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America.

CANADA

P. M. Draper, secretary-treasurer for the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, made the following report of the year's work for that organization:

Despite the war conditions, which have continued during the year, the organized labor movement has been alert to the interests of the workers and many advances, both through the industrial and the legislative organizations, have been made.

The general desire to eliminate strikes in the various industries in this crisis of the Dominion's history has reduced industrial strife to the minimum and very few cessations of work to enforce demands have taken place. In the industries coming under the provisions of the Industrial Disputes and Investigations Act there were a number of applications for Boards of Investigation and Conciliation, but to meet the difficult situations that had to be faced in some of these industries the provisions of the act were ineffective and Royal Commissions had to be appointed to investigate conditions and report to the government. The two most important cases of this kind were in connection with the demands of the machinists of Toronto and Hamilton for better wages and a nine-hour day, and the demands of the metalliferous miners of Cobalt for an advance in wages of fifty cents a day.

In the case of the machinists of Toronto and Hamilton the Royal Commission reported in favor of a minimum wage of 37½ cents an hour, unanimously, while the chairman of the commission, with Labor's representative, favored the inauguration of the nine-hour day. The manufacturers of war munitions, involved in this investigation and award, refused to comply with the findings of the commission, and in violation of the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigations Act the men went on strike.

The official censor appointed to prevent the publication of news detrimental to the interests of the Allies in the present war placed a censorship on all news with reference to the strike, but the *Industrial Banner*, the official organ of organized labor in the Province of Ontario refused to observe the censorship on the ground that the paper was owned and controlled by organized labor and was published to defend the interests of the organized workers, when attacked. The censor was notified that owing to the fact that the machinists were fighting to enforce the award of a Royal Commission appointed by the Government *The Industrial Banner* would give the widest publicity to the details of the strike. The action of this labor paper eventually compelled the censor to lift the censorship from the other daily and labor newspapers.

In the case of the metalliferous miners of Cobalt, Ont., there were forty-two companies operating different mines. Owing to the fact that they would not or could not agree upon one man to represent them on a board of investigation and conciliation, under the Industrial Disputes and Investigations Act, the Minister of Labor refused to appoint a board at the request of the miners, and appointed a Royal Commission instead. This commission has made its award, largely in the interests of the men, but the companies had not intimated their intentions to accept or reject the award at the time of writing this report.

In the case of the miners in the asbestos mines of Thetford Mines, Que., the Minister of Labor refused to appoint a board of investigation and conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Investigations Act, because the five companies operating the mines refused to agree upon one man to represent them. A strike resulted in defiance of the Industrial Disputes Investigations Act, and a number of interned aliens from an adjacent internment camp, were working in the mines while the men were out on strike. Some of the interned aliens had union cards and refused to work soon after the strike broke out. They were returned to the internment camps.

The Industrial Disputes Investigations Act was also extended to take in the workers in munition and war supplies factories during the war. This action was taken by an Order

in Council, under the War Measures Act, 1914. Owing to this fact, and owing to the general dissatisfaction with the manner in which the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigations Acts were being applied, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, at its recent convention in Toronto, voted by a large majority, to apply to the next session of the federal Parliament for the repeal of this act, better known as the Lemieux Act.

Between 300,000 and 400,000 men have enlisted for active service at the front since the war began, and last year organized labor had to report a reduction of approximately 22,000 in membership. The enlisting of so many men has created a scarcity of labor and the unemployment problem has been temporarily suspended. On the other hand the scarcity of labor has made it easier for workmen in many occupations to obtain increases in wages and shorter hours of labor. In the metal industries the tendency has been for wages to rise, and while the demand for munitions of war has required the extension of the working time, in many instances the recognized working day has been reduced with the result that overtime rates of pay are being allowed for an increased number of hours during a long work day. The wages of machinists have been increased from 22 to 25 cents an hour to 37½ and 42 cents an hour, and in some cases, where the piecework system has been in force in the manufacturing of munitions of war, and where the machinists have been called upon to work long hours, the daily rate of pay has reached \$6 a day. These are the exceptions, however, and not the rule.

Even in many of the branches of the building trades where work has not been very plentiful, and when, under different circumstances, there would have been competition for work among the men engaged in that industry, there have been substantial increases of wages granted. The constant protest of organized labor against the manufacturers and employers generally making profit out of the manufacturing of munitions of war has led to increases in wages and improved conditions all over the country, while the investigations inspired by the actions of central labor bodies have been the means of exposing the avariciousness of greedy and unscrupulous employers, and thus compelling the government to take action against such companies.

In spite of these encouraging tendencies there is an insistent demand being made by the organized workers for a thorough investigation of the industrial conditions in the Dominion along similar lines as the investigation conducted by the Commission on Industrial Relations in the United States. The Trades and Labor Congress, at its recent convention in Toronto, instructed the Executive Council to urge the government to appoint such a commission, but before making their representations to the Government sufficient data will be collected from the industrial centers to support the demand for the appointment of such a commission.

While not overlooking the importance of making the industrial organizations as strong as possible, the organized labor movement, through the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and the different provincial Executive Committees, are not allowing the legislators of the country to ignore the pressing demands for legislative changes that will make effective the ever-present demands of the workers. Although the Prime Minister emphasized the big task the federal Parliament had before it to prosecute the present war to a successful issue, and although Labor's bill of rights, adopted at the Vancouver Convention, in 1915, could not be presented, owing to the important responsibilities of the Government, as mentioned by the Prime Minister, the workers have experienced one of the most progressive years in the history of the labor movement, so far as legislative enactments in the various provincial legislatures are concerned.

Ontario.—In the Ontario Legislature the plea of the Miners for a semi-monthly pay-day has been effective and they are now paid every two weeks instead of every month. The demand for a more efficient Labor Department has also moved the legislature to reorganize the Provincial Labor Department and place it under a responsible minister, with a new head, who will devote all his time to matters affecting Labor's interests.

Quebec.—In the Province of Quebec legislation has been secured to prevent municipalities issuing licenses to Stationary Engineers without the proper qualifications; municipalities were given the power to pass by-laws closing barber shops at an earlier hour than at present, and an effort was defeated to restore the legislation compelling all candidates at municipal elections to own property at a certain assessed value before they could run for public office. Two labor papers have made their appearance in that province, in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, and the international trade unionists are pleased to record the interment of the National Trades Council of the City of Montreal after several years'

effort to justify its existence as a destroyer of the international spirit in the labor movement. In this province there is an attempt being made to organize what are known as "Confessional Unions" approved by the ecclesiastical authorities, and one of these organizations recently clashed with the local union of the Western Federation of Miners of Thetford Mines. This dangerous type of organization led the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to instruct the Executive Council to make an effort in cooperation with the Executive Committee of the province of Quebec, to bring about the same condition that prevails in the United States where the ecclesiastical power is on the side of the International Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Manitoba.—In the province of Manitoba malfeasance in office proved the downfall of a government, and the Liberal Party came into power. The workers in the north Winnipeg constituency elected a staunch trades unionist, R. A. Rigg, business agent for the Central Labor Council, and member of the Bookbinders' Union, and the first session will rank as a labor session. The value of enforcing legislation as well as enacting legislation was emphasized when the government redrafted the act establishing the Labor Bureau, and placed the Ex-President of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council at the head to enforce rigidly the provisions of the Shops Regulation Act, the Factories' Act, Bake Shops' Act, Public Buildings' Act, Passenger and Freight Elevators' Act, Trades Protection Act, and all similar acts.

A Workmen's Compensation Act was passed, but owing to the Railway Brotherhoods opposing the state insurance features, that were urgently pressed by all other branches of organized labor, the act is not what the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Manitoba Executive Committee desired. It provides for compulsory insurance with private companies. An Act to Establish and Protect the Wages of Workmen was also passed and in the future a wages board will fix the rates of wages on the basis of union rates, where there are unions and prevailing rates where there are no unions. The shops Regulation Act was amended to place the age limit of children working in shops at fourteen years, and cutting fourteen hours off the maximum week's work of such children. The Factories' Act was amended by bringing factories where three persons are employed under its provisions. Overtime hours were reduced and Chinese laundries were brought under the act. The Bake Shops Act was amended, making the age limit fourteen years. The public Amusement Act provides for the examining and licensing of Moving Picture Operators as asked for by the Operators' Union. In the Garnishment Act the amount exempt from garnishment was raised from \$25 to \$40, and the act regarding inspection of steam boilers provides for the licensing of the engineer in charge. A bill to provide for direct legislation through the initiative and referendum was passed, subject to the decision of the Privy Council with reference to its constitutionality, and the franchise was extended to women on the same basis as men.

Saskatchewan.—In the province of Saskatchewan, trade unionists were elected to the councils in three cities at the last municipal elections.

British Columbia.—In the province of British Columbia a commission was appointed to investigate the workings of different Workmen's Compensation Acts in Canada and the United States and to collect all available data with the view of preparing an act for that province. Mr. James McVety, the nominee of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, was appointed as Labor's representative on the commission. At the last session of the legislature a Workmen's Compensation Act was passed along the lines recommended by the commission, and is regarded as a splendid act by the workers of British Columbia. An act affecting Moving Picture Operators was also passed, which provided for a provincial licensing and examination system. An act to assist in reducing the number of Asiatics in the coal mines was also passed. The Retail Clerks secured the enactment of a measure providing for a weekly half-holiday, the day to be chosen by the electorate in the municipalities. The revival of metal mining in the province has revived the activities of the Western Federation of Miners and a very successful convention was held at Trail, in March.

New Brunswick.—In the province of New Brunswick the Factory Act was amended to provide suitable seats for female clerks in stores. An act was passed authorizing the city of St. John to build homes for workmen. The Workmen's Compensation Act was amended, making it easier for the injured workman to get compensation. The Attorney General for the province made the announcement for the government that a commission would be appointed to take up the question of compensation for workmen with the idea of preparing an up-to-date act, one of whom would be a labor man.

Nova Scotia.—In the province of Nova Scotia an act was passed providing for the guaranteeing of 85 per cent of the bonds, (by municipalities) of companies for the purpose of building modern homes for workingmen, the profits of such companies to be limited to 6 per cent. A bill regulating the payment of wages to the employes of coal companies was passed.

One of the important questions that is interesting the workers of Canada is the increasing cost of the prime necessities of life, and at the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada the Executive Council was instructed to urge immediately upon the Government to take active measures to either control the food supplies or prevent the undue increases in the cost of these necessities. In response to the demands of the Executive Council of the Congress, the Cabinet of the federal government appointed a committee of three cabinet ministers to take up the question immediately, and the representatives of organized labor were of the opinion at the time this report was written that the Government would compel individual companies, corporations and combines to justify their actions in increasing prices in submitting financial statements covering all details of cost of necessities, overhead charges in handling the same, etc., etc.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has adopted the idea set forth in the resolution of the American Federation of Labor favoring the holding of a conference of the representatives of Labor at the time and place where the diplomats of the belligerent powers meet at the close of the present war, but owing to Canada being a part of the British Empire, and in view of the fact that the British Trades Union Congress has rejected the proposal of the A. F. of L. with reference to this conference, the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, recently held in Toronto, instructed the Executive Council to communicate with the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress with the view to ascertaining whether it was the intention to call a conference of the labor representatives of the different parts of the British Empire or the labor representatives of the allied powers. The position taken by the delegates to the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was that in the event of a conference of the labor representatives of the British Empire or the allied nations being called, the Labor Congress of Canada and the labor congresses of the other parts of the empire should be represented. It is their hope that a conference on the lines adopted by the American Federation of Labor will be possible.

International trades unionism is more firmly entrenched in the hearts of the workers of Canada at the end of 1916 than ever before. Many of the unions that seceded from the international organizations have returned to the international world, and others are discussing the advisability of taking that course. After-the-war conditions will tend to strengthen the bonds that have cemented the workers of the United States and Canada together, and the outlook is very hopeful.

PORTO RICO

Santiago Iglesias, president of the Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico, submitted this annual report:

The Economic Problems.—This is the most serious question with which the Island has to contend at present. For several years the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico has been demanding a complete investigation of the sources of wealth prior to any change that might be suggested and promulgated by Congress in our organic act. From 1913 to 1915, and up to June, 1916, the island suffered an economic crisis unprecedented in its history.

The original causes rest on our system of production and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. Over two-thirds of this wealth, wrested from our soil, has been taken abroad, thus minimizing circulation and neutralizing individual activities to the extent of converting the island into a region of serfdom exploited by and for the sole benefit of the corporations that invest their capital in Porto Rico.

If we look back some nineteen years we will observe that the general expense budget for Porto Rico, as a Spanish colony—that is, in 1898—was greater than that for the fiscal year 1915-1916, which amounted to \$5,570,839.79 as against the last Spanish budget of \$7,566,020.26 for insular and municipal uses, which was employed in the upkeep of sinecures, the clergy and the army.

The population in 1897 was 894,911 while, according to the census of 1910, it has risen

to 1,118,012. The wealth of the island amounted then to \$85,000,000 pesos provinciales, and in 1915 it had mounted up to \$192,981,600. This is exclusive of the enormous sugar production, which must have furnished an additional \$12,000,000.

In 1901 all importations from the United States amounted to \$8,918,136, and in the year 1916 the importations amounted to \$38,951,166.

The exportations in 1901 amounted to \$8,583,967, while in the year 1916 the exportations amounted to \$56,731,573; the total bulk of commerce in 1901 was \$17,502,103; in 1916, \$105,000,000; the supposed balance of trade in favor of the Island amounting to \$27,000,000 as compared with \$15,000,000 for the last year previous.

In spite of these growing figures wages in Porto Rico for the agricultural workers who produced those millions of dollars, range about as follows: Children working from eight to ten hours a day, 1901 to 1916, 15 cents, women, 30 cents, men an average from 55 to 65 cents per day, for a workday of eight to ten hours. The cost of living went up 40 per cent.

We have 250,000 children entirely devoid of all school facilities; the army of unemployed is enormous; the work of sanitation has been handicapped and laws conducive to the protection of labor have been suspended and the community at large has been placed in a most embarrassing predicament.

On the other hand oppression and brutality terrorized the workers. Social crimes have been committed against the people previously unknown.

Daring onslaughts have been attempted and carried out against the aspirations of the people.

The corporations have been given all the power that could be given to them to exploit the mass of laborers.

The right of free speech and assembly have practically been abolished and all sorts of abuses have been resorted to against the helpless workers whose aim is to live like human beings and not like animals.

The government of Porto Rico is borrowing money in the United States at the rate of 4 and 4½ per cent for public works, but in Porto Rico the rates of loans to the people are 12 to 20 and in some instances even 100 per cent of interest for the poor people. The government should stop the system of usury and financial exploitation of the people of Porto Rico.

The legislature has ignored this situation and every demand for an investigation has been postponed. Nevertheless, Congress has under consideration a new organic act which purposed to disfranchise a large portion of our voters of their rights, providing that property holders only shall be eligible to hold office, and annulling that clause in the Foraker Act which limits to 500 the acres of land that a corporation can possess in the island.

Our labor organizations have protested against these clauses, and President Gompers and Treasurer Lennon were present at a hearing celebrated in the Senate, speaking in favor of our ideas and aspirations. This hearing was held at the request of Mr. Gompers, a fact in itself a high tribute to the cause of social justice demanded for the laboring people of the island.

Convention of the Agricultural Workers.—On September 2-4 a convention of the Agricultural Workers was held at the Legislative Hall, San Juan. All the agricultural unions of the Island and almost all districts of agriculturalists sent representatives for the first time in the labor history of the Island. Among the important matters that were discussed there was approved a proposed agreement to be discussed with the employers, which clauses are as follows:

Draft Agreement for Agricultural Workers Engaged in the Sugar Cane Industry for the Grinding Season 1916 to 1917

1. The daily working hours will be eight. In cases of extraordinary emergency extra hours can be worked through a mutual agreement between the employers and employees.

2. A general increase of forty cents per day over the wages paid during 1916, taking as a basis the minimum wage of sixty cents.

As an illustration: The workers who earned sixty cents during the grinding season of 1915 to 1916, will earn a dollar for the same amount of work under similar conditions understood as a basis for the minimum wage-scale on this agreement.

The workers who earned during last season sixty-five cents will receive

during next crop a dollar and five cents. Those earning seventy cents will receive a dollar and ten cents.

3. The hours to commence work will be from seven to eleven A. M. and from one to five P. M.

4. The work to be done under contract, will be undertaken by group of workers, and it will provide in the contract that the *ajustadores* will not receive less than one dollar and that they will not be compelled or permitted to work more than eight hours, and that the *colonos*, centralists or their representatives will be liable for the payment of "*ajustes*" to the gang of men.

5. The payment for all works performed will take place on Saturdays from three o'clock and on this day the work will commence at noon time. The payment of wages will be done on the place of labor or in the office of the central or in the residence of the *colono* for whom the laborers work.

6. The law protecting the women and children will be strictly followed in accordance with the provisions of same.

7. There should be no persecution of any worker because he has taken an active stand in the leadership of a strike or of any demands made on any employer or overseer, which may tend to the betterment of his fellow workers, and if any such workers have been deprived from work on this account they should be immediately replaced.

8. The women and children working on the fields, will receive as compensation for their labor a twenty-five cents increase over the wages earned by them during last season and in no case should they be paid less than fifty cents per day.

9. The treatment that should prevail between employers and employees would be of a mutually respectful and affable nature, and for the purpose of settling any differences that may arise, the workers will appoint a committee composed of five men engaged in the works of the *colonia* where the controversy arises and this committee will see the employer or his representatives with a view of settling the differences, but meanwhile the conference is going on, the men involved will continue their work until a satisfactory answer is given.

10. The provisions of this contract will be signed before the Chief of the Bureau of Labor by the commission of *colonos* or centralists or the managers of the plantations involved and by the workers who may be in charge of the movement. The fulfillment of this contract will take effect immediately after its approval and should be signed by the parties interested to take effect from December, 1916, till July 1, 1917.

The policy announced to the people of Porto Rico by the military representatives of the American people and by the American administration, in the moment of the occupancy of this island, was that their object in acquiring control over us had for its purpose the putting into practice the humanitarian sentiments of their civilized methods and to endeavor toward the liberation of the people, giving them protection and recognizing at the same time their civil and human rights.

At the present time the sugar and tobacco corporations are under the control of a number of persons that are non-residents of this island, to a great extent these persons being the principal elements of the sugar trust, as well as the tobacco trust, and persons of great influence. They consider the Porto Rican workers are prepared to produce great wealth at a low cost and such persons are the ones that make strong opposition to any effort that may be made in this country with a view of bettering the conditions of the working class and educate them to better living conditions. Such people receive the aid and are backed up by the government and by a great number of politicians and exploiters of the working class. The result of this policy is that most of the wealth produced by the agricultural workers and by the industrial workers of Porto Rico is sent out of the country where they keep all the rents and gains that are taken from the hard toil of the laborers, to be spent in luxuries and to be invested far from Porto Rico. We may assert that about 60 per cent of the net gains which are obtained through the work of the laborers in Porto Rico are sent periodically to their countries, while the activity for securing new gains at the factories where the Porto Rican peons working for their masters continues.

Comment on the Agricultural Strike of 1916.—In connection with the agricultural strike of 1916, the Bureau of Labor has to say:

"The most important strike during the year was the agricultural strike, which involved approximately 40,000 men. The strike is fully covered in the Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau submitted to the General Assembly on February 25, 1916.

"It is due the workers to say that in every instance they stood ready to submit their case to arbitration and conciliation, and wherever the employers met the workers in that friendly spirit, settlements were reached. Only in districts where the employers refused to accept arbitration, as suggested by the employees and also by the Bureau, were there any disturbances. While in some districts wages were slightly increased over the wage paid last year, yet the increase granted was not in proportion to the unprecedented price the employers were receiving for sugar. In other districts the workers received practically the same wage as when sugar was selling for \$3.25. Taking everything into consideration, the increase in the staple food of the workers—beans, rice, codfish, etc., and sugar selling at a price never dreamed of by the employers, the workers were fully justified in asking for an increase over the wages paid during the last crop."

Statement from the State Federation of Labor.—The same history of the past year has been repeated in 1916. About 40,000 agricultural workers from among the more than 600,000 peasants who are starving in Porto Rico went on strike this year again demanding better wages and shorter hours, and again became the victims of the combinations and conspiracies of the corporations, politicians and local governmental officials. In Juana-Diaz some four men were killed by the police, and 15 of them wounded, four women were also wounded and two children. Wholesale arrests were made, and no serious action taken by the government against those onslaughts committed against the poor people. In Loiza the police, with the agents of the corporations, killed a man and wounded several of them. The labor temple of Bayamon was attacked by the police and charters were broken by the bullets of the police. Right of bail was denied, meetings and parades were disbanded by shooting and clubbing of the police and agents of the sugar corporations, and the workingmen were again helpless in this island under the domain of the politicians, the terror, and the dollar, that have been imposed to discredit the American institutions and the American administration in this island.

Cigarmakers' Strike.—After having maintained the strike for some 20 days, in August, 1916, 3,000 cigarmakers had a splendid triumph, as may be seen from the communication I reproduce herein and which was sent by the first vice-president of the trust to the strike committee:

AUGUST 28, 1916.

GENTLEMEN OF THE STRIKE COMMITTEE,
San Juan, P. R.

GENTLEMEN: Referring to our interview of today we take pleasure to confirm to you our offer in order to bring about a settlement in the present cigarmakers' strike in San Juan and Bayamon.

1st. The company will cancel the Local Contract entered into with the San Lorenzo cigarmakers. This is the only contract in effect and if there should exist any other of which this Board had no knowledge, it would *ipso facto* be declared without effect.

2d. The company offers the following increases on the following cigars:

Pacificos.....	50 cents per M.
Papetelas Finas.....	50 " " "
Brevas largas.....	50 " " "
Petit Duc.....	50 " " "
Papetelas Superiores.....	50 " " "
Longfellow.....	50 " " "
Excepcionales.....	50 " " "
Bouquets.....	25 " " "
Brevas Finas.....	25 " " "

This increase will be granted upon the price at our factories at present and will go into effect as soon as work is resumed at our San Juan and Bayamon factories.

I trust our concessions will be looked upon favorably, and remain,

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN FRESE,

First Vice-President, Porto Rican American Tobacco Company.

The benefit of this concession reaches San Juan, Bayamon, Ponce, Manati, Cayey, Aguas Buenas, Cidra, San Lorenzo and all other towns where strike was declared. It is very significant that in this strike no attacks from the police were recorded.

Strikes in Porto Rico.—With the spread of labor organizations the industrial struggle has become more obvious and determined. According to the compiled data in the offices of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico, the following strikes have taken place around the island:

Strikes From January 15 to June, 1916.

Agricultural Workers' Strike—

Began on January 15, 1916, and practically ended on May 31, 1916.

Number of workers involved, 40,000.

It covered the districts of San Juan, Arecibo, Mayaguez, Ponce and Humacao.

Standard of labor established: from 8 to 10 hours per day.

Wages: Field workers from 65 to 80 cents per day.

Cane cutters from 75 to 90 cents per day.

Carriers and Fillers from 80 to 90 cents per day.

Cigarmakers' Strike—

Factory, Gregorio Lopez Falco & Co., Santurce.

Began on March 25 and ended on March 28, 1916.

Number of workers employed: from 120 to 140.

Obtained an increase in 11 classes of shapes, from 25c, 50c and \$1 respectively.

Cartmen Strike, in Vieques—

Number of workers involved, 50.

Ended on March 25, 1916.

Obtained an increase of 25 per cent on the contracted price.

Strike of Women Employed in the Pineapple Plantations of Mayaguez—

Against the "Paul Taylor Brown Co."

Wages earned per hour previously 2½c.

Increase obtained, 30 per cent.

Began on June 6 and ended on June 16, 1916.

Men and women involved, from 75 to 80.

Coffee Selectors' Strike in Yauco—

Began on December, 1915.

Number of women involved, 112.

Wages earned 15 to 20 cents per day.

No increase; failed.

Cigarmakers' Strike in San Juan and Bayamon—

Against the "Porto-Rican American Tobacco Co."

The strike occurred in June, 1916.

Number of workers involved, 2,000.

It was caused by a protest against a law providing special tax on the cigars called "fuma." It was requested by the employees that the corporation would pay the tax without charge to the cigarmakers.

The corporation consented after two weeks of strike.

Strike in the "Linea Ferrea del Oeste" Which Render Its Services Between San Juan and Bayamon—

They occurred during February and March, 1916.

Trades affected and increases obtained:

Machinists, from 20 to 30 persons.

Former salaries, \$40 per month; actual \$60.

Firemen stokers, equal number of employees.

People engaged in the automobile transportation (40 persons).

Former wages earned, \$1 per day; actual wage, \$1.50.

Men employed in the ferryboats, 25.

Their wages were increased to \$1.50 per day.

Laborers' Strike in the Bayamon-Martin Pena Road—

Number of laborers involved, 120.

It occurred in the month of December, 1915.

Wages they earned 60 cents per day; their wages are now from 75 to 80 cents per day.

Eight hours was considered a workday.

Longshoremen's Strike in Vieques—

It took place in December, 1915.

Number of men involved, 125.

It was finally settled in March, 1916, with an increase of 15 per cent over the wages.

Strippers' Strike in Calano, Bayamon—

It took place in February, 1916.

Number of women involved, 300.

They demanded an increase in the quantity of tobacco to be stripped. Wage earned 6 cents for half-weights of 6 and 16 cent per weight of 12 pounds.

The wage demanded was 12½ cents per half-weights and 25 cents per weight.

Improvements in the treatment and sanitary conditions of the factory.

The strikers failed.

Bakers' Strike in Mayaguez—

Took place in November, 1915.

Number of men involved, 50.

Demand: turns establishment; an increase of 25 per cent on the wages and suspension of the night work.

It lasted 3 weeks.

It failed.

Strike of Employes and Diggers in the Layout of Gas Pipes in the City of Ponce—

Against the "Ponce Gas Co."

It took place in February, 1916.

Number of men involved, 150.

Demand: \$1 per a day's work of 8 hours.

Former wages, 75 cents.

Partially won.

Mechanics, Machinists and Firemen Stokers' Strike—

Against the "Fajardo Sugar Co."

Number of workers involved, 60.

An increase of 50 per cent was requested.

Result obtained: "The Fajardo Sugar Co." agreed to pay the same wages as prevailing at "Central Aguirre."

It occurred in March, 1916.

Lockout of Cigarmakers in Juncos—

Carried on by the firm of "Calenti and Cobas."

Against the members of the Cigarmakers' Union No. 472.

Number of men involved, 125.

Owing to the discontinuance of the firm the strike terminated.

The Cigarmakers' International Union of America paid about \$9,000 as benefits of this lockout.

Cigarmakers' Strike in Comerio—

Against the "Comerio Tobacco Co."

It began on January 13, and ended February, 1916.

Number of workers involved, 40.

Demand: increase in 15 shapes.

An increase in different shapes was obtained ranging from 25 to 50 cents.

Remarks.

During the period covered by this report some other strikes and lockouts have taken place. We do not know the results obtained. Among them are the following strikes:

Strike and lockout of confectioners and bakers of Cabo Rojo.

Strippers' strike at Bayamon.

Cigarmakers' strike at Maricao.

Strike of coal loaders in the "San Antonio Dock," against the "Porto Rico Coal Company," of San Juan.

Strike in the Noodle and Soup Paste Factory at Rio Piedras.

Strike of Cigarmakers at Santurce, against "Gregorio Lopez Falco and Co."

Organisation.—Last year seventeen local unions of different crafts in this country were organized. The Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico now has 130 local organizations. We have one daily paper and three weekly.

These unions with an average of 12,000 members may be itemized as follows:

Affiliated Organisations.

Cigarmakers' Unions.....	16
Carpenters' Unions.....	22
Typographers' Unions.....	1
Painters' Unions.....	1
Women's Protective Unions.....	6
Barbers' Unions.....	4
Strippers' Unions.....	8
Wrappers Selectors' Unions.....	1
Leaf Tobacco Selectors' Unions.....	2
Federal Labor Unions.....	9
Retail Clerks' Association.....	1
Longshoremen Unions.....	5
Bakers' Unions.....	6
Agricultural Workers' Unions.....	29
Shoemakers' Unions.....	3
Hodcarriers' Unions.....	3
Cigar Packers' Unions.....	1
Cigar Banders' Unions.....	1
Bricklayers and Masons' Unions.....	2
Confectionery Workers' Unions.....	1
Hat Makers' Unions.....	1
Cigarmakers Helpers' Unions.....	1
Central Labor Unions.....	3
Joint Advisory Board.....	1
Local Trades Councils.....	3
Total.....	130

Congressional Investigation

The central unions of the island and the Free Federation of Workingmen adopted again a resolution on the expediency of sending a duly constituted Laborers' Commission to Washington, such a commission to appear before the Senate Committee and request the same not to pass any new legislation on behalf of the island until a full and complete investigation be made on the affairs and conditions of the island, socially, economically and politically speaking.

At the convention of the A. F. of L., held in Philadelphia, Pa., was adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, by the convention of the A. F. of L. assembled that the President of the A. F. of L. be earnestly recommended to request the President of the United States or the Congress, or both, to appoint a commission as soon as possible with authority to investigate the deplorable industrial conditions as well as the general governmental affairs of the island, especially in the questions affecting education, health and sanitation, economic and living conditions of the working masses of Porto Rico, land and financial resources, and to ascertain if it is true that the federal, as well as the organic law, has been continually violated by the big corporations which exploit the people of the island.

It is the earnest wish of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico that such commission may visit our island of Porto Rico to make a thorough investigation as the resolution urges; that the commission may be composed of men who will not, as several commissions in the past have done, accept mere courtesies and superficial official declarations as sufficient evidence upon which to base their attitude but that the commission be composed of men who will go to the heart of things, to get the real points and views of men of labor, of business, who know, who feel, who understand.

Organic Law and Citizenship.—We consider that the bills that have been introduced in the House and Senate have in many ways the aim of satisfying the personal aspirations of a few political leaders of the island, but at bottom it all terminates into a reactionary aim that works against the interest of the workingmen and the masses of the people.

As we have already stated a new organic act or constitution for Porto Rico is necessary. All Porto Ricans agree and all who studied the subject recommend that course. It is therefore respectfully urged that a new organic act or constitution for the government of Porto Rico should be adopted by Congress, and it is urged that whatever form the new organic act should take, great consideration should be given regarding the power, the influence, and the capacity of which the working people of the island are capable; also to the existing political vices, the pernicious effect of false system of education by which the children of the poor are impressed with the idea that they occupy an inferior position in society. The overt conduct of employers should be considered, and indeed under every circumstance the almost defenseless position in which the laborers of Porto Rico are now placed should be regarded as a feature for the consideration and protection of the law and its administrators. The workers should be given the fullest assurances and guarantees for protection in the enjoyment and exercise of constitutional rights equal with those of other citizens of Porto Rico.

The bill known as the Jones bill that passed the House and is now before the Senate, refuses the right of suffrage to such people as are unable to read and write; in other words, to 70 per cent of the workers who happen to be in that condition. But then no means are provided for schooling their children and 200,000 children will get no education at all, a circumstance which accounts for 70 per cent of the total population who because of lack of education will be deprived of the right of casting their votes.

Only such citizens as pay a tax shall have the right of representation. Laborers, however bright and intelligent they may be, if they pay no taxes, will be unfit for eligibility.

In connection with the refusal of right of suffrage to the workers of Porto Rico the following letter will illustrate the situation:

SAN JUAN, P. R., February 8, 1916.

Honorable JAMES H. DAVIS, *Congressman*,
Member of the Committee on Insular Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Reading the hearings before your committee I have found this passage

in same (Hearings on H. R. 8501, a bill to provide a civil government for Porto Rico and for other purposes. Pages 14 and 15, January 13 and 15, 1916):

Mr. Davis: I want a fair chance to ask one question. I want to know if there is any (organization) organized opposition among the proletarians or under-life there against this restriction of the ballot?

Gov. Yager: *Well, I do not know definitely about that.*

Mr. Davis: It is quite important to me, gentlemen.

Gov. Yager: We have a Federation of Labor—that is, an organization of the labor people. They have not, as far as I know, yet expressed themselves, but even they are so completely under the domination of a few leaders, who seem to be rather neglectful of the real interests of the laborers and inclined to look to their personal interests, so that I do not believe that any opposition from them would be important or useful as a guide to the committee.

Mr. Davis: But, Governor, we now know personally there are thousands of these people—and I am speaking for myself now—I have quite a feeling for those fellows in the ranks. I think history records the fact that the British Parliament denounced the Tea Party that threw the British tea overboard at Boston as an irresponsible rabble, but they were, nevertheless, the foundation of the greatest Republic on earth.

Gov. Yager: But we know they were not a mob. We know that they were intelligent, educated people. The Boston Tea Party could read and write.

Now, for your information, Hon. Davis, I am sending to you herein copies of letters and memorandum that were handed to Governor Yager, before departing for Washington to appear before your committee, with the purpose of presenting facts in regard to Porto Rico. A committee from the Insular Federation of Labor presided over by me, and being present Commissioner of Labor, Mr. Roberts, requested Governor Yager to present the demands of Labor and he answered that he was willing to do so gladly and so we handed him our petitions through Commissioner Roberts.

Now, what Governor has stated in your hearings is absolutely unfair to labor as well as to the people in general of this island.

We request you to take our petitions and to cause them to be inserted in the record with this letter. Thanking you for your good will, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

SANTIAGO IGLESIAS,
President, Free Federation of Labor.

On March 27, President Gompers had a hearing before the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, which lasted an hour and a half. President Gompers presented to the committee the conditions obtaining in Porto Rico as they concern the wage-earners, and he told the members of the committee what he knew from his personal knowledge and contact with the workers of Porto Rico, of the poverty of their homes, of the rights that they have been denied under American rule. He urged that a congressional committee be appointed and authorized to visit the island for the purpose of making a personal investigation and securing the necessary data that ought to be before Congress before the enactment of an organic law for the island.

"The idea of making the government of Porto Rico—said President Gompers to the Senate committee—a government based upon property qualifications is not conducive to the development of democratic ideals among the people of our country or elsewhere. You can not deprive the Porto Rican people of their inherent right of self-government and continue very long to maintain self-government and democratic ideals in the United States. Tyranny disrupts the character of even the tyrant. Those who inflict injustice themselves inevitably feel its reflection."

The Jones bill pending of action in the Senate also lacks of the following clause which is part of the Foraker Act now in force in Porto Rico:

Limitation to the Power of the Corporations

"No corporation shall be authorized to conduct the business of buying and selling real estate or be permitted to hold or own real estate except such as may be

reasonably necessary to enable it to carry out the purposes for which it was created, and every corporation hereafter authorized to engage in agriculture shall by its charter be restricted to the ownership and control of not to exceed five hundred acres of land; and this provision shall be held to prevent any member of the corporation engaged in agriculture from being in any wise interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture."

Of course, the foregoing provision has been absolutely ignored by the officials of the government of this Island, and consequently grossly violated by the corporations now holding thousands and thousands of acres of land. And it has been so violated owing to the fact that there is no penalty provision at all to punish the violators of the law neither in the local laws nor in the organic act.

However, that clause has been regarded as the best guarantee to prevent the domain of the corporations upon the island, since we know we are not to have forever in Porto Rico a government ignoring the needs of the people and brutal violations of the laws on the part of the corporations, and that a revision could be called at the proper time to enforce the law limiting the power of corporations.

It has been impossible for Congress to pass any of the bills intended to provide a civil government for Porto Rico because all those bills contained that clause of the limit to the corporations, they have been repudiated and attacked by the corporations. And now that the Jones bill has been deprived of the clause, it seems that the bill is to pass to the satisfaction of the corporations that see themselves at the liberty of controlling and managing the land of the Island.

Elections of Porto Rico Postponed.—On September 11, 1916, the office of the Governor of Porto Rico gave out to the press of San Juan, the following cablegram:

"Congress adjourned at 10 o'clock this morning. Porto Rican bill did not pass, but deficiency appropriation bill approved by President today contains following provision: 'That in the event H. B. 9533 entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," is not enacted during this session of Congress, the election in Porto Rico fixed for the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November, 1916, shall be postponed to date to be hereafter fixed by order of the President of the United States, and the present incumbents of the offices which were to be filled at that election shall continue in office until the officers elected at the postponed election shall qualify.'"

In view of the cablegrams received and read at the different places and meetings of the various labor bodies of the island, telegrams of protest came to the Federation.

We regard the action of the Congress as a conspiracy against the representation and the rights of the people of the Island. It is true that such act signifies the suppression of the constitution of the Island.

The press of both parties looks upon this fact as a great walkover for the success achieved by our exploiter Bourbons of the Island who are rejoicing over the *coup d'état* which comes as a surprise to the workers' friends and union men who were sure to get their cause for justice a great part of the influence and power for our Federation at the next election.

We deem it to be proper, wise, and absolutely indispensable that the A. F. of L. should participate directly in the legislation that is going to be established for Porto Rico by the American Congress. The reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-labor parties, for all of them are in Porto Rico, are especially hostile to the A. F. of L. for the simple reason that this institution has emancipated the Porto Rican laborers to a large extent and given them personality, character and rights which were hitherto unknown to the masses of the people. Such parties strive to destroy, diminish and even overlook the cause of the workers and the just representation to which they are entitled in framing the constitution of their country, and this they do with the object of ignoring all the credit that is due to the A. F. of L., especially whenever a progressive plank is insisted by the representatives of the A. F. of L. in the Jones bill and such other laws as may be deemed proper to insert in case it were impossible for a congressional commission to come and make an investigation in Porto Rico before any law is approved.

The greatest and most important part of the Jones bill is the section granting American

citizenship to the Porto Ricans (collectively) and the creation of a Department of Agriculture and Labor, *but if the appointment to this Department is not placed in the hands of the President, it is bound to become a department for politicians and nothing else.* Besides this, there is nothing to be found in the bill relative to solving the economic problems of the Island. Industrial oppression is latest in the island and this holds the worker practically where he can not do much for years to come and the masses of the people will continue practically where they were when the American troops invaded Porto Rico.

Collective citizenship should be granted because at the present the people of Porto Rico occupy an anomalous position. We belong to the United States and yet are not citizens of the United States. We are a people belonging to the island of Porto Rico, part of the United States, and yet are a people without a country. Citizenship should be conferred upon the people of Porto Rico, in full touch, sympathy, and cooperation with the people of the United States. The possessors of capital should be obligated to pay their full share for what the government needs for public education, for sanitation, for roads and for improvements of the island, as well as the security of justice for all.

The American Federation of Labor and Mexico.—As to the action and activities in the critical condition that had existed between Mexico and the United States and the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to prevent the war and unite the working peoples of both republics in a fraternal bond was truly a magnificent movement and that has produced splendid results in the present as well as with much more intensity in the future; and the applause and the fraternity of the working peoples of Central and South America is a more tangible fact owing largely to the present attitude of the A. F. of L.

Government Printing Office of Porto Rico.—Owing to the protests against the attempt of closing or limiting the productive capacity of the Government Printing Office, especially when an intent was made to send printing work outside of Porto Rico—to Europe—to be done there when the same might be done right here and just as well, Hon. Secretary of Porto Rico and chief of the Department of which the Bureau of Supplies, Printing and Transportation is a part, introduced at the last session of the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico, "*A Joint Resolution No. 14, providing for the standardization of government supplies and equipment; establishing a central purchasing agency and a central government storehouse creating a supply committee, and for other purposes.*"

This law went into effect July 1, 1916.

Yet if we examine the law carefully we will see that the Printing Division disappears under the fundamental principles of the creation of a central purchasing office and only in section 25, page 7, of the law, is there created an office of Superintendent for the printing division whose salary is fixed at \$2,100 per year with two job cost clerks at \$1,200 per year each, which practically places the organization and development of that printing shop in the hands of these men.

In pursuance with this law we have secured the conservation of the Government Printing Office, and we doubt whether the same will be maintained if the Jones bill is enacted, but the evils we have been complaining of for a few years still exist. The man who has been put in charge as superintendent of the printing office is one who has held the position of foreman for a few years and proves to be the greatest obstacle we find in our way, especially so, as he does not seem to possess the conditions and qualifications necessary in a man who is called upon to manage with ability a printing establishment of that sort.

The history of Typographical Union No. 478 (San Juan, P. R.), demonstrates how it has worked for and defended the existence of this shop from its beginning to the present day, and we believe that this is enough authority for one demanding just recognition of the same. San Juan Typographical Union No. 478 was affiliated with the International Typographical Union of North America, February 22, 1902.

But what we are striving for is recognition in the management of the shop which shall allow us the right of extending the influence of the organization and maintain the principles of organized labor without the unworthy humiliations of human beings born free and who possess the inalienable right of maintaining their principles and convictions, not only in the typographical section but in all branches of the printing craft which offers in exterior reflection for the impulse and organization of private concerns.

Labor Bureau of Porto Rico.—Knowing that the laboring classes of this island had no agency in the government officially devoted to protect the interests of the workers, [to promote their advancement, well-being and develop opportunities for the uplift and employment of the laboring classes, for studying their conditions of life and labor, and for suggesting

from time to time to the law-making branch of the government legislation necessary to lessen the social evils as they exist today, the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico devoted their greatest activities for many years to obtaining the creation of such a Labor Department in Porto Rico.

Our first demands upon the Insular Legislature for the establishment of a Labor Department having failed, the Free Federation of Workingmen, represented by their officers, appeared before the federal authorities at Washington and presented their demands and grievances. Later, the A. F. of L. through its officers and conventions, cooperated very effectively with the federal authorities in order that the rights of the workers might be respected on the island.

Just as we had expected the bureau was placed under the charge of the so-called "Social Scientificos" and the adepts of several politicians, and the result was that the laborers fared all the worse relatively than they had fared before with such official assistants as could hamper the Chief of the Bureau in conducting labor matters.

Later on owing perhaps to our protests at Washington, and to the vigorous denunciation made by us against the local Bureau of Labor, Mr. F. C. Roberts was sent to Porto Rico as a trustworthy and able man and as one who possesses considerable experience to smooth over all these difficulties, and accordingly it was asked by some of the federal authorities that Mr. Roberts should perform this work, or some other officer from the rank and file of the A. F. of L.

The work of the new Chief of the Bureau of Labor has been handicapped in many ways inasmuch as the politicians and the capitalist agents exert considerable influence with certain individuals connected with that Bureau, and the laboring class find less protection in that Bureau than they expected, and the new Chief has not the means in his power to execute and carry out the purposes of that Bureau for the simple reason that the personnel of the Bureau is practically as hostile to him (with but few exceptions) as they are to organized labor.

The same charges that were made in unequivocal terms on other occasions still hold and are pending for action or to be considered.

In Conclusion.—It is the duty of the American nation to secure for the people of Porto Rico the opportunities for best development and for the protection of their rights. Of course, it must devolve upon the members of the labor movement of America to represent adequately and forcefully the rights and interests of their fellow-workers in Porto Rico. And the A. F. of L. should be sure that everything is done not only for the protection of men and women of labor of Porto Rico, but for the protection of the American Labor Union which is so closely identified with the Porto Rican labor movement.

SECOND DAY—Tuesday Morning Session.

Garden Theatre, Roof Garden,
Baltimore, Nov. 14, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 A. M., Tuesday, November 14, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Goldstone, Felder, Sovey, Dobson, Campbell, Myers, Kuhlman, Schwarz, Daley, Mareschl, D'Andrea, Moore, Vaccarella, Weber (J.), Rau, McGrath, Adams, James Wilson, Konenkamp, Walker, Hall, Williams, Mulone, Mitch, Jarrett, Dowler, Bennett, Harlin, Cohen, Young, Willis, Brandie, Boos, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Rander, Harlin, Newland, Windell, O'Donnell, DaCosta, Weber (J. A.), McNulty, Morris, De Sautia, Peters, Bryne, Master, Browder, Chase.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 12, 1916.
California Union Labor, always at home as host to the workers of the world, congratulates American labor marching under the banner of the Federation upon real achievements and progress. Hoping and praying for universal unity we believe California's representatives always will do their best in the struggle for the toilers of the world.

DANIEL C. MURPHY,
President Calif. State Federation of Labor.
J. B. DALE,
Organizer American Federation of Labor.
A. TVIETMOE,
Secretary Calif. State Building Trades Council.

Vice-President Duncan moved that President Gompers be added to the Committee on International Relations. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Greene, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported that the committee recommended the seating of the following delegates:

Longshoremen's International Association—T. V. O'Donnor, Paul A. Vaccarella, Thomas Harrison, John T. Joy, 250 votes.

International Brotherhood of Paper Makers—J. T. Carey and George J. Schneider, 52 votes.

International Union of Journeymen Horse Shoers—Hubert S. Marshall, Lawrence Keefe, 58 votes.

Holyoke (Mass.) Central Labor Union—E. S. Alden, 1 vote.

Nashville (Tenn.) Trades and Labor Council—James P. Ogletree, 1 vote.

Landsford (Pa.) Central Labor Union—J. B. Breslin, 1 vote.

We have also received credentials for fraternal delegates from the Farmers' National

Congress for J. H. Kimble, L. B. Strayer and J. H. Patten, and recommend that they be seated.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Report of Auditing Committee.

Delegate Greene, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 13, 1916.
To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

We, the undersigned, having been appointed according to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor to audit and examine the books and accounts of the American Federation of Labor for the term beginning October 1, 1915, and ending September 30, 1916, herewith submit for your consideration the following report:

The total receipts and expenditures during the year ending September 30, 1916, are given in the following tables:

RECEIPTS.

Per capita tax.....	\$196,447.45
Supplies.....	11,289.11
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.	1,217.04
"American Federationist".....	46,841.63
Interest.....	1,500.00
One-cent assessment.....	3,920.16
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	17,995.64
Reinstatement and initiation fees.	23,500.68
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	5,062.79
Building account.....	592.35
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	25,878.56
Total.....	\$334,275.41
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1915.....	70,132.39
Gross total.....	\$404,407.80

DISBURSEMENTS.

General.....	\$221,268.71
"American Federationist".....	46,678.82
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	4,428.19
Reinstatement and initiation fees.	104.99
One-cent assessment.....	7,981.56
One-cent assessment to organize women workers.....	8,939.90
Interest.....	329.16
Money refunded.....	608.27
Rent collected and paid over to Trustees.....	200.00
Building employees salaries paid (Trustee Fund).....	392.35
Money paid on Notes 1 and 2 on account of A. F. of L. Building.	5,000.00
Money returned to Defense Fund on account of loan.....	5,000.00

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	14,115.37
Total.....	<u>\$315,047.32</u>
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1916	89,360.48
Total.....	<u>\$404,407.80</u>

RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts for the year ending September 30, 1916.....	\$334,275.41
To cash balance on hand September 30, 1915.....	70,132.39
Total.....	<u>\$404,407.80</u>

Total expenditures during year ending September 30, 1916.....	\$315,047.32
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1916	89,360.48
Total.....	<u>\$404,407.80</u>

Cash balance in General Fund....	\$20,209.48
Cash balance in Defense Fund....	69,151.02
Loan to Building Trustees.....	45,000.00

Balance on hand September 30, 1916	<u>\$134,360.48</u>
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We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor safely disposed of as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Lennon in McLean County Bank of Bloomington, Illinois, amounting to	\$80,000.00
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One open checking account in McLean County Bank by Treasurer Lennon certified to by President of McLean County Bank	27,360.48
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On deposit on open checking account by Secretary Morrison in Riggs National Bank...\$7,597.52	
Outstanding checks	5,597.52
	<u>2,000.00</u>

Loan to A. F. of L. Building Trustees from Defense Fund.....	45,000.00
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Total.....	<u>\$134,360.48</u>
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American Federation of Labor Building.

RECEIPTS:

From Defense Fund.....	\$50,000.00
*From Defense Fund.....	7,500.00
American Security and Trust Company	80,000.00
Riggs National Bank.....	20,000.00
†From General Fund; first payment to Defense Fund.....	2,500.00
Rent of office rooms.....	200.00
From General Fund in payment of Notes Nos. 1 and 2, including interest	5,120.14
From General Fund; second payment to Defense Fund.....	2,500.00
Rent of office rooms to the A. F. of L.....	880.00

Total.....	<u>\$168,700.14</u>
†Less amount drawn from General Fund, instead of Trustee Fund.	2,500.00

Net receipts	<u>\$166,200.14</u>
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EXPENSES.

Plot of ground for site of the A. F. of L. Office Building, including re-survey	\$40,108.50
On account of erection of A. F. of L. Office Building.....	103,554.92

*To cover amount deposited in Trustee Fund instead of General Fund	7,500.00
Architect fees	4,285.75

Dedication of the A. F. of L. Office Building, July 4, 1916..	204.50
Attorney fees	290.00

Removal of fire hydrant from in front of office building.....	175.00
Salaries of building employees....	382.35

Revenue stamps on papers in connection with Office Building...	18.50
Revenue stamps used on \$10,000 note from Riggs National Bank.	2.00

Premium on bond securing loan on A. F. of L. Office Building.	200.00
Half-tone of Office Building.....	86.15

Miscellaneous supplies for maintenance of Office Building.....	125.38
Payments on Notes Nos. 1 and 2.	5,000.00

Interest on Notes Nos. 1 and 2.	120.14
†Returned to Defense Fund, first payment	2,500.00

Returned to Defense Fund, second payment	2,500.00
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Total.....	<u>\$167,063.19</u>
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†Less amount drawn from General Fund instead of Trustee Fund	2,500.00
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Net expenses	<u>\$164,563.19</u>
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RECAPITULATION.

Net receipts.....	\$166,200.14
Net expenses.....	<u>164,563.19</u>

Balance on hand September 30, 1916	<u>\$1,636.95</u>
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We have examined the bank record of this account, finding same correct, and the balance of \$1,636.95 is certified to by the cashier of the Riggs National Bank, of Washington, D. C.	
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*This check was drawn to correct error in depositing \$7,500 received from Lennon under date of August 28, 1915, and deposited August 30, 1915, on account of \$50,000 loan, in the Trustee Fund first instead of depositing in General Fund, and then transferring to the Trustee Fund. This amount—\$7,500—is part of the deposit of \$37,500 in the General Fund September 3, 1915, which includes \$30,000 received at headquarters from Lennon on August 23, 1915.	
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†This amount being the first payment to the Defense Fund on account of the \$50,000 loan, was drawn from the General Fund instead of the Trustee Fund. To correct the Trustee Fund it is necessary to show the total receipts and total expenses of the Trustee Fund in this manner, although the \$2,500 did not pass through this fund.	
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Hatters' Appeals.	
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We audited the accounts of moneys received from the appeal issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor December 18, 1915, asking all members of organized labor to give the	
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wages of one hour of their labor on January 27, 1916, to the assistance of the Hatters of Danbury, Conn., who found themselves in a serious plight as a consequence of their struggle for industrial freedom.

On May 9, 1916, another circular was issued to the secretaries of the local unions, requesting that the matter be taken up at their next meeting, with the request that all workers who did not contribute on January 27, 1916, should contribute an hour's wages on Thursday, June 15, 1916.

In response to these two appeals there has been received up to and including September 30, 1916, \$157,735.43. With interest collected on the money deposited, there is at present available for the assistance of the victimized Hatters \$158,636.89.

The following is a statement of the amounts received and expended from December 18, 1915, up to and including September 30, 1916:

RECEIPTS.

Receipts December 18, 1915, to and including September 30, 1916	\$157,735.43
Interest collected on receipts.....	994.67
Total receipts.....	\$158,730.10

EXPENSES.

Bad checks and bank charges on checks received as follows:	
Local No. 479, Plumbers.....	\$ 10.00
Local No. 520, Plumbers.....	12.61
Local No. 567, Culinary Alliance..	6.75
Local No. 794, Carpenters and Joiners	10.00
Local No. 174, Teamsters.....	53.85
Total	\$ 93.21

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	\$158,730.10
Expenses	93.21
Balance on hand September 30, 1916	\$158,636.89

We have examined the bank record of this account, finding same correct, and the balance of \$158,636.89 is certified to by the Cashier of Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.

In concluding our report we desire to state that your committee would be derelict in its duties as a committee in presenting to the American Federation of Labor the report of your finances and resources if we failed to call to your attention the able and efficient office system employed by Secretary Frank Morrison in handling your accounts. They have the warrant, check and voucher system, each in a separate department, and the several departments meeting and balancing their accounts at the close of each day. The vast business and increasing responsibility of the American Federation of Labor makes it necessary that installation of efficient office equipments be used, and to the credit of the officers of the American Federation of Labor we find such to be the case. The office force were very courteous, and rendered every assistance and

the manner in which we found the accounts speaks for their ability and trustworthiness.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS HARRISON, Chairman;

JAMES MORIARTY,

M. F. GRENE, Secretary.

Auditing Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Addresses of Fraternal Delegates.

H. Gosling, president of the British Trades Union Congress, of the Transport Workers' Federation of Great Britain, and fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor, spoke as follows:

Friends and Fellow Workers: I have committed what I have to say in writing, and I will read it to you, but before I do so I want to take this first opportunity to heartily thank you for the way in which we have been received, not only my colleague, Mr. Whitefield, and myself, but our ladies who are with us. From the moment we stepped into this country we felt quite at home, and immediately we got into this city we were met by your representatives, and we have had nothing to do since except to be looked after. I want to express to you my very deep thanks for what you have done up to now, and my gratitude is as lively for the favors to come, for I have a pocketfull of invitations to last me to the end of the time of the sitting of this convention.

My colleague, Mr. Whitefield, and I have been elected to convey the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the British trade-union movement to the trade unionists of America. We come at a time when it is more than ever necessary to maintain such international intercourse as the circumstances of the world war allow. Of this one is fairly certain: that the overwhelming majority of British trade unionists have nothing but the highest regard for their fellow-workers in America.

At the present time, and for the past two years, our thoughts and energies have been bent on the problems of the war. We Britishers were and are profoundly convinced that there was only one course for us to take during those fateful days of August, 1914. The continued prosecution of the war and the sacrifices of blood and material which the war entails have not made us unmindful of the aims and aspirations of the labor movement. We have been busily employed in meeting enemy attacks abroad, but an age-long experience has taught us that there were enemies at home who would, if permitted undeterred, take advantage of our preoccupation with the war to throw us back to the reactionary stages from which it had taken us so many years to evolve. While fighting to resist militarism and oppression abroad, we should have been wanting in elementary common sense were we content to accept encroachments upon our liberties and economic interests without challenge or protest.

I have no doubt that there are some here among you who are dissatisfied with what we have done and what we have left undone in Great Britain. I must ask you to allow us to be the best judges of what is best in our

national affairs, as we must allow you to know what is the wisest course in your national affairs. But, believe me, friends, all the people in Great Britain whose opinion you and I would value know full well that you in your state and national capacity must be the arbiters of your own destinies.

Well, then, as I said, we have waged and shall continue to wage, a war against all encroachments upon our political, civil, and industrial liberties. We stood against military conscription until the developments of the war made conscription unavoidable. Our labor movement can claim a full share of the credit of increasing the separation allowances to the dependants of soldiers and sailors. We pride ourselves on having made the pension scale of the maimed and wounded more equitable than those who render only lip homage to patriotism thought necessary. We have fought strenuously against the profiteering which has enabled some of our privileged and propertied classes to take advantage of the circumstances of war to enrich themselves, in far too many instances at the expense of those who were shedding their blood and giving their lives in the nation's defense. Don't imagine for one moment, friends, that we are under any delusions with regard to the motives and actions of the capitalist and landlord classes, which are notoriously world-wide in character.

My experiences as president of the British Transport Workers' Federation, which includes some 250,000 men employed in the various aspects of the transport industry, has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that any great industry run solely for the advantage of making profits for the proprietors is everlastingly bound to mean the poverty and enslavement of those employed therein and the exploitation of the public as consumers. You have no need to be reminded that we are a great shipping nation, or that the Transport Workers' Federation deals primarily with workers manning, loading and discharging ships. From the very commencement we have observed the British shipowning fraternity taking every advantage of the elimination of their most powerful rivals by raising freights to heights previously undreamed of. It was only after months of growing disaffection and unrest among our workpeople in consequence of the shrinkage in the purchasing power of wages that our members received some compensation for high prices in increased money wages. All the signs seem to point to the fact that prices will never fall to the pre-war levels, so that it becomes our bounden duty to see that the wage increments remain in order to assure our pre-war standard of life.

I can well imagine that the problems relating to wages and general economic interest which occupy our time and attention are not far removed in essentials from your own, so that I can leave this just where it is.

It may interest you to know that all over Great Britain the rank and file of the members are pressing for improved trade union organization more in keeping with the rapid developments of capitalist industry. For instance, in connection with our own Transport Workers' Federation, which comprises

thirty separate unions, having members employed at various grades of transport work, there was a definite development towards amalgamating most or all of these into one powerful union. We had gone further than this. We had agreed at a constitutionally appointed conference to amalgamate some twenty-six of the transport and general labor unions, comprising well over 400,000 members, into one great centralized organization. The ill-fated outbreak of the war alone is responsible for the suspension of this great and far-reaching scheme.

In another matter we have been more successful, despite the advent of the war. Some of you probably have heard or read of our Triple Industrial Alliance of Mine-workers, Railway Workers and Transport Workers. The first numbers 750,000, the second 350,000, and the third 250,000, making the formidable total of 1,350,000 members. These industries represent the vital industries of any country: coal, inland, and overseas transport. This development of trade union power is by no means the outcome of rash and impetuous propaganda. It is the logical process of trade union organization after the experience of conducting wage and economic movements singly and separately, and therefore of permitting each party to be taken in detail by the employers, too often aided and abetted by the government. We have not formed this thrice-mighty industrial body lightly or to take action hastily and indiscriminately; but at the same time we fully realize that employers' power and influence must be met and countered by equal—and I trust superior—power and influence on the workers' side. I will give you one or two of the written clauses to show what our constitution stands for:

Clause 1 provides that matters submitted to this joint body, and upon which action may be taken, should be those of a national character, or vitally affecting a principle which, in the opinion of the executive making the request, necessitates combined action.

Clause 7: Complete autonomy shall be reserved to any one of the three bodies affiliated to take action on their own behalf.

Clause 8: Joint action can only be taken when the question at issue has been before the members of the three organizations and decided upon by such methods as the constitution of each organization provides. A conference shall then be called without delay to consider and decide the question of taking action.

These indicate, perhaps, what was in the minds of the founders of our Triple Industrial Alliance. Each successive phase of the terrible war makes it increasingly clear to us that private enterprise is not the last word in human development. It is certainly not the most effective means of carrying on the work of a nation to leave matters vitally affecting human well-being to the sordid and self-seeking motives of private gain. We in Britain have been successful only in so far as we have put a check on self-interest and have introduced collectivist schemes necessary for the common weal.

One wonders if it is possible to refer to the subject which must necessarily occupy most of our thoughts without violating the

principles of hospitality among a nation which is itself an amalgam of all nations. Friends, it is said that "the looker-on sees most of the game." We who are of the combatant nations would be less than human were we to speak of this awful tragedy as a "game." Think of Europe; of the future deprived of that creative and untiring energy of its youth which has been and is now being unaimed and slaughtered in the shambles of the war. There are those of us who are by age impotent to take part in the war. How terrible is our responsibility when we contemplate the doom and destruction of the high spirited, the generous, the noble and self-sacrificing young in a quarrel for which they were certainly not responsible. Your President, Mr. Gomper, on your behalf, asked us to attend an international meeting of trade unions, neutral and belligerent, to take place when and where the plenipotentiaries should assemble to consider and determine the terms of peace. When these proposals were rejected, it was with no wish to be discourteous to your American Federation of Labor.

On the face of things, we should have been the first to accept the eminently desirable and necessary policy projected by the American Federation of Labor. I want you, however, to realize in the clearest possible manner how fully we were and are preoccupied with the matter of the war itself; and not only that, to put yourselves as far as possible in our place and see that every willingness on our part to consider ultimate peace proposals and to ratify peace treaties might be deemed by our adversaries to be a sign of weakness, and in its turn might make the militarist party more than ever determined to dominate the whole of Europe. You have all had experience enough in great industrial conflicts, which are largely comparable to international conflicts, to enable you to visualize the prevalent viewpoint of things among Britain and her allies during the prosecution of the war. Personally, I am in accord with our Minister for Foreign Affairs, Viscount Grey, who recently said:

"The best work that neutrals can do for the moment is to work up an opinion for such an agreement between nations as will prevent a war like this from happening again. . . . I would ask neutral countries to observe this—that belligerent countries engaged in war, fighting as we are today in a struggle for life and death. . . . nations engaged in such a struggle cannot be expected to have much time to spend on developing ideas of what can be done after victory is secured. But neutrals can do it; I would like to say that if we seem to have little time to give to such ideas ourselves while we are engaged in this struggle, that is a work in neutral countries to which we should all look with favor and hope."

It is an indisputable fact that among the overwhelming majority of the working class population of Great Britain, as well as our colonies over seas, the belief prevails that we are fighting for one thing and one thing only—that is, security. It may be equally true that this is the motive actuating the democracy of all the belligerent countries. If this is true—and I am not going to say that it is untrue—what an awful thing it is that we should allow this slaughter to go on destroying and devastating all that is full of

promise in our young and virile manhood of Europe today.

It has become a platitude among us that it is the duty of the working class in all countries to unite. They have nothing to lose but their chains, and they have a world to win. Your own country, the United States, draws its vigor from all the European countries; and its greatest attribute in determining physical and intellectual development is the mixing up of all the race qualities which have gone to the formation of your national characteristics. You are happily placed in being outside the "arrangements," "alliances," "treaties" and what-not that have made a witch's cauldron of European politics. I want you to consider what that Europe of the future will be when it is deprived of the millions of young and virile men who have been destroyed in the carnage of war. That youthful, restless energy which admittedly has been responsible for all that men call progress in every age and in every country.

We are anxious that we should be here to maintain—as I have said in my opening remarks—some semblance of international solidarity of labor. I trust that in the very near future it will be possible for us to re-establish and reconstitute the international trade union and working-class movement which still is in principle such an inspiring augury for ourselves and those who are to follow us.

We are demonstrating in Europe today among our working people that labor is the only productive unit in war as it is in peace. We of the working class are called upon to make sacrifices in blood, in labor, and in treasure. We are asked to sacrifice our trade union rules and observances in order to increase the output of our labor by speeding up and working longer hours. Before the war we were told that overproduction was responsible for unemployment and those industrial crises which threatened our standard of life, but now we are implored to add to the productive capacity of that labor during the war, and afterward in order to meet foreign competition. I am sure that our American friends are feeling the effects of the war in similar appeals being made to them to facilitate production and to increase output. Let us all bear in mind that it is the giant labor which is so powerful to give or withhold in all matters of wealth production; and that this same giant is so woefully impotent in determining the problems of the equitable distribution of the wealth which is the product of its labor. Our men who are bearing the brunt of the fighting in all the belligerent countries are extolled for their self-sacrificing devotion and valor in the cause of their respective countries; they are in the main the self-same men who yesterday, so to say, were denounced and vilified by the reactionary influences when they sought to improve their economic status through their trade union organizations. We shall not forget these things when peace is once more resumed.

Our one ray of hope through the black outlook of war is that the workers on their return to civil life will throw over the hateful system which makes war possible and inevitable. America has its solemn and bounden duty: the working class of America more than any other section.

How far can you by example and precept prove to Europe and civilization in general that the great human family has to destroy at the root all those causes of capitalistic greed; the strife for new markets, the quest for further fields of exploitation, the slavery of the subject races and the lust for power and dominion, which have been the causes of war and will remain the causes of war while allowed to continue. You are charged with a grave and solemn responsibility; and may reason, tolerance and lofty principle direct all that you may venture upon in your manifold duties. I offer you the greetings of your trade union fellow-workers in Great Britain.

W. Whitefield, miner, prominent member of the British trade union movement, and fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor from the British Trades Union Congress, spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Comrades—In harmony with my colleague, Mr. Gosling, I wish to offer to you and your officials what bubbles up in my soul in thankfulness, my heartfelt thanks for the hospitality which has been shown to us. Be assured that when I have returned to my home and I am smoking my pipe by my fireside there will come back to me these hours of happiness that have been spent here, and they will help me in the back part of my life.

I wish, not as a formality, but as a heartfelt desire on the part of the British Trades Unionists, in harmony with my colleague, to convey to you, in so far as language will convey it, the hearty good will and greetings of our fellows over the sea. I wish to emphasize that it is not a question of formality; it is from the soul of the men from whom we have come, the desire of a still closer and closer alliance that in reality, in soul and in spirit, represents the brotherhood of man.

Having said this much, Mr. President, and having had the honor in the name of labor to look about the world, I have made it my business as far as I could, so long as my liberty is not curtailed, to fall into the customs of the peoples and the countries where I have been. And further I would say, being in America, I am not going to make a speech. Therefore all I have to say hereafter please take as my closing remarks.

Another matter that I must ask you to forgive me for is the custom that I have followed since the days of my youthhood, and that is to be very careful to know what I was going to say after I had finished. That is exactly where I am today. What I wish to do today, if I can, is to make an appeal to my young comrades here, an appeal to the young man who is just beginning his trade-union life and to look on life's evils as they are and with that astonishment that moved my soul some fifty years ago. I wish him today to go back to the time before he was born and to look on things as they then were and as they now are. And after doing so I want him to be so fair and so reasonable as to recognize that our old foes have not been lacking in an endeavor to hew in life's pathway a road that if followed by the young will lead to the emancipation of mankind and to the

rights and the liberties that mankind is entitled to.

To the other men in this convention, men more of my own number of years, speaking from a psychological standpoint, I think they will agree that I am correct in saying that as the years go on there is a greater tendency on the part of the human mind of the thinking man to go back to the days of his boyhood, and there psychologically live for a time on the pleasant little events that took place. That is one beautiful feature of man, that he can do so.

But I want you young men to go back with me to the year '59, now fifty-seven years ago, when as a boy I went into the coal mines in Northumberland, England, with my twenty cents a day, twelve hours a day—if they were good enough to allow me to come out at that time—with the two tallow candles twice the length of my finger, which meant for the boy behind the door that he must sit in darkness for the greater part of the time he was in the mine. I wish you young men to realize, especially you miners, that things are not now as they were then. They have gone but they have not gone of their own accord. I want you to endeavor to realize why they have gone, for what reason they have gone. I think it is men like your President who have been fighting life's battles during the whole of those years that have had something to do with their forever passing away.

In those days in England—and I presume the same applies to America, because universally human nature is the same—every village of people was a world unto itself. Village A could not conceive that in Village B there were such people as lived within Village A, and in Village B the people felt the same way toward Village A. In each village, however, there were men who began to recognize that in all villages there were men worthy of an association with themselves. The doctrine was then commenced to be preached. Ultimately they were brought together, and, whereas, before the understanding between the two villages was come to, if Village A had a strike at its mine Village B took little notice of it. As a result the men in Village A were beaten. But the time came—and it was not a question of collecting money—when the carts of Village A went to Village B and the women threw loaves of bread into them to show their sympathy. That was the beginning. The result was that Villages A and B clasped hands. I am now speaking of what the miners in Northumberland did, and it applied to all other industries.

As time went on in the county of Northumberland, where there are upwards of sixty mines, the men of all the pits or mines were brought into one union. That was considered one of the world's greatest marvels at that time, one of the world's greatest achievements so far as trades unionism was concerned. And having induced a large number at each of the mines to pay their penny or tuppence a week to a central fund, the next thought that struck them—and it was wise and well that it did so—was that they would set to one side a man who, because he did not depend upon the employers, would be able to tell the world the truth in regard to the conditions of the miners

of Northumberland. The first man appointed was William Crawford, who, as an M. P., died in Durham. For a short time he filled the position. Then next came my personal friend, now the Right Honorable Thomas Burt, a man whom to know is to know the most kindly soul that can be met on the face of the earth. He was appointed, and he had the freedom to make known what the actual facts were to the world in relation to boy life in the mines, and in relation to the life of the men.

Oh, how well one remembers the man in each village, to begin with, who ventured to carry the, as yet, dim light of trades unionism to the others, and how many hundreds at the beginning, who were known to do it, were told there was no more work for them at the mines. Yes, how many thousands have had to sit at the fireside with the dear wife and children and without food to eat. Those were the men that laid the foundations of the great fabric that came ultimately to be erected by the young men to whom I am addressing myself.

These sixty-odd mines employed over thirty thousand men. Time went on, and as a comparatively young man I had to take a part in a strike of the whole county. That was in 1887. With the Right Honorable Thomas Burt I addressed meetings of miners and strongly advised them not to strike. Why did I do that if the men's cause was just? Now, I want the young men to follow me. Why did I do that if I believed the position of the miners was just? May I here interject on myself and say that we hear much, even in our labor movement, in favor of striking because our claim is just, but after all man universally is in a large degree the creature of circumstances and has to do things he hates in his very soul that he may achieve the object he has in view.

I advised with my friend and colleague at that time—Thomas Burt—and urged the miners not to strike. The owners were asking for a 15 per cent. reduction. The custom had been that the owners would show their books to the accountants and that the price received for the coal should determine the reduction or advance to the miners. But on this occasion they said: "No, no, we will not show you our books; such is the state of things with us." Then the men said: "If we have been subject to that process in the years that have gone and have abided by that as honorable men you will open the books now or we are going to strike."

And the men did strike. They took their own line, and when they did so, although I was one who believed we would have to kiss the dust of defeat, yet I went with the men with the fullness of my soul and such intelligence and energy as I could bring to bear upon the situation. And I had the misfortune, or good fortune as the case may be of getting the blame for having kept the thirty thousand men on strike five weeks longer than they would have been on strike otherwise, making in all seventeen weeks. But I was called upon to pay for it. When ultimately the strike was settled at the mine at which I was employed as a checkweigher, that is, seeing to the weighing of the coal of the miners, the employers of the pit said, "No, never! The

pit shall never open while Whitefield is here!" That meant that ultimately I had to say to the men, "While I must endeavor to live myself I cannot longer stand and see you and your children starving." Therefore I cleared out and for two long years struggled to get employment, but absolutely failed so far as a continuity was concerned.

At that time, resulting, I presume, from my natural individuality, that I never begged my way through life and never intended to, I have lived with my own individuality. I have tried to do my own thinking if even I had to disagree with men I regarded and respected, I got out of the way, would not let it be known what my condition was until my dear wife, now yonder at home, myself and family were without food in the house. Providentially there came along at that time a telegram asking if I would go to Bristol with a view of becoming the miners' agent there. I landed in Bristol in the year '89, so I have been there for seven and twenty long years. Upon going there I found chaos, semi-slavery, which I thank God, so far as possible recognizing the conditions, great improvements have been made in the miner's life.

In that year, just when I commenced in Bristol, we endeavored to form a larger organization of the miners, with the result that 450,000 of the Midland miners were brought into one union, comprising six counties. As time went on there were still out Wales, Scotland and Northumberland, but in the very near future from that time Scotland, Wales and Northumberland were united to that Federation, and therefore you will now understand the expression, The Miners' Federation of Great Britain, because it comprises every pit, or every colliery, or every mine in Great Britain, and that Federation numbers 750,000 miners, apart from the fact that 300,000 of our dear lads have gone to the front to fight for home and liberty.

From '87 to '89, not merely did that apply to miners, that dark depression, but to every industry in the kingdom; the dockers, the transport workers and others were in a state of upheaval against things as they existed and there was a general tendency over the whole kingdom to revolt against the state that prevailed with a view to improve the wages. Edward Cowey, whose name some of you may have heard, made an expression that has lived with us as miners. When we met the employers with the intention that the wages should be improved, and must be improved or we would cease working if death were the result, the owners said, "There is no possibility of giving you what you are asking; it is not in the books." Ned Cowey said, "You must put it into the books," and we made them do it. Why? Because of the fidelity and the good understanding among ourselves we have got to such a power that we could hit our enemy; we could hit the country; and if ever you want to get out of the ditch, if there is no other means left, pull as many in with you as you possibly can. If that is the only means left, therefore, deductively reasoning, if we are to get what is justice to the toiler we must so link hands that we will hit the nation, and the rich, by stagnating industry. Not after a

seventeen weeks' strike, no, no, no, that is too long for us; we require to do it in twenty-four hours, to paralyze the nation and make the powers that be understand that they must meet our reasonable request or take the consequences.

In 1890 there was an arrangement made to meet our friends in Belgium, Germany and France at Jolmount, at the higher part of Belgium. In 1890 we met in Jolmount as British, French, Belgians and Germans. And, quite apart from the war that is now proceeding, and with which I do not desire to deal, unless you force me, when you will find I am a Britisher, one remarkable report was made from Germany by Schreider, a noble and fine fellow, who struggled for his fellows in common with the father of Dr. Liebnicht, a man to be honored, a man who sought to prevent the conditions that have come upon us now. When Schreider made his report he made clear that the money per hour the German miners were then receiving was three pence per hour for ten hours a day and overtime. I am happy to say that during these six and twenty years in Germany the position of the mineworkers has considerably improved, if not equal to the British, at least in a way that has spoken well for the efforts that have been made during those years.

In that day trades unionism was not permitted in Belgium, and, therefore, they accepted us as co-operators. They had a co-operative society in Jolmount, and we met in the upper room, over the bakers' oven, so that we had it pretty hot to begin with. And when you go from that time down in Belgium as it was, and I think as it now is, and go yonder and look at the Maison du Peuple, one of the finest buildings in the world, the co-operative building in Brussels, you will admit it would be a credit to a much larger nation than Belgium.

When we first went to Berlin more than twenty years ago, then the trades unionism there was under the foot of the military authorities. When you get your gendarmes on the platform as reporters and others were with them, keeping a watchful eye on you that you said nothing that might injure the capitalist, you meet under difficulties. We were told when the time came for lunch that we must be back within forty minutes or the doors would be locked. Now, in Berlin the German trades unionists have also a trade union hall which is a credit to them and to their efforts.

For these six and twenty years we have been going to the different countries, first to Brussels, then to Paris, then to Berlin and then to Austria. I must, however, before I conclude, refer to a delicate matter, but which I believe is essential that the workers should think about. When we met in Salzburg, Austria, some twelve or thirteen years ago the question was brought up whether we, as miners in the various countries, could prevent international war. The Belgians, French and British were agreed that if we in that meeting in Austria could agree that if there was likely to be war between our nations that jointly each country would say, "we will not produce another ton of coal." It would make war impossible. That was our aim, that was our purpose, that was the British desire, and if once pledged to it we would have

carried it out at all hazards. The French, Belgians and British were ready, but I am sorry to say—and I do not reflect on the men who were speaking for their fellows, they were noble and good men—but I am sorry to say that there were two countries that could not see their way clear, for reasons that they gave us, because of the iron hand they dare not take part in such proceedings.

May I leave that and go along to my closing remarks? It is not too much for me to say, even in the presence of Mr. Gosling, that in Britain the miners have been from the point of trades unionism the propelling force, and the happy thing is that now there has been arranged what is called the tripple alliance between the miners, the railway workers and the transport workers. I have long wished to see the day when a seventeen weeks' strike would be impossible. That day has come in Great Britain so far as it applies to trades unionism. When the next opportunity comes such a thing will be impossible; starvation by sections will become impossible; the nation as a whole will be brought to book within twenty-four hours if we act wisely and well.

I am thankful that I am here able to say that I think in Britain, as some of you may agree, we have a number of level-headed, sound-thinking men who are not afraid of being blackguarded by their fellows. You young men will recognize that if you are to become men of any worth you are bound to expect to be knocked by some of the chaps you are trying to do your very best for. That will be your finding before you have gone very far; but it is the man as a trades union leader who, when he sees the men are going to make a mistake, has the courage to say so; "not that you are wrong, not that your claims are unjust, but because the time is not opportune, I advise you not to take that step," that will be able to do his best for his fellows. If they take the step and your prediction is realized and suffering has become acute they will come forth and bless you and wish they had taken your advice.

And hence the time may come when a man who does not play to the galleries will be recognized as the real leader. The chap that has got a little scholarship and can tell a few little yarns will for a time receive attention, while the good thinking business man realizes things as they are and recognizes that it is not merely sufficient to point out the evils we are suffering from. That is one of the easiest processes I know. You may have men who in haranguing the multitudes may show them all the evils of life, and the hands and feet will go. You say he is a jolly good fellow. He leads you to the mountain top and says: "In yet a little while and all you behold will be yours." He has not said a single word about how those beauties are going to be achieved. No, no, it is the other man who has the job to do, the trades union leader.

But this man who shines in the eyes of numbers give him something to do; let him the next morning, after he has made his speech, take it to his breakfast and let him go out and endeavor to accomplish it. Then you find the man out. You find that much he has been talking about is not to be real-

ized. While I have never been afraid of a fight just then, and never will be, yet I believe sound judgment dictates to me, in the interest of the highest good to my fellow-men, that my mind should be fixed on the next step upward, rather than the view from the peak of the mountain. That, I think, is essential.

Now, in conclusion—and I am going to conclude now—may I say that I am happy in the thought that the great organization to which I belong, the miners, and I hope that my doings in life have had something to do with its building up, while from a point of organization we are strong, from a parliamentary standpoint we have considerable strength also. We have given considerable attention to those matters and we intend to give more. We have set to one side for the next general election \$200,000, with a view of fighting for the seats of the candidates that are now sitting and to add more labor candidates at the next election.

But what is most required is a House of Commons outside the House of Commons, stronger and more powerful than the House of Commons itself, a power that the Triple Alliance will be, that will say to the House of Commons,—and I hope in wisdom and justice—that we jointly as workers would advise that the nation shall take over the railroads or anything of a national character. And I am looking forward to the day in the very near future, if Providence wills that I shall live to see it, that this outside parliament will be the moving power in the British Empire.

May I again say in conclusion, while naturally I look upon it as the last time I will look into your faces, be assured that my mind will reflect with thankfulness and good will on the kind hospitality that has been shown us, and I pray that our aim and object will be the right, and that we will have courage to carry it out.

Thomas A. Stevenson, member of the International Typographical Union, of Toronto, Canada, and fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Since arriving in the city of Baltimore I have been given to understand that Canada has sent some orators to the American Federation of Labor. I want to apologize, I am no orator. I have not had the experience. They have kept me very busy on the side trenches in my own trade union, and I have not had the opportunity of developing into a speechmaker. I also want to say to the Chairman that before leaving the city of Toronto not only the trade unionists, but our municipal authorities asked me to convey their greetings and best respects to the President of this American Federation of Labor and to the delegates, and ask Sam Gompers when he, along with his good fellows, were going to come back to Toronto and give us another call for at least two weeks.

Like my friend from across the water, I have prepared a brief message to you, but

there is one little omission I made I want to give you before I read the message. The President of the Fur Workers, Brother Miller, is in this convention. A few months ago he came to Toronto and endeavored to make the conditions of the Fur Workers better than they had been in the past. The Manufacturers' Association of the Dominion of Canada, realizing that the Fur Workers were after better conditions, immediately started the wheels of the government going from our immigration standpoint to deport the foreigner who was in there as an agitator.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, through its executive officers, who reside at Ottawa, and the central body of the city of Toronto, worked for days with the solicitor of the Fur Workers before they were sure the president of the International Fur Workers would be allowed to stay in our city and continue his work. They began the movement to deport him on the morning of a holiday, when they thought the leaders of the workers would be away having a good time. They furnished him an escort, and gave him three hours to leave the town. The labor movement of the North American continent must be one. You realize that if any men come from Canada into the United States that do not carry working cards they are a detriment to your trade, and, therefore, I say the movement ought to be one.

It is indeed a pleasure to extend to you the fraternal greetings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and in doing so I wish to remind the delegates that it is a great pleasure for me to again renew the acquaintances which it was my privilege to make some six years ago, when the American Federation of Labor met in Toronto, Canada. I can assure you that not only the trades unionists of Canada, but the public at large are asking when our turn will come again to entertain the convention of the American Federation of Labor—the one organization that is doing more for the uplift of the masses than all other organizations, not excluding the churches, on this American continent.

I wish also that the delegates understand that the imaginary line that divides the Dominion of Canada from the United States is yearly becoming more obscure as far as the International trade-union movement is concerned.

Naturally you will expect to hear something from me in connection with the crisis that our country is now passing through. Let me assure every delegate within the hearing of my voice that the trade unionists of Canada are as strong against war today as ever, and that we are more than ever convinced that all international questions should be adjusted around the table instead of by slaughtering millions of men. But our country is in the conflict, and the trade unionists have demonstrated to the world that they are as loyal a class of citizens as live within our borders. Since August, 1914, Canada, with a population of barely eight millions, has enlisted nearly 400,000 men, and when you stop to consider that organized labor has supplied over 25,000 of that number you will readily perceive that we have done our bit. The Trades and Labor

Congress of Canada at its recent session held in Toronto, reaffirmed its stand of one year ago to the effect that we are opposed to conscription in any form. Realizing as we do that you are citizens of a neutral country, I hope that all workers of this great country will rally with the American Federation of Labor in making the proposed Peace Congress one that will go down in the history of the civilized world as the basic foundation for permanent peace.

During the past twelve months the labor movement in Canada has not been at a standstill, although the Government has taken the stand that everything must stand aside until the war is ended. We have been very successful in our provincial governments or state legislatures, as you call them, in obtaining legislation which will make better the conditions for the workers of our country. In 1914, at a special war session of our dominion government, the war measures act was passed, which gave our government unlimited powers, and by an Order-in-Council, the industrial disputes and investigations act which was originally intended to cover public utilities, such as coal mines, railroads, street railways, lighting systems, etc., has been extended to cover all war supplies, which you will at a glance see includes the metal trades, the boot and shoe industry and the clothing industry, and the saddlery business. But the administration of this act, as amended by the Order-in-Council, has been opposed by the organized workers of Canada, and at our last session in Toronto, we passed a resolution demanding of the government for its repeal. Two of the most important cases that came under this act were the machinists of Toronto and Hamilton, and the miners of Tedford, Quebec. In the case of the machinists the government appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the conditions and they reported in favor of a minimum wage of 37½ cents an hour, while the chairman of the commission with Labor's representative favored the inauguration of the 9-hour day. The manufacturers of war munition involved in this investigation and award refused to comply with the findings of the commission, and in violation of the industrial disputes and investigations act, the machinists went out on strike. The official censor, appointed to prevent the publication of news detrimental to the interests of the Allies in the present war placed a censorship on all news with reference to the strike, but the "Industrial Banner," the official organ of organized labor in the province of Ontario refused to observe the censorship on the ground that the paper was owned and controlled by organized labor and was published to defend the interest of the organized workers when attacked. The censor was notified that owing to the fact that the machinists were fighting to enforce the award of the royal commission appointed by the government, the "Industrial Banner" would give the widest publicity to the details of the strike. The action of this paper eventually compelled the censor to lift the censorship on the daily papers. In the case of the miners in the asbestos mines of Tedford, Quebec, the minister of labor refused to appoint a board of investigation and conciliation under

the industrial disputes and investigations act because of the five companies operating and the miners refused to agree upon one man to represent them. A strike resulted in defiance of the industrial disputes and investigations act and a number of interned aliens from internment camps were put to work in the mines while the men were on strike. Some of these aliens, however, had union cards and refused to work; they naturally were returned to the internment camps. Owing to these facts and the general dissatisfaction with the manner in which the provisions of the industrial disputes and investigation act were being applied the trades and labor congress of Canada at its recent convention in Toronto voted nearly unanimous to apply to the next session of the federal government for the repeal of this act, which is better known as the Lemieux act or the "Lemon" act. I would strongly advise the American labor movement to never endorse any such legislation along the line of the industrial disputes and investigation act, for as we see it it is nothing more than a piece of legislation which enables the employer through the assistance of the government to import strike-breakers and be in a position to man their factories when trouble occurs.

At this time just let me refer to the vast difference between your labor department as instituted by your federal government and the one now on the statutes of the Dominion of Canada. In the United States you have as the administrator of that Department a trade unionist; while in Canada the Minister of Labor is a lawyer.

The enlisting of so many men has created a scarcity of labor and the unemployment problem in Canada has been temporarily suspended. On the other hand the scarcity of labor has made it easier for the workmen in many occupations to obtain increases in wages and shorter hours; for instance, the machinists in the province of Ontario have been successful in raising the minimum wage from 22 and 25 cents an hour to 37 and 45 cents per hour, and in some cases as high as 50 cents per hour.

In spite of these encouraging tendencies there is an insistent demand being made by the organized workers for thorough investigation of the industrial conditions of the Dominion of Canada along similar lines to the investigation conducted by the Commission on Industrial Relations in the United States. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at its recent convention instructed the executive council to urge upon the government the appointment of such a commission.

Not wishing to go into the labor legislation which has been enacted in the several provinces of the Dominion, I will just cite one or two important amendments to the legislation which has been of direct benefit to the workers. In the province of Ontario we have been enabled to have the miners paid semi-monthly instead of monthly; also that the government establish a more efficient labor department to be known as the Trades and Labor branch of the Public Works Department. In the province of Manitoba we have had a change of government and I am pleased to report that Mr. R. E. Rigg, who was fraternal delegate from Canada to the Philadelphia convention of

the American Federation of Labor, has been elected as one of the representatives for the city of Winnipeg. Through his efforts a workman's compensation act was passed at the last session, but owing to the railroad brotherhoods fighting against the state insurance features that were urgently pressed by all other branches of organized labor, the act is not what the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada desire. The act provides for compulsory insurance with private companies. The factories act was amended by bringing all factories where three persons are employed under its provision. Chinese laundries were also brought under the factories act. The franchise was extended to women on the same basis as men. In the province of British Columbia a commission was appointed to investigate the workings of different workmen's compensation acts in Canada and the United States, and to collect all available data with a view of preparing an act for that province.

One of the important questions that is interesting the workers of Canada is the increasing cost of the prime necessities of life, and at our recent convention the executive was instructed to immediately urge upon the government to take active measures to either control the food supplies or prevent the undue increases in the cost of these necessities. In response to the demands of our executive the Cabinet of the federal government have appointed a committee of three Cabinet ministers to take up the question immediately, and we are in hopes that in the very near future some benefit at least will be derived from this source.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has adopted the idea set forth in the resolution of the American Federation of Labor favoring the holding of a conference of the representatives of labor at the time and place where the diplomats of the belligerent powers meet at the close of the present war, and we have instructed our executive to communicate with the parliamentary committee of the British Trades Union Congress with a view of ascertaining whether it is their intention to call a conference of the different parts of the British Empire and the labor representatives of the allied powers. Our position at our recent convention was that in the event of a conference of the labor representatives of the British empire and of the allied nations being called the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada should be represented at such a conference. It is our hope that a conference on the lines adopted by the American Federation of Labor will be possible.

In conclusion, I wish to impress upon the delegates to this convention the necessity of giving the labor movement in Canada all assistance possible in our efforts to organize the unorganized workers. We appreciate the fact that the American labor movement has spent a great amount of money in organizing the workers in Canada, but we also believe that they will continue to show the same spirit and continue all their efforts until such time as the workers of both Canada and the United States are organized one hundred per cent. strong.

Thanking you for your attention, and wishing the American Federation of Labor greater success in the future, and again assuring you that we hope that in the very

near future we will have the pleasure of entertaining the labor movement of America in some city across the imaginary line so as to greater cement the fellowship that now exists between the workers of these two countries.

Before the time for adjournment arrived President Gompers asked if the convention desired to stay in session until all the fraternal delegates who were present had been heard, then adjourn for a sight-seeing trip arranged for by the local committee. No objection being offered, that program was carried out.

President Gompers: The organized labor movement of New Jersey has come to realize that in the person of the Director of Public Safety of Jersey City they have a man of uncommon attainments and character. It is urged that he be asked to address the convention briefly. It is also asked that a letter written by him about a year and ten months ago, when he had no idea he would ever appear before an organized labor body of workers, might be read at this time. I ask the Secretary to read the letter before I introduce to you Mr. Hague.

Secretary Morrison read the following letter:

Jersey City, January 20, 1915.

Mr. Frank Monahan,
Chief of Police,
Jersey City, N. J.

Dear Sir:

While I do not think it possible under present police conditions that a situation such as developed in Roosevelt, N. J., yesterday could obtain in Jersey City, I deem it my duty as Director of Public Safety to take every precaution against the possibility of such an outbreak. From the reports it would seem that a strike was in progress in one of the manufacturing plants in the town of Carteret, adjoining Roosevelt, and that unarmed strikers, who were causing no trouble whatever and conducting themselves peaceably, were shot down by armed men in the employ of an agency, which had been retained by the owners of the plant, ostensibly to preserve order, but in reality to menace the strikers.

It has been my firm conviction for a long time that the majority of so-called "strike-breakers" are notorious gunmen and ex-convicts who have no regard for human life, and who, without the slightest provocation, use the weapons in their possession to maim and kill inoffensive citizens.

Workmen who happen to be at variance with their employers have a right to go on strike, if they deem such a course wise, and they are within their rights when they assemble together and in an orderly manner discuss existing conditions. To shoot them down while thus engaged is butchery and nothing else. There are ways to settle labor disputes without employing thugs to drive terror into the hearts of workmen, and in that way force them to abandon whatever plans for peaceful settlement they may have in mind.

I am satisfied from my knowledge and dealings with local employers of labor that none of them would countenance the employment of gunmen and thugs in the settlement of disputes that might arise between them and their employees; still the employment of outside agencies to aid in the breaking of strikes means just this, as has been shown on many occasions. In several instances not only have strikers been killed or wounded, but inoffensive citizens having no connection with the strike have been shot down. In New York there are hundreds of gunmen waiting for just such an opportunity; passing as "strike-breakers" they go about armed with revolvers and other weapons, committing all sorts of crimes. I am unalterably opposed to this class of men being employed as so-called "strike-breakers," and I shall do everything in my power to prevent it.

The police are able to cope with any strike situation, as they are with any similar situation that may arise. Hereafter when a strike takes place you are to take charge of the police arrangements and afford all necessary protection to employers as well as to the employees. If you find that out-of-town agencies have been employed to furnish so-called "strike-breakers," you are to enter a protest, and if the agency is one which employs New York gunmen as strike-breakers, you will have such men searched. If weapons are found upon any of them, they shall be placed under arrest, and though they may have no weapons, but are recognized as gunmen or ex-convicts, they shall be placed under arrest and charged with being disorderly persons and shall be dealt with as in the ordinary course of the law.

The importation of thugs and gunmen into our city shall not be permitted. I will not tolerate a condition that will permit the employment by agencies of such men and if necessary I will drive them from the city the moment they arrive here. The police are well able to protect both employers and employees; that is what they are paid for, and I insist that no outside agency shall be brought here to aid in the settlement of any strike. Wherever these agencies are employed riot and murder follow. It is just these conditions that I am striving to prevent; gunmen and ex-convicts are undesirable and I shall not be a party to having them employed to shoot down respectable citizens.

Yours very truly,
(Signed)

FRANK HAGUE,
Director.

Following the reading of the letter Mr. Hague said, in part:

I feel highly honored in being privileged to address you because I am interested in labor movements. I have served my apprenticeship as a journeyman and know the hardships that are forced upon men such as you represent. For some twenty years I have been handling strikes as an official and when elected to the Department of Public Safety under the new form of commission government I was assigned to that department. I am well acquainted with the conditions that prevail in our sister city, New York. The city I represent is the second largest railroad terminal in the United States. We have thousands of railroad

employees located in that city and strikes are numerous. Since I have been Director of Public Safety I have been confronted with fifty or sixty strikes and not one of them has been settled against the laboring man, but settled in his favor.

I feel that an employer has not the right to import into our city armed thugs and gunmen to shoot down the innocent working men who may have controversies with their employers. Our city numbers something over 300,000, we have over 600 policemen, they are under my supervision and I have said to them, "When labor disputes take place you are not to permit the employer to import armed thugs into our city. Direct the employer to come to my office and I will do business with him, tell him what his privileges are and what I will permit him to do."

I do not permit the police officials to do business with the employers; I do business directly with the employers and tell them what I expect and what I will permit them to do. When the employer realizes that he cannot shut down and obtain the privileges that are granted in other large cities, when he cannot march thousands of armed thugs through the streets, when the police are not allowed to assail and assault working men, he realizes that he must abide by the law, that his money is of no avail, and there is no man to be bribed, there will be fewer shut-downs.

When such men as I have referred to enter our city they are searched, an investigation is made, and if they are armed or it is discovered they have criminal records they are sent to the penitentiary. The law is made and they must live up to it. Last Friday morning three men were brought before one of the police magistrates charged with being gunmen. Upon investigating one of those men proved to be an ex-convict and highwayman who had recently been released from a penitentiary. Those three men today are in the penitentiary under sentence of ninety days for entering our city to break a strike. We feel they should be made to live up to the law the same as the working men. When the employers tell me they want their strike-breakers to be allowed to roam around our city under police guard I tell them if they want their strike-breakers protected they must keep them on the plant. If they are permitted to leave the plant they will incite riots when they appear on the public streets. When the employers have to feed and house hundreds of men they will have no desire to continue the strikes.

It is only a minute or two minutes from our city to the City of New York, and I know there are thousands of those notorious men there waiting to be deported all over the country to take the places of those hard working men who may have controversies or disputes with their employers. Just as long as those men are permitted to enter your cities, just so long you will have riot and bloodshed. There is nothing in the world your laboring man despises more than a gunman and a strike-breaker. If the railroad men's strike had taken place we would have had, outside of Chicago, more men on strike than any city in the United States. When the strike was threatened I

sent letters to the presidents of the railroads and told them, while they were in conference with the notorious strike-breaking agencies, that if they brought those notorious thugs over I not only would arrest them but I would arrest the presidents and general managers of the railroads for bringing them into our city and I had the power to do it. I would have charged them with inciting riot and I would have been sustained in court. Ninety per cent. of our labor troubles are brought about by the notorious agencies that furnish these thugs and gunmen.

We had a strike in the works of the Standard Oil Company in Jersey City. There was also a strike in Bayonne, and in that city armed thugs with guns and rifles walked the streets. In Jersey City those armed gunmen were lined up and shipped back to New York City. The officials were told if they came there again to arrest them. In Bayonne the strike lasted two or three weeks, there was murder there and lives were lost. In Jersey City the strike lasted two days, no damage was done and no arrests were made. The plant was in charge of the police of Jersey City, and there was no damage to life or property.

Upon motion of Delegate Steelman, Glass Bottle Blowers, a rising vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Hague for his presence in the convention and his able address.

President Gompers: We have with us today a committee representing the Farmers' organization, and I take pleasure in presenting to you Mr. J. H. Kimble, the National Legislative Representative of the Farmers' National Congress.

J. H. Kimble, of the Committee from the Farmers' National Congress, preliminary to his address read the following resolution adopted by his organization at Indianapolis, Ind., October 20, 1916:

RESOLVED, That we approve the exchange of fraternal delegates between farmers and labor organizations and invite co-operation with organized labor and other farmers' organizations in matters of mutual interest, and particularly in securing legislation.

Mr. Kimble then addressed the convention, saying:

It affords me much gratification to have the honor to bring to this great organization the fraternal greeting of the Farmers' National Congress. As farmers, we looked on for a number of years at the other industries organizing until finally we found it was necessary to do a little organizing for ourselves. We have learned that it is a good idea to be organized. We have a great many agricultural organizations. We have been slow, perhaps, to reach the co-operative stage, but distinct progress is being made. Henry Grady once said: "The farmer, segregated and deliberate, does not move on a slight provocation; but organizes only under deep conviction, and when once organized and convinced he is terribly in earnest and is not going to rest until his wrongs are righted."

We have noted the splendid organization of the American laborers and their need for

it. We have also noticed that it often occurs that the same forces that fight the American laborer oppose the American farmer. We have learned much from the American Federation of Labor. We have learned that we have many interests in common and in furtherance of that idea we are here to ask your co-operation, and if it meets your approval that you officially direct, as we have done in resolutions, mutual co-operation in legislative matters of mutual interests at Washington.

I want to thank this organization for the efficient aid given us at Washington last winter when we were struggling to pass constructive legislation in the interest of agriculture.

President Gompers and Secretary Morrison were most obliging and helpful and we want to co-operate with you and try to return your courtesies and kindnesses and assistance. Looking over the list of the laws passed by the last Congress you will observe that much has been done, but there is much more to do. If there ever was a place where eternal vigilance is needed it is in the halls of Congress at Washington. I am pleading that the spirit of unity between us may prevail and grow into team work. By this unity I believe that our mutual opportunities will be improved and the interests of the people advanced.

The American farmer has his ideals just as you have and he does not want civilization to force him backward. He wants the results of his toil and the proceeds of his industry to be fairly counted, and it is for this reason that he is perfecting his organizations. And, furthermore, knowing that workmen's interests are in common with his he would join hands with you just as your seal and emblem pictures. We would join hands with you in perfecting legislation, keeping our organizations out of the criminal trusts' class; securing reasonable hours, sanitary conditions, decent wages, and all of those uplifting principles underlying your powerful organization. We want to see, with you, foreign immigration restricted; parcel post and postal savings extended; vocational education, and other proposed and pending legislation enacted in the interest of the whole people and all humanity.

President Gompers: Another fraternal delegate representing the farmers will address you. Incidentally, and perhaps most important, is the fact that this farmer who will address you now holds membership in the International Bricklayers' Union and has had his card for over forty-two years. I take pleasure in introducing to you the farmer-bricklayer, or the bricklayer-farmer, the fighting L. B. Strayer, of Rock Island, Illinois.

Fraternal Delegate Strayer:

Mr. President and Delegates: I did not expect to be called upon to make a speech. I have no speech ready and you may be thankful I have not; but it was suggested that I should say a few words to you in regard to getting together our organized workers and the organized farmers. I belong to both. I first joined the Bricklayers' Union forty-four years ago in Chicago when there was scarcely a union of any kind in

the United States. I think I am more proud of the fact that I can be considered a pioneer in the trade union movement than I am of anything else that has occurred in my life. When I look back and think of the conditions that existed forty-four years ago and what has developed up to the present time I think I have much reason to be proud that I can claim to be a pioneer in that organization.

I have a hobby of trying to get the organized farmers and the organized workers together. I am not going to ride my hobby very long. It is said it is a good thing to have a hobby if you know when to dismount, and I am going to dismount very shortly. There are many things we can work together in that are of mutual interest to both the farmers and the organized wage workers. I am willing to work with you in any way I can, but I am unable to do very much talking. My work in the Farmers' Congress, with which I have been associated for sixteen years, has been on committees. We have plenty of silver-tongued orators and hand-picked wind-jammers, but it is the man on the committee that does the most service. I am glad they have insisted on my working instead of talking.

President Gompers: It is my pleasure now to present to you the fraternal delegate from the Women's National Trade Union League of America, one who has kept the faith, Miss Mary Anderson.

Fraternal Delegate Mary Anderson, National Women's Trade Union League:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I want to extend to you the fraternal greetings of the Women's Trade Union League. We, of course, are doing work with the American Federation of Labor, organizing work, legislative work and all the work that pertains to any organization. In our humble way we are trying to help organize the women of the United States. In the past year we have taken part in many of the strikes that have been going on in this country. In Chicago we took part in the Pullman strike of the car cleaners; we took part in the Argo strike, we took part in the harvesters' strike, and many others. The New York Women's Trade Union League took part in the great strike of the cloak makers last summer; the Philadelphia League took part in organizing the shirt-waist makers. We are doing this all over the land wherever we can reach and wherever our money reaches. We are at all times working in harmony with the international labor movement and with the American Federation of Labor.

We are trying to bring out into the labor movement women who have taken part in organization work in their own trades. We call this a school, although I think it is a little bit of a misnomer, but we cannot find a more appropriate name to call it. We find that these women need certain training, they need academic work and certain organization work. We have in Chicago at the present time six girls we are trying to bring out into the women's labor movement to try to help organize the eight million women who are working in the United States today, very few of whom are organized.

Among these six girls we have Miss Julia O'Connor, one of the telephone girls of Boston. She has met the telephone com-

pany, and has been able to bring up the wages and conditions of telephone girls every time she met them; but she felt there was some academic work she had to have in order to be able to meet a big corporation like the telephone company, and do the best that can be done for the girls she represents. She came to Chicago for a four months' course of training in this school. She is in the Chicago University trying to bring up her education to the point that will enable her to meet successfully the people she is obliged to meet. In the labor movement today it is a case of wit; it is a case of matching your brain with the other fellow's brain, and you cannot have too much training to help you in that direction. A girl can get very little of it inside a telephone booth or in a factory, so we are trying to give these girls a chance to fit themselves to go out and help build up the labor movement in that way.

At all times we work for the eight-hour day, both through organization and legislation. We do not want too much legislation. Personally, I feel that very strongly, but I know that we have hundreds and thousands of girls working in the factories who are between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one who know little or nothing of organization. We are being given citizenship in the United States today little by little, and we are not going to make the best of that citizenship unless the women are organized, unless we get to them and tell them what organization means. We have been given the vote partly in Illinois, and we have found it hard to reach the working-women because we were not able to meet them in organization. We have this group of girls from fourteen to twenty-one. They will not be citizens until they are twenty-one. It is almost impossible to organize these young girls in the labor movement. They all think they are going to be through with the factory in a very few years, and they are not going to waste their time, as they say, in the labor movement. We must secure certain legislation for them in order that we ourselves, and every woman who is working in a trade, and every man, for that matter, can be protected. It is a selfish matter, after all.

I know that every one of you men here feel very strongly along these lines, that you feel very strongly that we must organize the women. I know the American Federation of Labor, the international unions, the Women's Trade Union League and every other organization are bending their energies toward that work today.

I thank you for your attention.

President Gompers: The Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan has sent Mr. B. Suzuki to the United States. This is his second appearance at our convention, first in San Francisco, now in Baltimore. Last year I had the pleasure of introducing him to you. Today there is no necessity for an introduction, and I now present to you Mr. Suzuki, who will address the convention.

Mr. B. Suzuki, representing the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: I feel highly honored to represent the Labor-

ers' Friendly Society of Japan in this distinguished assembly and to meet once again the leaders of the American labor movement. Last year, when you convened in San Francisco, you accorded me your hospitalities and gave me your encouragement. Profoundly impressed with your utmost kindnesses I returned to Japan, kindled with a new hope and inspiration, and with a determination to serve the cause of labor more vigorously. Since my return to Japan I traveled thousands of miles, and wherever I went I conveyed to my fellow-workers in Japan the spirit of your true friendship and good will toward my people. They listened to the message with great eagerness and showed a sign of encouragement by your deep interest in their welfare as co-workers of the world. Deeply appreciative of your goodness and sincerely desirous of strengthening the bond of friendship between our two peoples, the workers of Japan have sent me again to your country to convey to you the message of their gratitude and appreciation.

Permit me to tell you at the outset of the wonderful awakening of Japanese laborers and their rapid progress. At last they have awakened from the torpor of centuries and have come to consciousness of their own power and glory. Now, they are doing their utmost in order to maintain their newly-gained position and to extend still further their influence. I humbly believe that my last visit to America has not only given me great educational advantages, but it was truly an epoch-making event in the labor movement of Japan. Of course, for many years past I studied the history of the labor movement in various countries in the world and at least had a general knowledge concerning it. Like a Japanese proverb, "One seeing worth one hundred hearings." So when my feet touched the soil of your great land my hand warmly clasped yours, my eyes gazed into your faces, my ears heard the ringing voice of your great labor leaders, I felt the thrill of inspiration as if I were struck at once by a thousand thunderbolts. And I felt that I should not monopolize this inspiration. During the eight months since my return to Japan last January until my departure to the United States in September, I traveled throughout my country nearly ten thousand miles, and spoke over one hundred times in cities and the country. I had a deep conviction of my task to enlighten and organize the laborers of Japan, and I spared no time and effort. Moreover, recently disputes arose so often between labor and capital, and in each one of those cases I did my best for reconciliation. For this reason, notwithstanding my unusual health and vigor, I had to succumb to illness thrice. However, I arose from my sick bed and persisted in my fight for the cause of the labor movement of my country.

Our society is not yet so powerful as your great American Federation of Labor. I believe that the difficulties which we have encountered from the moment of its inception until today is far beyond your imagination. But I have always been a great admirer of your noble statesman and the savior of your country, Abraham Lincoln, who said:

"Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor; and could never have existed if labor had

not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

I believe that this statement of Lincoln is true, not only in your country, but also it is a universal truth. For I have been a firm believer of this truth and have devoted my heart and soul for the cause of labor movement without regard to my private interests. During the last eight months there were six big strikes in Japan. Fortunately, we succeeded in all of those six and secured the increase of twenty per cent. of the wages and some improvement in the agreement of working conditions. During the last eight months our membership has increased from 10,000 to 30,000, or an increase of 200 per cent. This is not only true with male workers, but also true with female workers. At present our membership increases at the rate of not less than 3,000 every month, in which are included several hundred women workers. Such a rapid progress of our society has resulted from the encouragement you have given me, and therefore I wish to state most strongly that the labor movement of Japan owes greatly to you leaders of the American labor movement.

The Japanese Labor Movement in the United States.

When I turn my attention to the Japanese laborers on the Pacific Coast I am convinced that they have come to thoroughly understand your ideals and are rapidly approaching to your standard of living. For instance, I found a glowing example of loyalty of Japanese workers to your cause in the recent strike of culinary workers in San Francisco. Though Japanese culinary workers were not union men, they joined union men and walked out with them. Although they were offered better terms by employers, they did not return to their work until after the strike terminated. Another important example could be found in the Longshoremen's strike in Hawaii. By the co-operation and assistance given by Japanese laborers the longshoremen of Honolulu successfully withstood against the strong opposition of the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu and finally won the victory in securing 35 per cent. increase of their wages.

At present there are more than ten Japanese labor organizations in California. Of these, two have existed for more than twenty years. Recently these local unions of San Francisco and its vicinity decided to organize a central labor council. As one of the organization committee of the proposed council, I have labored in drafting its constitution. They have already elected officers, and are waiting for my return to have its opening meeting. This is true not only with Japanese workmen of San Francisco alone, but also with those in Los Angeles, Seattle, and Vancouver, B. C. There is a strong Japanese union in Seattle, which was organized last year. Japanese laborers in Pacific coast cities have been asking me to come and help organize their local unions and labor councils.

When we study the development of the Japanese nation, for centuries we lived under the feudal system with a family as a unit of our social order. Until a few decades ago, household industries prevailed.

Therefore, the development of our modern industries has been rather slow and our movement was in its infancy. Consequently, our workmen have rarely had opportunities to fathom your ideals and to profit by the knowledge and training which you have acquired for many decades. This is one of the important reasons why there has not been the development of labor unions among my countrymen. But at last the time has come, and the great movement has been already started. In order to succeed in our undertaking, therefore, we need your assistance. Is it not the law of the universe that the warm sunshine of spring will follow winter's desolation? In winter mountains and valleys are covered with snow, rivers and lakes are frozen with ice, and Nature seems to have died in solitude. But when in spring the zephyr sweeps gently over hills and dale, they quickly cast off their white mantles of snow, and rivers and lakes throw off their solid armor of ice, and at once we find ourselves in the paradise where flowers are smiling and birds are singing. I rejoice with you, for the recent strikes in Japan have ended in our favor and the organization of Japanese laborers in America is the harbinger of the spring in Japanese labor movements like the songs of robins in the spring morn.

The International Aspect of Labor.

I believe laboring men throughout the world have their common interest. By furthering our common interest, we can accomplish the true meaning of our existence. There is no doubt that the industries of the world will advance with the age. Therefore, I firmly believe that the method of industrial enterprise, the supply of raw materials and of capital, will have equalizing tendencies according to the development of the means of communication and of transportation. If so, the only factor that determines the price of manufactures in different countries will necessarily be the wages of working men. But, when the labor movement is restricted only to a single country, and does not extend outside its national boundary, it is evident that a country, where laborers have no power and their wages are cheap, will finally control the destiny of the world's industry, and cheap labor will monopolize the labor market of the world.

In the annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor, held at Eureka last October, two resolutions were introduced encouraging the organization of Japanese laborers in this country. These resolutions are now under investigation by the executive board of the California State Federation of Labor. It may appear to you that the organization of Japanese laborers concerns the interest of Japanese workers alone. But we must not lose sight of the fact that it has the most important bearing on the American labor movement and to the interest of the American workmen. Therefore, in devoting my humble efforts to organize Japanese laborers, I did my utmost not only as a Japanese but also as a human laborer, to contribute my quota for the advancement of the cause of labor. I sincerely hope that you will realize the importance of this subject, and give us your assistance to

organize Japanese laborers who have already come to feel the necessity of organization.

The Relation Between Labor and Peace Movement.

Now I wish to devote a few moments to consider the relationship between labor and peace movement. In my humble opinion, labor should be the protector of peace. There should be no national barriers in labor. It should know no difference in race, religion and the color of skin. War never brings happiness to workmen, although it overburdens them with miseries. War retards human progress, and destroys civilization. The purpose of labor is not destruction, but construction; not ruin, but creation; not retrogression, but progress; not darkness, but sunshine; not despair, but hope; not sorrow, but joy and gladness. We do not wish to shed our precious blood for the glory of munition manufacturers. We do not wish to bury our bones for the prosperity of steel and armor kings. Our battles are fought not on battlefields, but in labor markets. Our preparations should not be for war, but for peace. We feel unspeakable agonies whenever we hear the reports on the European war. We are sorry that great labor organizations in Europe could not have prevented the present catastrophe. We should never repeat this atrocious crime again. This is indeed a revolt against humanity. In recent years we have heard so much agitations concerning war in this country. It is the cry for "Yellow Peril." But, how can we throw our lives so light-heartedly in the midst of bayonets and swords for the greed of newspaper kings and politicians? I presume "Yellow Peril" does not mean the color of skin, but merely the color of a certain newspaper.

Finally, I wish to convey to you the message which thousands of workmen of Japan have entrusted me. Next spring our Laborer's Friendly Society will hold in Tokio the fifth anniversary of its founding. In order to make the occasion more glorious, the members of our Society are eager to welcome labor leaders from your country. The coming of your great labor leaders to Japan will not only afford our laborers the opportunities to meet the leaders of international fame whom they have been wishing to see, but will have a far-reaching influence in encouraging and inspiring them to fight for the cause of labor. Besides, it will not only enlighten the conservative class of my countrymen concerning the ideals of the labor movement, but will attract a great deal of interest and attention of our intellectual classes concerning its problems. When your representatives come to Japan, I intend to escort them on their journey throughout the country, and to hold mass-meetings in local centers to receive their inspiration.

Since September 1 last the factory legislation has been in operation in Japan, though it is still unsatisfactory. Since October 1 the simple insurance legislation, which is the first step towards social insurance, has been in operation, and already revision has been made in the existing mining laws. Society in general has become interested in various social problems and the people have come to pay more attention to labor problems. Have you not heard the cry of your younger brothers for your leadership? Do

you not wish to see Japan in transition of her industrial self-consciousness? Spring is the season of beautiful flowers in Japan. Her natural beauties and the sincere welcome of Japanese workmen will be sufficient to comfort the hearts of your representatives. Your younger brothers in Japan have twice sent their representatives among you to express their friendly feelings toward you. I firmly believe that you will not hesitate in sending your delegates when your younger brothers are so solicitous of welcoming them. Already the California State Federation of Labor in its annual convention has accepted my proposition, and voted unanimously to send their delegates to Japan. I hope that this convention will follow the example already set by the California State Federation and will accept our invitation.

Perfect understanding is the mother of true friendship and the intimate friendship of nations is the bulwark of international peace. Unfortunately, there has been constant rumors of war between the United States and Japan. Because there is such constant agitation by your jingo politicians and yellow journals against Japan, there are some of my countrymen who fear the aggressive attitude of the United States. I believe that the sending of your representatives and their peaceful attitude will have far-reaching consequences in eradicating the unfounded rumors, and strengthen the bond of friendly relations between our two countries. Will it not be a great contribution to the cause of human happiness and of the world civilization?

Just before I left Japan for this country, the Laborer's Friendly Society in its mass-meeting passed unanimously the following resolution:

"We have boundless trust and confidence in Mr. Bunji Suzuki, President of our Society. We sincerely hope that his second visit to the United States will promote the perfect understanding and mutual sympathy of the workmen both of the United States and Japan, and will contribute to the friendly relations and happiness of our two countries."

This is the voice of thousands of workmen of the land of the Rising Sun, and I know it will find an echo in your hearts and those of millions of your countrymen. Thus, may our two peoples enjoy lasting peace and prosperity!

President Gompers: There has come to the President of the American Federation of Labor a letter, handed to me by Mr. Suzuki, that I think should have the attention of the convention. The Secretary will read the letter.

Secretary Morrison read the following:
Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan.

Mita, Tokyo, Japan, September 1, 1916.
Mr. Samuel Gompers, President
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the Yu-Ai-kai, the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, I have the pleasure of requesting your presence at the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the Yu-Ai-kai, to be held in Tokyo next spring. There are various rea-

sons which prompt us to extend this invitation to you.

In the first place, your presence at the celebration will prove a great encouragement to the working people of Japan, who are just awakening to the importance of the part they are playing in the industrial advancement of the country. At present the Yu-Ai-kai has 30,000 members. Considering the large number of our working people the 30,000 are yet insignificant. We must increase our membership if we are to secure our position in the economic world of Japan. If a great labor leader with worldwide reputation comes to Japan and speaks to our working people, it will prove a strong stimulation for the promotion of the cause of labor.

In the second place, your visit to Japan will make most favorable impressions upon the conservative classes of the Japanese. Your constructive views with regard to relations between capital and labor will go a long way towards convincing the conservative elements of our country that the labor movement is nothing to be feared, but something which must necessarily accompany industrial development, and which has to be fostered and guided in the right direction.

We request your visit to Japan not only to attend the fifth anniversary of the Yu-Ai-kai, but to visit all the important industrial and mining centers where the branches of the Society are located. We like to have you inspect and study labor conditions in such centers, and, at the same time carry to our workers a message of encouragement and comradeship.

Last but not least, your visit to Japan will aid in the promotion of peace between the two countries. There are in our country a large number of people who really believe that the United States is determined to wage an aggressive war against Japan. They believe that America is expanding her army and navy with that aggressive campaign in view. We hope that you will carry to the masses of Japan a message of peace and friendship from the masses of your country. We believe that you will do a great service to the cause of humanity if you will cross the Pacific and assure the people of Japan that the common people of the United States have no desire to embroil the two countries in an armed conflict.

I trust that this invitation will be accepted in the spirit in which it is extended to you.

With highest esteem and best regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) BUNJI SUZUKI,
President, Yu-Ai-kai.

The communication read by the Secretary was referred to the Committee on International Relations.

Mr. J. B. Hines, Fort Worth, Texas, was given the privilege of the floor, and extended an urgent invitation to the American Federation of Labor to meet in its 1917 convention in Fort Worth, Texas. He spoke eloquently of the advantages of Fort Worth as a convention city and of the welcome that would be accorded the delegates.

Mr. J. E. Morgan, representing organized workers in California and in Kansas City, was introduced by the President. Mr. Morgan spoke at some length of the men in San Francisco who have been arrested charged with responsibility for a bomb explosion in the streets during the preparedness parade some months ago, and asked the assistance of organized labor throughout the country in the effort that is being made to clear these men of the unjust charges against them. He spoke of the interest taken in the case by Mr. Frank P. Walsh and of the fact that Mr. W. Bourke Cochran, the noted New York lawyer and orator, was so impressed by the apparent injustice being done the men that he had volunteered his services to defend them, and was now on his way to San Francisco for that purpose. Mr. Morgan gave a clear and detailed account of all the circumstances connected with the case, the effort of the Chamber of Commerce, the United Railways and other corporations to bring about open-shop conditions in San Francisco, and their efforts to connect labor men with the explosion referred to.

At 2 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 a. m. Wednesday, November 15th.

The following resolutions were submitted and referred to the committees designated:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of the Federal Employees Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There have been organized within the last year about 15 organizations of Government employees, known as Federal Employees Unions, the largest of which is located in Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction which has been granted to these Federal Employees Unions by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consists of the right to membership of all Government employees who are not exclusively eligible to existing national or international unions; and

WHEREAS, This action of the Executive Council was taken in accordance with a resolution of the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor as follows:

“WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been instrumental in securing legislation that has permitted the civil service employees of the Government to organize; and

“WHEREAS, There are about 275,000 such employees now practically unorganized; therefore, be it

“RESOLVED, That this thirty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor believes this to be an opportune time to institute a vigorous campaign to organize said civil service employees; and be it further

“RESOLVED, That the secretary is here-

by directed to communicate with the various local organizers on this subject and send them a copy of this resolution.

“The committee recommended that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.”

WHEREAS, It is evident that the action of the Seattle Convention upon this subject intended the organization of the civil service employees of the United States into distinctive organizations from any other organization of employees in private establishments, even though the work were of a similar character; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the United States are dependent upon Congress and the heads of departments for all changes in conditions of work, salaries, wages, hours, etc., and have a common interest in such matters without regard to the particular line of work upon which such employees are engaged; and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of employees of the United States who are eligible to various trade unions, but on account of the fact that their salaries, wages, hours and conditions of work are fixed by legislative enactment, rather than by agreement with their employer, they do not belong to nor do they desire to join their various craft unions; and

WHEREAS, This condition is due to the fact that, unless a large number of some particular craft are affected by adverse legislation or by proposed advantageous legislation, a national or international union ordinarily does not and may not take an active interest in the legislation; and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of Government employees who are working in localities and places separate and distinct from other workers of their various crafts and who do not feel or believe that it would be of any advantage to them to belong to their craft union; and

WHEREAS, The organization of the Federal Employees Unions provides a means whereby these workers may be brought into the ranks of organized labor so that their membership in such organization will insure to them at least a constant effort by their organization to secure benefits for them, inasmuch as all of the members of such organizations are striving for the attainment of the same purposes and by the same means; and

WHEREAS, It is not practicable for the various national and international unions to put forth their best efforts in behalf of these isolated craftsmen who are eligible to these national or international unions, because of the numerous other problems and conditions with which they are confronted and which affect a very much greater number of their craft; and

WHEREAS, In Washington, D. C. there has been occasioned some bitterness and dislike for trade unionism, because of the fact that these craftsmen, eligible to the various national and international unions, have not been permitted to join the Federal Employees Union; and

WHEREAS, It would tend to very materially strengthen the movement for the organization of Government employees and would not, to any appreciable extent, weaken

or interfere with the membership of national or international unions if a definite line of jurisdiction were established for the unions of Federal employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the jurisdiction of the various Federal Employees Unions shall be limited to those persons in the employ of the United States or of the District of Columbia who are not exclusively eligible to existing national or international unions, or who are eligible to such national or international unions, but whose employment is not of a nature that the national or international union is able or willing to do as much for them as is apparent that the Federal Employees Unions will accomplish, and that a definite line of jurisdiction for the Federal Employees Unions be established to provide that all Government employes shall be eligible thereto except those exclusively eligible to existing national or international unions who are employed in groups of more than ten of any one craft.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, A. Rosenberg, Sarah Shapiro, Max Gorenstein and Morris Deitch, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The immigration bill (H. R. 10384) passed by the House of Representatives March 30, 1916, provides that certain restrictions against immigration shall not apply to persons convicted of or advocating the commission of "offenses purely political"; and

WHEREAS, The Committee on Immigration of the United States Senate has added as an amendment to the above provision the words "unless such offense is a felony" (Senate bill, May 18, 1916, p. 10, line 7); and

WHEREAS, This amendment, if enacted into law, would deprive of the right of asylum champions of liberty in countries suffering from political oppression in which resistance to tyranny is classed as a felony; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in the city of Baltimore, this 15th day of November, 1916, protests against the amendment of the Senate Committee on Immigration as un-American and running counter to the time-honored policy of this nation to extend the right of political asylum to political refugees of all the world, as so eloquently stated by President Wilson in his message of January 28th, 1915, vetoing a similar bill; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is herewith instructed to bring the matter to the attention of the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Claude O. Taylor, of the Michigan Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to consider the advisability of creating a new department comprising those organizations directly connected with the theatrical industry; and, therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That if, after careful consideration, the Executive Council deems wise and beneficial to create such new department that it be empowered to do so.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate H. S. McCluskey, of the Arizona State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Owing to the time and distance to be traveled, the expense attached, the Southwest has been more or less neglected by the various international unions in the matter of organization, the adjustment of disputes, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Plans have been outlined by the Arizona State Federation of Labor and the recently organized district union of the Western Federation of Miners to carry out an extensive campaign of organization during the coming year; and

WHEREAS, New Mexico, an adjoining State, has but two local unions in the entire State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Arizona State Federation of Labor instruct its delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention to try and secure the appointment of an organizer in the Southwest; be it further

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Convention endorse the request that an organizer be appointed for Arizona and New Mexico.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The wage scales existing in the postal service governing the wages of postoffice clerks, railway mail clerks and city letter carriers were fixed in 1907 and are woefully inadequate to meet the present day cost of living; and

WHEREAS, Postal employees are highly specialized workers who function in a Government monopoly with no hope of receiving a higher wage from a competing industrial establishment, performing a service which gradually unfits them for employment elsewhere; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the attempts of affiliated postal workers to secure a higher wage scale from the Sixty-fourth Congress and instruct the Executive Council to render all possible assistance.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Paul Scharrenberg, Andrew Furuseth, Patrick Flynn, D. P. Haggerty, William F. Dwyer, James E. Wilson, John A. O'Connell, M. J.

McGuire, Frederick W. Ely, John Murray, H. W. Dennett:

WHEREAS, The recognized menace of unrestricted Asiatic immigration has resulted in the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the subsequent adoption of the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement between this country and Japan; and

WHEREAS, In the spirit alone of imperative necessity and self-protection, organized labor of America has favored and urged the passage of such exclusion laws, but has at all times been ready to aid and encourage the workers of every country and of every color and creed to emancipate themselves from exploitation; and

WHEREAS, We have recently learned, with interest and gratification, that the working people of Japan are organizing into industrial unions, and have formally invited the organized workers of California and the organized workers of America to send delegates to the fifth anniversary of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, to be held at Tokio next spring; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor, without receding one step from its well-known attitude upon Asiatic Exclusion, has already accepted the invitation and has given to the delegate from Japan an expression of good-will and a message of hope and encouragement for a brighter future to the workers in his country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled at Baltimore, Md., that for the sake of a better understanding and permanent friendly relations between the workers in Japan and America we, too, accept the invitation of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan and hereby authorize the Executive Council to select a suitable person to carry a message of good-will and encouragement to the working people of Japan.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of the Federal Employes' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There is pending in Congress H. R. 11876, known as the Nolan Minimum Wage Bill, which proposes to establish a minimum wage of not less than \$3.00 a day, or a proportionate amount if paid by the hour, the month or the year, for all persons who have been in the civil employment of the United States for at least two years; and

WHEREAS, This bill has been unanimously reported to the House of Representatives by the Committee on Labor with recommendation that it be passed; and

WHEREAS, The platform of the Democratic party adopted at St. Louis in June, 1916, states that the Democratic party favors a living wage for all employees of the United States, and \$3.00 per day is the lowest wage upon which any person may live and support a family in any degree of comfort; and

WHEREAS, Practically all of the organized workers of the United States receive more than \$3.00 per day in wages, and more

than one-third of the employees of the United States receive less than \$3.00 per day; and

WHEREAS, The actual cost of the necessities of life has increased to such an extent within the last few years as to make living conditions of the low-salaried employees practically unbearable, and this increase in the cost of the necessities of life falls most heavily on the Government employees in the lower grades of salaries and wages; and

WHEREAS, There is a constant tendency on the part of Government officials to increase the number of low-salaried positions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, That the President of this organization and the Executive Council be and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact H. R. 11876, the Nolan Minimum Wage Bill, at the session beginning in December, 1916.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

WHEREAS, Thousands of post office clerks throughout the country are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks is endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the postal service by securing a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m. and prior to 6 a. m. for postoffice clerks and letter carriers—a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before the Sixty-fourth Congress the Randall-Lewis bill, which will accomplish this reform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the Randall-Lewis bill, and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in seeking its passage.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate Gertrude M. McNally, of Federal Labor Union No. 12776:

WHEREAS, The rate of pay in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing to women machine operatives differs in certain branches; and

WHEREAS, The work done on one machine does not differ materially from that done on others; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor a standard wage for all women machine operatives to be not less than \$2.24 per diem, the rate now paid to most of these women; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Ex-

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every influence to bring about this result.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 10—By Federal Labor Union No. 12692:

WHEREAS, At a convention of the A. F. of L. a law was passed requiring all members of local federal unions to accept the American Federationist, and an extra head tax of five cents a month was imposed on the locals, our local members are not satisfied with these magazines, and we feel that this extra tax could be used to better advantage in our local work here; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Executive Board of Local No. 12692, request the thirty-sixth annual convention assembled to repeal this law and relieve the locals of the extra tax.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Sixty-second Congress enacted an eight-hour law for post office clerks and city letter carriers, which provided that the day's work should be confined to eight within ten hours, except only in emergencies, when overtime was to be paid at the regular rate of wages; and

WHEREAS, The practice has developed in many of the large offices of keeping the employees at their tasks for ten and eleven hours daily, menacing their health and impairing the efficiency of the postal service; and

WHEREAS, The absence of any penalty for overtime work is a constant invitation to the supervisory officials to hold the skilled workers rather than employ a sufficient number of auxiliary workers or seek the appointment of additional clerks and carriers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge its support to the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in its efforts to force a rigid observance of the postal eight-hour law by establishing a rate of time and a half for all work in excess of eight hours.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work-day.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Raymond Wilcox, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646.

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646 has long used upon the correspondence and other work of its members a trade imprint, being the initials and the American Federation of Labor number, for the purpose of advertising the existence of a union of office workers—the same having been an effective means of enlisting inquiry as to the meaning of this device and affording an opportunity of boosting the union in reply to said inquiry; and

WHEREAS, In our trade there is no union label, and by the nature of the trade there can be no label in the usual and accepted sense of the term; and

WHEREAS, On many of the communications from International Unions in this city and elsewhere this trade imprint is used; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and other affiliated International Organizations of Labor having offices in organized cities make it a practice to require on their communications this trade imprint, made up of the initials and American Federation of Labor number, of the office workers organizations in their respective cities, for the purpose of stimulating interest in organization among office workers.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 13—by Delegate Robert P. Brindell, of the New York Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, The men employed in pile driving, dock pin and wharf building in and around the city of New York have maintained, for more than twenty years prior to 1910, organizations of that craft, independent of and unaffiliated with any national or international organization; and

WHEREAS, On July 7, 1910, the American Federation of Labor granted a Federal Union charter to the Pile Drivers and Dock Pin and Wharf Builders employed by the city of New York; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America later claimed that the men composing the independent dock builders' organization, as well as those holding membership in the Federal Labor Union of Pile Drivers and Dock Builders employed by the city of New York were doing carpenters' work, and therefore should become part of the United Carpenters and Joiners of America. Those claims were presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and a demand made that inasmuch as organizations of dock builders were connected with the Central Federated Union of New York, and also one chartered by the American Federation of Labor, they should connect themselves with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and failing to do so the charter of the Federal Union of Pile Drivers and Dock Builders should be revoked, and the independent union of Pile Drivers and Dock Builders should be unseated by the Central Federated Union of New York; and

WHEREAS, After a thorough investigation and conferences held by representatives of all organizations in interest, it was decided by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that all dock builders and pile drivers in New York City and vicinity should become part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; and

WHEREAS, In compliance with this decision, on February 13, 1915, the independent Union of Dock Builders and Pile Drivers became Local Union No. 1456 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; and

WHEREAS, For failure to comply with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the charter of the Federal Union of Municipal Dock Builders was revoked by the American Federation of Labor on June 15, 1915, and in obedience to the laws of the American Federation of Labor the Central Federated Union of New York City unseated their delegates; and

WHEREAS, Up to June 15, 1915, no claim was ever made by the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, either to the American Federation of Labor or to the Central Federated Union of New York, for jurisdiction over the men composing the membership of either of those organizations, and the granting of jurisdiction over dock building and pile driving to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was not protested by that organization, and no effort was ever made by representatives of that organization to organize the men employed in this industry into unions of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers prior to the above named date; and

WHEREAS, The organization of Pile Drivers and Dock Builders which had become a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at that time had declared a strike against the contracting dock builders of New York for the purpose of securing an increase of wages for their members, and during this conflict the officers of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers did on July 10, 1915, grant a charter to men who were employed by the contractors to fill the place of the men who went on strike, and in the name of this newly chartered organization, which was known as Local No. 177 of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, they entered into an agreement with the contracting dock builders' association, and the said agreement was entirely at variance with the demands for better conditions, and wholly in the interests of the employers; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor requested the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to revoke the charter granted to this body of men, which they refused to do. Their action in granting the above charter was considered at the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the committee appointed to consider the matter reported the following, which was adopted:

"That the President of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to appoint a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the status of the Dock Builders in New York City relative to the chartering of a local by an affiliated organization while the said charter had been revoked by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and we further recommend that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be requested to suspend the charter granted by them in New York City, known as Local No. 177, pending the proposed investigation;" and

WHEREAS, In compliance with the above resolution a committee of three was appointed, one of whom was named by the Presi-

dent of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, one by the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the other named by President Samuel Gompers; and

WHEREAS, The findings of this committee sustain all of the statements hereinabove mentioned and sustain the statement made in the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the San Francisco Convention, and, by its unanimous vote, declares that the granting of the charter by the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to the men now composing Local No. 177 of their body was unwarranted, and the continuance of the holding of the same inexcusable, if not worthy of severe condemnation, and further declare that the agreement entered into by this Local No. 177 with the contractors whose men were on strike should never have been signed by a trades union man, and certainly never should have been underwritten by an international union. They recommend that the charter of Local No. 177 of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be revoked; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the findings of this special committee be approved and its recommendations adopted, and that the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be endorsed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby instruct the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to revoke the charter granted to the men composing Local Union No. 177 of their organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That if the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers fails to revoke the said charter on or before January 1, 1917, that the charter of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is hereby declared revoked, to take effect on January 2, 1917, and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to notify all central bodies, building trades councils and State federations affiliated with and chartered by the American Federation of Labor to unseat the representatives or delegates of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and not to again seat the delegates or representatives of that association until they are officially notified by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has complied with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates R. Taylor, Laborers' Protective Union 15037; R. E. Peabody, Federal Employees Union 14374; George Rincker, Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers 14872; Gertrude McNally, Federal Labor Union 12776; W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants 11773; Henry Raines, Federal Watchmen's Union 14964; E. L. Brazzle.

Central Labor Council, Seattle; H. M. McLarin, Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, At present local trade unions and federal labor unions have no direct representatives to assist in the various problems arising in connection with such organizations; and

WHEREAS, the selection of one or more men to devote their entire time to organizing or otherwise assisting said organizations would be most advantageous; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is directed to appoint at least one representative from the Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions, who shall devote his entire time to such work as the Executive Council may deem most important to the interests of such organizations.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate James F. Brock, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union is not financially able at this time to place any additional organizers in the field to organize our craft; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of Chicago, Illinois, New York City, N. Y., Boston, Massachusetts, and Seattle, Washington, are working under deplorable conditions, owing to the fact of not being strongly organized; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union is not financially able to appoint an organizer in the above mentioned cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct its Executive Council to transfer one or more of its organizers or appoint special organizers to the above mentioned cities for at least one month's time; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the various district organizers of the American Federation of Labor, and also the volunteer organizers of the A. F. of L., be instructed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to give their special attention to the organization of the laundry workers in their respective districts and localities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the Laundry Workers' International Union, will co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in their work of organization to the full extent of their ability.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Henry A. Raines, Federal Watchmen's Union No. 14964; W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773; R. E. Peabody, Federal Employees' Union No. 14374; H. M. McLarin, Federal Employees' Union No. 14632; R. L. Brazzle, Central Labor Council, Seattle; Gertrude McNally, Federal Labor Union No. 12776; R. Taylor, Laborers' Protective Union No. 15037:

WHEREAS, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions are isolated from each other and it is of vital importance that these organizations shall be conversant with the struggles of their fellow-workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federationist, the present medium of communication, has not been covering this information; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to provide a department of news covering the activities of local trade and Federal Labor Unions, either in the American Federationist itself or in a supplementary publication, as it may deem best.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate John A. O'Connell, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Sugar Workers' Union, Local No. 10519, of San Francisco, California, has secured the eight-hour day and improved wage conditions for its members by and through economic organization; and

WHEREAS, The sugar industry, one of vast importance to the people of this country, is now practically unorganized so far as the workers are concerned in all the large sugar refineries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Baltimore, Md., hereby appropriates the sum of five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) for the purpose of organizing the sugar industry, and that the Executive Council be instructed to devote its special attention to organize the sugar workers in the larger centers of said industry.

Referred to Committee on Ways and Means.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor invited the Marine Engineers to become affiliated; and

WHEREAS, The application was made by the Engineers and the affiliation was prevented by the Machinists' claim that all repair work in port must be done by members of the Machinists' Union; and

WHEREAS, The affiliation of the Engineers upon such terms is impossible because the Machinists' claim is in direct conflict with the provisions of the maritime law under which the Engineers are compelled to perform any such work assigned them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the crew of any vessel shall have absolute jurisdiction over and the first right to perform any work on the vessel, or for the vessel, when such is within reach of the tackle.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Elizabeth Christman, of the International Glove Workers' Union; Melinda Scott, of the Panama and Felt Hat Workers' No. 14,569, and Mary

Anderson, of the National Women's Trade Union League:

WHEREAS, The Women's Trade Union League is planning a campaign for eight-hour legislation for women in the different States and in Congress; and

WHEREAS, International State Conferences have been held in the New England and Middle West States to plan for this campaign, and another will be held in the Eastern States early in December; and

WHEREAS, Forty of the Legislatures will be sitting in 1917 and Congress will convene very shortly, and as this seems to be the opportune time to conduct a campaign for eight-hour legislation for women, and to successfully conduct the legislative campaign, we need the co-operation and assistance of all Trade Union organizations, particularly the State Federations of Labor in securing State legislation and the American Federation of Labor in the federal work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in this convention pledge every assistance possible to the Women's Trade Union League in working for the legislation and ask the co-operation of their organizations in this campaign; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers, co-operate with the Women's Trade Union League and render every assistance possible in this campaign to secure eight-hour legislation for women workers.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work-day.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Frank L. Homan, Bisbee, Arizona, Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its thirty-sixth annual convention takes cognizance of the gravity of the situation in Bisbee, Arizona, brought about by the attempt of one William Truax to void the purpose of the statute that forbids the issuance of an injunction in a labor dispute; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take early action in this matter and help defeat the avowed intention of the said William Truax by devising ways and means to resist his plea for an injunction upon the grounds that a lease is a property right and that picketing his restaurant constitutes a menace to a property right; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor expedite action in their consideration of this affair as much as possible, by reason of the contempt proceedings, being based upon his plea of interference with a property right, going forward in court this month.

Referred to the Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America:

After ten years of persistent efforts on

the part of organized labor, practically every leading musical band instrument factory in this country was organized, and adopted the use of the union label of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers of North America. An agitation was then started, creating a demand for the union-made instrument, these firms profiting thereby, but were not willing to grant anything in return. After these factories were thoroughly organized and the demand created for the union-made product, the union men made a demand for a shorter work-day and increase in wages. These musical factories immediately formed a manufacturers' association, viz.: The National Association of Band Instrument Manufacturers, and immediately notified organized labor that all demands for union conditions were refused; abrogated union agreements and discontinued the use of the union label on their instruments. They further declared for the non-union shop, and demanded the right to hire whom they pleased, pay whatever wages they felt like paying, and work their factories any number of hours above the hours demanded by the union without extra compensation.

A general strike was called Monday, February 14, 1915, and all the union employees, both men and women, went on strike, and have been on strike ever since.

This strike has received the endorsement of our International Union, nearly all central bodies, and the American Federation of Musicians in convention assembled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the action of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers of North America, in their efforts to better the condition of the union men employed in the musical instrument industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn the action of the following factories as being both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor:

C. G. Conn, Ltd., Elkhart, Ind.; Buesche Band Instrument Company, Elkhart, Ind.; The Martine Band Instrument Company, Elkhart, Ind.; The Elkhart Musical Instrument Company, Elkhart, Ind.; Emil K. Blessing Company, Elkhart, Ind.; Frank Holton Company, Chicago, Ills.; Taylor & Horn Company, Chicago, Ills.; Harry D. Jay, Chicago, Ills.; J. W. Work & Sons, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Grand Rapids Musical Instrument Company, Grand Rapids, Mich.; H. W. White Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Edmund P. Walters, of the Bottle Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers No. 10875:

WHEREAS, There are a number of concerns engaged in the manufacture of bottle caps, corks and stoppers which employ un-organized labor and

WHEREAS, Many of the employees of said concerns have not had the opportunity to organize for their interests. Neither have the natural benefits which would accrue to them by being members of an organization

affiliated with union labor been properly brought to their attention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that a special effort be made to organize all labor engaged in the manufacture of bottle caps, corks and crowns; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a regular or special organizer be appointed to effect the purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate R. P. Brindell, of the New York Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, At the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in the city of St. Louis, Mo., during November, 1910, a resolution was adopted with the voluntary consent of The Actors' International Union of America, withdrawing the charter held by the said Actors' International Union of America for the purpose of amalgamating the White Rats of America, an independent organization of vaudeville performers, with the affiliated Actors' International Union. At the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council was instructed by resolution to investigate charges made against the amalgamated organization known as the White Rats Actors' Union of America for violation of the agreement of amalgamation entered into with the consent of the Executive Council, who had been party to the merging of these two associations; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council, pursuant to this resolution, has held many conferences with the object of bringing about a harmonious understanding between the vaudeville actors of this country, all of which have been unsuccessful; and

WHEREAS, During the interval other theatrical organizations consisting of theatrical artists have made application to the American Federation of Labor for direct affiliation, which applications have been protested by the White Rats Actors' Union of America, now holding exclusive charter rights from the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, through its conventions, are reluctant to withdraw charters granted to organizations representing the various crafts and callings unless it shall be necessary to further organize the calling represented by the affiliated association, thereby consolidating like interests and making possible the best form of organization to guarantee a permanent and powerful National or International Trades Union; and

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union has during the past seven years been directly associated with all of the details of the amalgamation of the Actors' Union and the White Rats, the differences between the two associations since that time, the applications of the Actors Equity Association and the Actors Society, the Motion Picture Artists and Extras, also the Cabaret and Club Entertainers, and as the New York Central

Federated Union is located in the headquarters of all of the various branches of theatrical industry, the City of New York, offers the following for adoption as the only real solution; be it

RESOLVED, That the charter now held in the name of the White Rats Actors' Union of America be withdrawn, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed by this convention to call a convention on or before January 1, 1917, and invite the different branches of the theatrical profession to send delegates for the purpose of organizing an International Union of Actors covering all branches of the profession; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, or such representative as he may designate, take charge of such convention and render such assistance as may be necessary to form a new organization of all branches that will be really representative of the theatrical profession.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates J. W. Kline, J. F. McGrath and Wm. F. Kramer, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union has failed to comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor conventions held at Seattle, Wash., 1913, Philadelphia, Pa., 1914, and concurred in by the convention held at San Francisco, Cal., 1915, wherein said conventions ordered the Carriage and Wagon Workers to discontinue the word "Automobile" in the title of their organization; and

WHEREAS, The failure on the part of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union to comply with the mandates and decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor has caused considerable discontent and injury to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that all Central Bodies and State branches of the American Federation of Labor unseat as delegates the representatives of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union in every district in the country, and that no support or recognition be given them until such time as Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union comply with and carries out to the fullest extent the decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 25—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The unceasing efforts of the American Federation of Labor are dedicated not alone to the organized wage earners of America, but also to the realization of the hopes and ambitions of all men and women who toil, in the mines and in the workshops,

in the fields and in the homes, and to the protection and proper guardianship of the health, morals and opportunities of the coming generations; and

WHEREAS, One of the great problems which demands the attention of humanitarians in every civilized country is reflected in the commendable efforts made by some of our international unions to establish old age pensions for members who, because of infirmities and advancing years, are unable to keep pace with the relentless demands of industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to present to the thirty-seventh annual convention of this body a review of the old age pension systems of Great Britain and Germany, together with such other information on this subject as may be helpful in determining the action necessary and desirable in framing suitable legislation looking to the establishment of a universal old age pension system by the Government of the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate R. L. Brazzle, Seattle Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted Resolution No. 117 endorsing the exposition method in label agitation and educational work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this thirty-sixth annual convention instruct the Executive Council to communicate with the various labor unions of America and all manufacturing concerns employing union labor and displaying the union label to ascertain their willingness to pay their pro rata expense in presenting to the nation a traveling exhibit of union labor products, labor unions to be requested to exhibit historical records, works of art, music, sculpture and paintings as each union may consider most appropriate; and be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor throughout the world be invited to cooperate in this undertaking to the end that the aims, aspirations and struggles of the workers in all lands be mutually understood and thus lead to a closer fraternity and solidarity of method and purpose.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773:

WHEREAS, During the past year the struggle for the eight-hour day has become of national importance and has received the endorsement, not only of the President and Congress of the United States, but of the voters at the polls; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirms its historical position in favor of securing the eight-hour day for all workers and instructs its officials to prosecute with vigorous and undiminished zeal the campaign for the securing of the eight-hour day

throughout all industry, both by industrial and legislative action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt of the Massachusetts State Branch:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in Congress a bill known as the Keating Right of Appeal bill, which would give to civil service employees in event of removal from the service, or the imposing of harsh discipline in the way of reduction of salary or rating, the right of appeal to the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation; and

WHEREAS, As provided at present the civil service employee has but a limited opportunity to answer charges pressed against him; and

WHEREAS, The Keating bill would materially enlarge upon this right and give the employee a full opportunity to have his punishment reviewed by a body separate from the department in which he may be employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby endorse the Keating Right of Appeal bill and urge upon members of Congress from this State to endeavor to have this bill enacted.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates W. M. Pollock, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773; Mabel H. Hudson, of Office Employees' Association No. 12755; F. W. Ely, of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 13188, and Raymond Wilcox, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Assistants' Union No. 12646:

WHEREAS, Unorganized news writers are a menace to the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has been given jurisdiction over news writers, and at the Rochester Convention was instructed to proceed to organize this class of workers, but has made no attempt to comply with such instruction; and

WHEREAS, News writers are necessarily either stenographers or typists, or both; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby transfers jurisdiction over this class of workers to the unions of office workers wherever such organizations have been formed and chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate William Green, United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, The prices of all necessities of life have increased, and are continuing to increase so rapidly as to constitute a menace to the standard of living of the American wage-earner; and

WHEREAS, The enormous profits amassed by grain speculators, meat packers, mine

owners, manufacturers of clothing, and by jobbers and dealers in foods and other commodities, as well as by railroads, express companies and other public service corporations, indicate that these prices are, to a large extent, artificial and unjustifiable; and

WHEREAS, The chief beneficiaries of this abnormal situation are the bitterest enemies of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The wage-earners are powerless to cope with this critical situation, either as individuals or through their economic organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, demand the creation of a federal commission, which shall investigate all phases of this subject, and which shall recommend to Congress measures designed to remedy this situation and to prevent its recurrence; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to use all means within their power to procure speedy action in accordance with the intent of these resolutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and George Leary, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Atha Tool Company, of Newark, N. J., owned and controlled by the notorious Stanley Rule and Level Company, of New Britain, Conn., have declared for the non-union shop by compelling all union men to leave their employ; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of North America have been engaged in a bitter struggle with this concern in an effort to maintain the Union standard of wages and humane working conditions in the factory; and

WHEREAS, The position taken by the above named organization has been investigated by representatives of the Essex Trades Council, of Newark, N. J., and the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, and endorsed by them; and

WHEREAS, This concern manufactures tools used by blacksmiths, engineers, machinists, carpenters, brick-layers, structural iron workers, and several others of the organized trades affiliated with this Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That these organizations above mentioned be requested to take notice of the unfair attitude of the Atha Tool Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Labor at its Thirty-Sixth Annual Convention, go on record endorsing the position taken by the above named organization in its fight against this concern.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, George Leary, of the

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The International Silver Company (The Silver Trust), owning and controlling about 75 per cent. of the silver industry of this country, employing skilled labor, both male and female, working the so-called precious metal and operating their factories 60 hours per week, and paying a scale of wages averaging at least \$1 per day less than that paid to mechanics on similar work on the baser metals, have declared an unrelinquishing war on organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor, after having demanded shorter hours and fair wages, were forced to strike, and have been on strike for over one year against this silver trust; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the efforts of organized labor to better the conditions of the silver workers, and condemn as unfair the antagonistic attitude of the International Silver Company.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 33—By R. L. Brazzie, Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The federal and local labor unions in the building service line, such as elevator conductors and starters, janitors, watchmen, window washers, porters and other kindred crafts at the present time are unable to properly protect their interests; and

WHEREAS, There is a large field for the organization of the wage-workers in these crafts in every city where there are office buildings; and

WHEREAS, With the amalgamation of these locals they can better safeguard their interests and extend their organizations to new fields; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor grant them an international charter, subject to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and that the secretary be instructed to call a convention of all the locals interested at such time and place as may be found desirable, such international to be known as the Brotherhood of Building Service Workers of America.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates J. W. Kilne, J. F. McGrath, and William F. Kramer, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen have embodied in their constitution an eligible list of workmen claimed by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen according to their constitution claim Blacksmiths and Helpers, which fact is an injustice to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, and an encroachment on the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Brotherhood of Railway

Carmen to eliminate the words Blacksmiths and Helpers from their Constitution, and further instruct the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to circularize their organization to the effect that Blacksmiths and Helpers are not eligible to membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Gertrude M. McNally of Federal Labor Union No. 12776:

WHEREAS, During the past year, increases in wages have been granted in all large manufacturing plants in this country; and

WHEREAS, The wages of the women employed in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, with but a few exceptions, have been increased in several years; and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has greatly increased; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we favor an increase of 20 per cent. in the wages of all women employees of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing who now receive less than \$2.25 per diem; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exert every effort to have legislation enacted that will bring about the desired result.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates J. W. Kline, J. F. McGrath and William F. Kramer of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union has failed to comply with the decisions of the American Federation of Labor convention held at Philadelphia, Pa., 1914, and concurred in by the convention held at San Francisco, Cal., 1915, wherein said conventions ordered the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union to turn over to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers all Blacksmiths, Tool Sharpeners, Drill Sharpeners and Helpers who then and are now holding membership in the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union; and

WHEREAS, The failure on the part of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors Union to comply with the mandates and decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor has caused considerable discontent and injury to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct all Central Bodies and State Branches affiliated to unseat as delegates the representatives of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors Union in every district in the country and that no support or recognition be given to the said Tunnel and Subway Constructors Union until such time as they comply and carry out to the fullest

extent the decision of Philadelphia and the San Francisco conventions of the American Federation of Labor, namely that the Tunnel and Subway Constructors Union turn over all Blacksmiths, Tool Sharpeners, Drill Sharpeners and Helpers now holding membership in the Tunnel and Subway Constructors Union to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, and in the future to discontinue to admit into their membership any Blacksmiths, Tool Sharpeners, Drill Sharpeners and Helpers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates R. L. Brazzle, Seattle Labor Council; Gertrude McNally, Federal Labor Union No. 12776; William Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants No. 11773; H. M. McLarin, Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There are now more than 700 local trade and Federal trade unions who pay a monthly tax of 15 cents per member, and these local trade and Federal trade unions are without representation on the Executive Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the A. F. of L. be so amended as to provide for an additional vice-president to be elected by and from the directly affiliated local trade and Federal trade unions as their representative on the Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and endorsed by that body:

WHEREAS, The National Women's Trade Union League at the Chicago biennial convention in 1909 called upon the Department of Commerce and Labor to establish a specific division to investigate and report from time to time upon the conditions of working women in the United States, with special reference to the health, safety and morals of the motherhood of the country; and

WHEREAS, At the last session of Congress a bill was introduced in both branches to establish under the Department of Labor a division to be known as a women's division and under a woman chief; and

WHEREAS, The rapid increase of women workers in the factories, mills and shops of the nation is fraught with industrial and social consequences of the utmost importance to the national welfare; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily indorse the bill for the creation of this division known as the Casey Bill (H. R. 16353) in the last session and call upon all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to help in the passage of this measure.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate James William Fitzpatrick and Harry Mountford, White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council and various other committees of bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have held many conferences with the White

Rats Actors' Union of America and certain unaffiliated organizations, with a view to the union of all sections; and

WHEREAS, Several plans were suggested by President Gompers, each of which the White Rats Actors' Unions of America was willing to accept; and

WHEREAS, These plans proved unacceptable to the said organization unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That with the thanks of the American Federation of Labor and the White Rats Actors' Union of America, the Executive Council be discharged from further action in the premises in this matter; and that in the future the unaffiliated organizations be referred to the International Unions of the White Rats Actors' Unions of America, the holders of the international charter, in conformity with the practice and constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate W. M. Welsh, International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has been granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor in accordance with Section 2, Article 9, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdictional claims set forth in the application for said charter covers the following: Steam shovels, dredges, clam shells, drag lines, orange peels, in fact all machinery engaged in excavating or any machine that may in future be put in use on excavation, irrespective of motor power used, in the United States and foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has disputed the jurisdiction rights of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers is waging a jurisdictional fight against the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, thereby working great hardships on the members of both organizations; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has refused to negotiate a working agreement with the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, insisting on an amalgamation of these two unions; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen is opposed to an amalgamation on the grounds that the interests of its members will not be conserved by an amalgamation; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has exhausted every effort to bring about a working agreement with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating

Engineers refused to consider the following agreement proposed by the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen on March 17, 1916, to wit:

"With a view to promote harmony between the members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

"To assist each other in obtaining better wages and conditions.

"To effect a more thorough organization of the men engaged in their respective trades and to ascertain the degree of kindred relationship between these trades, it is hereby agreed:

"First—That all hostility shall cease.

"Second—It is further agreed that members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen will assist in every way possible to get members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers employed on all construction work throughout the country.

"Third—Further, the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen agrees to render their assistance in organizing the unorganized men working at the trade over which the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have jurisdiction.

"Fourth—It is further agreed that local unions of steam shovel men now in affiliation with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers shall be handled by district representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen in whose districts these locals are found.

"Fifth—It is further agreed that the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen shall have jurisdiction over all men working on steam shovels, dredges and drag lines regardless of motive power.

"Sixth—In the event that this agreement is accepted the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen agrees to pay the per capita tax on all engineers belonging to the brotherhood working under the jurisdiction of the Building Trades."

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has been absolutely opposed to an amalgamation with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and is now opposed to an amalgamation; and

WHEREAS, This opposition is based on the firm conviction that an amalgamation between these two organizations would result in the disruption of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and the destruction of the present conditions that the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has brought about for its members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen be protected; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers be restrained from infringing on the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Frederick W. Ely, Stenographers' Union No. 13188:

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended as follows: Amend Section 1, Article 10, by striking out the words "fifteen cents" and substituting the words "ten cents." Amend Section 14, of Article 13, by striking out the following words: "One-fourth of each initiation fee received by such local trade or federal labor union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax," and substitute therefor the words "the per capita tax shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Federal civil service laws are defective in not granting to employees the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, The lodging of arbitrary power in the hands of officials from whose judgment there can be no appeal is contrary to the spirit of our American institutions and operates toward the creation of a governmental bureaucracy; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before Congress (H. R. —) a bill introduced by Representative Keating, which seeks to grant Government civil service employees the right to appeal to the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation in cases involving demotion or dismissal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the Keating bill and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with affiliated civil service employees in securing its passage.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service Commission now holds examinations for and certifies for appointment all prospective employees of the United States in the classified Civil Service; and

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service Commission now has no further jurisdiction over an employee of the United States after he has been appointed to a position in the service of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The United States employs several hundred thousand men and women in its various services, and in every case of mistreatment of any of these employees there is no one in authority to whom these employees may appeal with any assurance of fair investigation and settlement of the difficulty; and

WHEREAS, Under the present system of the administration of the Government of the United States with regard to the treatment of employees when any complaint is made it is referred to the official in direct charge of the employees, who in all likelihood is the one guilty of the mistreatment, for a report. He

makes a report, which goes to his superior. This superior, as a rule, does not go into the matter further than to approve the report of his subordinate, but forwards it to his superior, who in turn forwards it until it reaches the head of the department. This head of the department then replies to the complainant in the terms of the report of the immediate superior of the complainant, thus giving the complainant absolutely no alternative than to abide by the statements of his immediate superior; and

WHEREAS, There are many abuses of official authority over employees of the United States to secure the redress of which there is absolutely no means unless the aggrieved one has political influence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law providing that there shall be a Court of Appeals of the United States for the investigation of complaints of employees of the United States and of the District of Columbia with authority to direct the correction of any abuses of official authority or injustices toward any of said employees.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employees upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in this condition; men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service, or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employees is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this thirty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the position taken by previous conventions by indorsing the efforts of affiliated civil service bodies to secure the enactment of a satisfactory retirement law for superannuated Government workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist representatives of affiliated civil service employees in calling the attention of Congress to the urgent need of this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Henry A. Raines, of Federal Watchmen's Union No. 14964.

WHEREAS, The Federal Watchmen's Union, by referendum vote of its membership of November 7, 1916, did adopt a resolution

known as proposition No. 1 of the following tenor:

That the officers of the union availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor shall seek the enactment of legislation increasing the salary of watchmen in the Government service; and

WHEREAS, In seeking the enactment of such legislation the high cost of the necessities of life, and the fact that the present salary was set by Congress over 60 years ago, and is totally inadequate to meet the present cost of living, should be given full consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the referendum of the Federal Watchmen's Union as outlined in this resolution, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist in seeking legislation to increase the salaries of the Federal Watchmen, with due consideration to the high cost of living and the inadequacies of the present salaries to meet the same.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Edmund P. Walters, of the Bottle Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers' Union No. 10875:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor should foster and encourage the exclusive use of bottle caps, crowns, corks and seals which are manufactured by union labor, among those crafts and trades which handle products requiring the use of bottle caps, crowns, corks and seals; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor should particularly insist upon the use of such union-made products by all affiliated trades engaged in the brewing and bottling industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that all affiliated organizations whose members are required to handle products which necessitate the use of bottle caps, corks or crowns, insist upon the use of such products only as are made by union labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the International Joint Executive Board, Brewery Workers of America, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate C. C. Dane, of Federal Labor Union No. 14781:

WHEREAS, The method now in force in issuing membership books to Federal Labor Unions has been found unsatisfactory and is the cause of much discontent among the members, having to wait for long periods before receiving said books from the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the A. F. of L. to issue membership books to secretaries in bulk, in order that same could be issued to new members upon joining the organization; also, that initiation stamps be issued to secretaries of Federal Labor Unions in the same way as the monthly due stamps.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of Federal Employees' Union No. 14832:

WHEREAS, The present rates of pay of practically all of the employees of the United States of America in the classified Civil Service were fixed by enactment of law in 1853; and

WHEREAS, The salaries and wages of all classes of workers, especially those organized, have very materially increased during the period since 1853; and

WHEREAS, The duties of Government employes, the requirements as to their abilities and the hours of work, have from time to time during the period since 1853 increased; and

WHEREAS, The salaries and wages of the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet, the heads of all independent bureaus and commissions, the members of Congress, the judges of all United States Courts, the United States marshals, the officers and enlisted men of both the Army and Navy, and of a very large percentage of the supervisory Government officials have been increased from time to time until now these salaries and wages are a great deal larger than they were in 1853; and

WHEREAS, The actual cost of the necessities of life has increased during this period, and especially during the last decade, to such an extent that it is now almost impossible for a classified Civil Service employe to support himself and family on the wages paid by the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law granting to all Government employes in the classified Civil Service a horizontal increase of salaries or wages, amounting to at least \$200 per annum; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the same conditions confronting the employes of the District of Columbia, the same effort be made to secure for them such an increase in pay as will equalize the rates of pay of the employes of the District of Columbia and the employes of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Mabel H. Hudson, Office Employees' Association No. 12755:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has rendered a decision in favor of the International Typographical Union, and against the Office Employees' Association in the matter of jurisdiction over stencil cutters and addressograph workers; and

WHEREAS, The nature of the work performed by such stencil cutters and addressograph workers is that of typists and general office workers; and

WHEREAS, no apparent effort has been made by the International Typographical Union to organize such workers, while on the other hand the Office Employees' As-

sociation has been successful in organizing a number of such workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby transfers jurisdiction over stencil cutters and addressograph workers to the office workers unions, wherever such have been chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate F. A. Scoby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The river front and dock coopers of the port of Greater New York and vicinity have a chartered local, affiliated with the Coopers International Union, that is threatened with extinction by the several Longshoremen's local unions in New York City, for no other reason than the Coopers refuse to sever their connection with the Coopers International Union and become members of the International Longshoremen Association; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen Association illegally and unconstitutionally have recently issued two charters to Coopers who are engaged at the trade of cooping on the water front of Greater New York, said charters being classified and officially registered as International Longshoremen Association Coopers, which is against the charter rights of the Coopers International Union as guaranteed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union of Greater New York has by a unanimous resolution condemned the action of the International Longshoremen Association for issuing these charters which transgress upon the rights of Coopers to belong to an organization of their own trade; and

WHEREAS, The efforts of general organizer Frayne, and a committee appointed by the Central Federated Union of New York, as well as the attention of the American Federation of Labor officials, have failed to adjust the grievance or put a stop to the discharge of Coopers employed on these docks who are members of the Coopers International Union, under threat made to the management that a general strike of the International Longshoremen Association will result if all coopers don't join that organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, declare that the rights of Coopers, performing strictly coopers work, and the right of jurisdiction of the Coopers International Union in the premises is hereby recognized; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen Association is hereby ordered to revoke said charters and cease further transgressions on the rights of the Coopers International Union.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773:

WHEREAS, Modern business methods should as far as possible be utilized for the

benefit of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council investigate the feasibility of installing a uniform system of accounts, files, purchasing of supplies, etc., for the American Federation of Labor which with the co-operation of the various affiliated national and international organizations shall be used in all organizations.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, and George Leary, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Woodstock Typewriter Company, of Woodstock, Ill., the only remaining factory manufacturing typewriters, operating ten hours per day, while all other factories manufacturing a similar line of products are operating on the shorter work-day basis, and paying from 15 to 25 per cent. higher wages. This firm absolutely refuses to concede the shorter work-day to their employes, who went on strike August 28, 1918; be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the action of the Woodstock Typewriter Company as being both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate H. Kritzer, Celluloid and Tortoise Shell Workers' No 15189:

WHEREAS, The present European war has stimulated in this country the production of celluloid and tortoise shell articles, such as combs, toilet sets, goggles and novelties, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The number of workers engaged in the production of said articles number 75,000 and over; and

WHEREAS, This industry is especially centered in one State, namely Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, The wages and condition of employment of the workers of this industry are very poor; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take steps to organize the workers of this industry so that their conditions may be brought to the level of organized labor in this country.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Robert P. Brindell, Central Federated Union of New York:

WHEREAS, The shortening of the hours of labor is one of the most important matters to come before this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The policy of successfully accomplishing this object, while we agree on its necessity, is one for calm consideration and sincere deliberation; be it

RESOLVED, By the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity to urge this convention to go on record in favor

of a national eight-hour day, to be secured through and by the National Government.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Charles MacGowan, M. J. McGuire, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor in the year 1882, recognizing claims of jurisdiction over boilermakers, iron shipbuilders, their helpers and apprentices; and

WHEREAS, The Western Federation of Miners was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor in the year 1910, recognizing jurisdiction over men employed in mines, mills and smelters; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction claimed by the Western Federation of Miners overlaps the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; and

WHEREAS, The overlapping of those claims are seriously interfering with the right of men of our craft to negotiate wages and conditions of employment, as well as compelling them to pay dues in two organizations; and

WHEREAS, The autonomy of an international union is seriously interfered with, which has had exclusive jurisdiction over all men indicated by its title, and so recognized by the American Federation of Labor for more than thirty-four years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Western Federation of Miners to relinquish their claims of jurisdiction over boilermakers, iron shipbuilders, their helpers and apprentices employed in and around mines, mills and smelters where local unions of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America are established; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Western Federation of Miners be instructed to release such boilermakers, their helpers and apprentices immediately as are now paying dues to their organization from the further payment of dues to the Western Federation of Miners and thereby permit such boilermakers, their helpers and apprentices to retain their membership in the organization of their own trade without interference.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate W. B. Nichols, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

WHEREAS, There has been created in the United States Government the portfolio of Secretary of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The function of such department is to mediate and promote good feeling between employers and employees, to the end that such harmony may prevail as is

possible between such contending interests; and

WHEREAS, The greater function of the department is to secure for the laboring classes those advantages that accrue to organized forces that conform to law and order in the prosecution of such advantages; and

WHEREAS, Recent actions on the part of representatives of the Department of Labor in aiding and abetting certain defeated officers of a so-called trade union in defeating what would have undoubtedly been accomplished by the legitimate organization in securing for a well-deserving class of employees a schedule of rules and rates; and

WHEREAS, It is a recognized fact that seceding factions are actuated by purposes far removed from the best interests of any men they represent, because of the fact that in seceding those parties have proved the case of their own infamy; and

WHEREAS, Any recognition, not to mention assistance, given to such officers by the Department of Labor defeats the purpose of the men themselves, who, through ignorance, have identified themselves with such discredited organization, and the department itself by so doing defeats the purpose of the office, namely, mediation, because mediation is out of the question when such a condition faces the mediator; and

WHEREAS, Such a situation has been created and the men's purpose defeated by reason of the Department of Labor, through its representative, taking sides with such organization because of said department being appealed to by those so-called trades unionists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled at this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, disapprove of any recognition, aid or countenance being given by the said Department of Labor to any such seceding faction from any legitimate bodies authorized and affiliated to the regular trades union movement in the country, as by so doing they defeat the usefulness of the department and defeat the men's purpose; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to communicate with the officers of other state federations throughout the country, with a view to securing its co-operation in this attempt to have such condition adjusted in the interest of such legitimate bodies representing the laboring class of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Samuel Lebowitz, of the Mineral Water Workers No. 12674:

WHEREAS, The union label of the American Federation of Labor is being counterfeited by certain firms manufacturing seltzer water in the greater City of New York; and

WHEREAS, This abuse of the union label is working a great hardship upon the union using the label of the American Federation of Labor, especially Mineral Water Workers Union No. 12674, of Greater New York; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that the

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have a careful investigation made of this subject and make such arrangements as they may deem best to safeguard the union label of the American Federation of Labor and the local unions using same.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Section 2, of Article 11, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which provides that "it shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered central labor bodies and State federations in their vicinity, where such exist" is largely inoperative; and

WHEREAS, Such affiliations are necessary to insure the success of our movement and further that unaffiliated locals are taking advantage of work accomplished by affiliated locals that are carrying on the actual work of local organization and are themselves impeding the progress of unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Baltimore assembled, that such affiliation with all regularly chartered central bodies, subordinate to the American Federation of Labor, shall be mandatory on all local unions whose internationals are chartered by this organization. This to the end that funds now used to encourage such affiliation may be directed to the more vital work of organization and education of the unorganized workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is generally conceded that organized labor should be active in the education of the younger generation in the fundamental principles of trades unionism, the great humanitarian movement of the age; and

WHEREAS, Such education must be conducted along lines that will engage the interest and attention of these soon-to-be citizens by encouraging their tastes for healthful amusements as well as leading their minds to a better knowledge of the newer civilization toward which our movement strives; and

WHEREAS, Emmanuel G. Erickson, a union painter of Casper, Wyoming, has inaugurated a plan, accepted by the Wyoming State Federation of Labor at its eighth annual convention and generally known as the Erickson plan for boys' clubs, which idea is also being altered and applied to clubs for girls; and

WHEREAS, We believe that this plan offers a worthy substitute for previous efforts which tended toward militarism and an unfriendly attitude toward our organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American

Federation of Labor that we urge our officers to give the widest possible publicity to the plans as outlined by the Erickson plan to the end that its splendid features may become generally known and adopted by the American labor movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we see in this movement an intelligent effort to make better citizens out of the growing generations and urge all delegates to become more thoroughly acquainted with its workings and possibilities, and to further this end that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor arrange with Brother Erickson to prepare a synopsis of the plan for publication at the expense of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Charles MacGowan and M. J. McGuire, of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists at their last convention held in this city extended their jurisdiction over work which has been recognized as the work of our trade for many years, and so chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The classification of work as published in the Machinists' Journal in the September issue, 1916, wherein claim is made to all iron and steel, whether structural, angle, T, boiler or galvanized, and to all steam, gas, gasoline, oil, air and water-tight work. In addition claim is made to all metal pattern making, all riveting, caulking, cutting, chipping, patching, fitting, shaping, drilling and laying out; and

WHEREAS, On the same page of the September issue of their journal, with their classification of work is printed in bold-faced type a notice to all machinists who are loyal to their trade to henceforth diligently and aggressively help in the enforcement of their claims of jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, If the machinists are successful in enforcing their claims of jurisdiction there will be but little or no use for boiler makers and ship builders in this country, and we might just as well turn over to them our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as disapproving the action of any national or international union whereby their jurisdiction is extended and infringes upon the rights of other national or international unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to notify the International Association of Machinists that their jurisdictional claims infringe upon the rights of other affiliated national and international unions and to refrain from enforcing such claims.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate John H. Lorch, of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District

of Columbia are denied the right of suffrage, a right that is enjoyed by citizens of every state in the Union; and

WHEREAS, This denial, in our opinion, is unconstitutional; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention, go on record as favoring a law that will give to the residents of the District of Columbia a voice in the Electoral College, thereby enabling them to have a voice in the selection of the President of the United States, and also to give them representation in the upper and lower house of Congress.

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be directed to draw up and introduce a bill that will carry out these resolutions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The American trade-union movement should have for its information an annual compilation of all matters affecting labor's interests which have occurred during the year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and is hereby instructed to have prepared a Year Book, which shall contain a record of all matters affecting the trade-union movement which have occurred during the preceding twelve months, and that the necessary steps be taken to secure the annual publication of such a volume in the future.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate I. N. Cathrall of the Pittston (Pa.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the past patriotism has been considered and taught in our public schools as expression of devotion and valor on bloody battle-fields through deeds of daring and awful sacrifice in the bestial frenzy of international strife; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the demonstration of patriotism is not limited to fighting for our country in time of need, but that it is evidenced through the expression by word and deed in everyday life of our love for those ideals which were cherished by our forefathers, which were handed to us as our patrimony, and upon which the very life of our nation depends; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the study of patriotism in its broadest sense would result in the inculcation in the children of the nation of a true love for those ideals, the love of liberty in its widest meaning; the liberty to speak, to think, and to do; and that it would result in a realization of the true character of the interdependence of men, women and children, and thereby foster a love of duty, not only to our fatherland, but to our neighbor and fellow-contestant in the peaceful battle for existence, a love of service not only to the mythical entity, our country, but of service to every man,

woman and child forming part of that entity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in Thirty-Sixth Annual Convention assembled, go on record as favoring the introduction in the curriculum of the public schools of the United States of a course of study in "true patriotism;" and further, be it

RESOLVED, That a committee be appointed to consider ways and means for carrying out the ideas herein expressed, and that the same committee be instructed to report at the next annual convention.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate John P. Frey of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is advisable that a more systematic method should be adopted for the direction of our legal activities; and

WHEREAS, Past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have indorsed the creation of a legal department, which would be under the direction of the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby are instructed to establish a legal department not later than January 1, 1917, which shall have at its head a competent attorney and such other assistants as are necessary, and which shall serve the American Federation of Labor as a central bureau for all legal matters affecting the interests of labor. And that the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to levy an assessment not to exceed two cents per capita upon the membership of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of creating a fund from which the expenses of a legal department will be met.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate John H. Lorch, of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record as favoring pensions for Government employes; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union at its last meeting went on record in favor of pensions for Government employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union likewise go on record as favoring the passage of a law by Congress providing pensions for the public school teachers, the public school janitors and all other public school employes of the District of Columbia; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee and the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention be in-

structed to do their best to have same to become a law.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate James Coen, of Hospital Nurses and Attendants' Union No. 14714:

WHEREAS, It has ever been the aim and inspiration of organized labor to promote the general welfare of its members and also that of the unorganized for the betterment of mankind, to the end that those who toil may strengthen their participation in the powers of the Government and thereby obtain more complete co-operation in the administration of the laws enacted to further the common interests of all in a free and just administration of the laws of a popular government; and

WHEREAS, The State hospitals for the insane of Illinois are already organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and through their efforts have gained for their employes a working day of eight hours with one day of rest in every seven; and

WHEREAS, These same workers in the State hospitals for the insane in Illinois, during the time of the inception of their various locals, felt the great need of a person whose experience qualified him to sympathize and advise and direct their efforts in this great enterprise and who, knowing all the conditions and difficulties under which these workers labor in these institutions, would be free from all obligations and not under the commands of the management of any of these institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we entreat the American Federation of Labor to appoint a special organizer, whose duties it will be to organize the other hospitals for the insane throughout the various States with the view of bringing their employes within the ranks of organized labor; and be it

RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves to bend every effort to the securing of the appointment of such an organizer from the ranks of the employes of the State institutions, whose knowledge and experience of the details of institution life will enable him to cope with the difficulties and problems which will attend this position.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The education of the workers in the fundamentals of trades-unionism, its history, its purposes and hopes is as essential as their mere organization; and

WHEREAS, The qualifications for carrying on this work successfully are such that the average worker cannot hope to be able to present facts acceptably to others, that may be perfectly clear in his own mind; and

WHEREAS, There is in many communities a misapprehension concerning the objects and purposes of our movement due to a misunderstanding and misrepresentation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the con-

vention that we favor the establishment of a lecture bureau, under the direction of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the purpose of which shall be to route qualified speakers, actual participants in our movement, in unorganized as well as organized communities. Where organizers are available and are qualified they shall act in this capacity and such others shall be commissioned as may be necessary to carry on the work of education and to promote a greater unanimity of opinion favorable to our purposes.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate D. G. Biggs of the Journeymen Tailors Union:

WHEREAS, The employers of labor and other dominating influences of Colorado, having failed to destroy labor unions by direct action, have resorted to a subterfuge of administering proclaimed justice and equity under a recently established law for enforced investigation of labor disputes at the hands of an industrial commission appointed by a governor servile to the employers of that State; and

WHEREAS, Said law establishes involuntary servitude of the workers during the hearing of industrial disputes, and until the cases are finally disposed of. The law is so worded that it can be stretched or shrunk at the whim or bias of the commission. The commission can hear a case promptly and speedily dispose of it, if he wants to, or they can delay it without limit of time if they, or the influences back of them, so desire; and

WHEREAS, They can hear labor in public and investigate employers in private and keep secret the private evidence from the workers involved and from the public. They can hold labor in involuntary servitude, with the threat of jail hanging over it, while employers can get ready to defeat the concession labor is asking; and

WHEREAS, To allow such laws to stand on the statute books, or to be adopted by other States, or to allow our Federal Government to enact such a law in principle, or in fact, or for us to approve of commissions appointed by political officials under the influence of employers without a protest, would be error and negligence on our part, and dangerous to our liberty as guaranteed us under the Federal Constitution. And to allow the payment of large salaries to commissions for the suppression of labor's legal and natural rights, to continue or to spread without a protest, would be construed by the public in general, and those who make, or who may make, such laws, and set up such dangerous commissions, as an acquiescence of labor in the principle involved. And of labor's willingness to be held in involuntary servitude, and to abide by decisions of commissions that may be biased, or those who may not understand labor's cause or its necessities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That men individually or collectively have a right to stop work any day or any time in a free democracy, and that their right is natural, legal, inalienable, and never should be surrendered; and that laws that violate this right are hereby denounced as reactionary, unconstitutional

and dangerous to the stability of democratic government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention call upon all labor unions, central bodies and State federations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and its Executive Council, to do all within their power to have repealed any or all such laws that may exist in the several States, and to watch vigilantly and oppose the further enactment of such laws by our commonwealths, or by our Federal government, to the end that the workers may have the same freedom as have other citizens of this nation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America:

WHEREAS, The United States Census Bureau publishes every five years the census of the street and electric railways of the United States, and in all reports prior to the report of 1912 they published the vital statistics showing the number of passengers and employes that had been killed by the street and electric railways; and

WHEREAS, The census report of 1902 showed that out of every 18,015,844 passengers carried, one person had been killed, and that one employe was killed out of every 1,154 employes per year. In 1907 these reports showed that one person out of every 13,608,500 passengers carried was killed, and that one employe out of every 746 of the employes was killed annually; and

WHEREAS, The reports of 1912 are absolutely silent, giving no report at all upon this subject; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor have taken up this subject with the head of the Bureau of Census without any satisfaction as to why the statistics were not published; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore, Md., November, 1916, do hereby condemn the Census Bureau for neglecting to publish such vital and important statistics; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to take up this subject with the heads of the Bureau of Census and such other Government officers as may be necessary, and insist that in all future census reports of this kind that these vital and important statistics shall be published.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate James H. Hatch of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America covers upholsterers employed on all classes of upholstery work; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America is endeavoring to obtain jurisdiction over upholsterers employed in

railway shops and has, in several instances, endeavored to persuade members of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America to relinquish their membership and apply for membership in the organization of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, and they were notified unless they did so they would not be permitted to continue working in the shops in question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America to refrain from accepting as members upholsterers employed as such, and to cease interfering with members of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America who are employed in railway shops.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates John J. Hynes, Hugh Frayne, James T. Moriarty and Thomas Redding, of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Association:

WHEREAS, On account of evolution in the manufacture of steel ranges and kitchen equipments, made of sheet metal, a serious dispute has existed in St. Louis, Mo., for several months between the Stove Mounters' International Union and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance;

WHEREAS, This dispute is liable to develop into a general dispute affecting several cities;

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to arrange a conference with the representatives of the two organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention for the purpose of bringing about an amicable adjustment.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 72—By the delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, It has been held by the Federal courts on the Pacific Coast that the contract labor law has no application to seamen; and

WHEREAS, It has been held that the Chinese Exclusion Act does not apply to seamen serving on American vessels, and that Chinese may serve on American vessels without first establishing a legal domicile in the United States, and that they may be imported for this purpose; and

WHEREAS, This constitutes a denial of the important and fundamental principle that the deck of a vessel is part of the soil of the nation whose flag the vessel carries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon the department and upon the President to give a careful consideration of the manner in which these laws are construed, to the end that the laws may be properly enforced.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Frank B. Brown, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organized labor is represented by a very small percentage of the

labor population of Kansas through failure of the American Federation of Labor to give the State a permanent organizer; and

WHEREAS, The Kansas State Federation of Labor and the central labor bodies are constantly receiving appeals from the organized workers all over the State for assistance in unionizing the crafts; and

WHEREAS, The Kansas State Federation of Labor and the central labor bodies are not financially able to place organizers in the field, the strength of union labor in Kansas is being very materially retarded; and

WHEREAS, If the working men and women of Kansas are to maintain their social, political and economic welfare, free from the evils of autocracy, they must be fostered by the great head of organized crafts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That such being the condition in the State of Kansas, the Kansas State Federation of Labor feels justified in so doing, and does appeal to this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Executive Committee to place a permanent organizer in said State.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, of the Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The last convention of the American Federation of Labor held at San Francisco, Cal., instructed the Executive Board to arrange for a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and in the same place the World Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the war in Europe; and

WHEREAS, Our Executive Board has tried in vain to arrange for such a World Labor Congress because of the position taken by some of the labor unions of Europe, wherein they definitely rejected the proposal made them by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The aims and objects of the organized labor movements in Europe are practically the same as those of the organized labor movements of this country, and inasmuch as we of America cannot rise far above our fellow trade unionists of Europe and stand for any length of time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we suggest to the organized labor movement of those countries that shall participate in the general peace conference to determine terms and conditions of peace at the close of the war. That they urge upon their respective governments that the wage-earners shall be represented in an official commission from their respective countries and if it shall be determined that neutral countries also will participate in the general peace congress, the same policy ought to be pursued by them; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board stand instructed to do all in their power to bring about a World Labor Congress at the earliest possible time, and that in the meantime they shall lend their assistance and influence to help the different labor organi-

zations of Europe get on their feet and again in good working order after the war.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate P. M. Draper, of the Ottawa, Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association:

WHEREAS, There exists in the Province of Quebec, Canada, a large number of industries which remain unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The great majority of the employes working in these various industries are of French-Canadian nationality, being unable to speak or understand the English language but very little; and

WHEREAS, In order to successfully prosecute and accomplish organization along international trade union lines in the midst of these men it is necessary to have an organizer employed, who is capable of speaking both the French and English languages fluently; and

WHEREAS, At the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada a resolution was, at the request of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, unanimously adopted instructing the Executive of the Canadian Trades Congress to urge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to place an organizer in this province at an early date; therefore

RESOLVED, That the Baltimore convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to give the Quebec situation its best and most careful consideration, as soon as practicable after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to coping, in the most effective manner, with a situation that is menacing and retarding the growth and progress of the international trade union movement in this particular province.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Mabel H. Hudson, of Office Employees' Association No. 12755:

WHEREAS, By a recent decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the Office Employees' Association No. 12755, of Chicago, was ordered to cancel the membership of Messrs. Max Dezettel and Adolph Germer, and that unless this ruling be complied with in thirty days the charter of the Office Employees' Association No. 12755 will stand revoked; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Max Dezettel is not and has never been a member of said association and the ruling cannot, therefore, at this time be put into effect in his case; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Dezettel carries a traveling card issued to him as a member in good standing by the Omaha local of office employes, and which card he wishes to deposit with the Office Employees' Association No. 12755; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Adolph Germer is now employed actively at office work and properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Office Employees' Association; and

WHEREAS, The only question of the eligibility of Mr. Germer was based on the fact

that he held membership in the United Mine Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, There is no law prohibiting the holding of membership in two unions, but, on the contrary, the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Section 11, Article 9, specifically provides that "should any of the members of such national, international, trade or federal union work at any other vocation, trade or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the decision of the Executive Council be and is hereby annulled.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates W. V. H. Bright, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and Hubert S. Marshall, International Union Journeymen Horseshoers:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is a young and growing organization operating in a field in which there are something over 350,000 wage-earners in the United States and Canada, who are eligible to membership; and

WHEREAS, The railroads, through their General Managers' Associations, have been harassing the members and attempting to prevent organization by dismissals and lock-outs of the organized clerks wherever found; and

WHEREAS, These tactics on the part of the railroads have compelled the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood to use all its efforts and money to protect its membership, thus making it almost impossible to extend the organization work because all officers, organizers and moneys of the brotherhood had to be used to meet this condition; and

WHEREAS, The organization of this class of wage-earners would prove of almost inestimable value to the American labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that an amount not exceeding five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) be and is hereby appropriated out of the funds of the American Federation of Labor, to be used in assisting the said Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to organize this great army of unorganized wage-earners; and be it further

RESOLVED, That organizers for this purpose, not exceeding four, be designated by the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, with the understanding that the salaries to be paid said organizers are not to exceed one hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$125.00) per month, with expenses, and that said salaries and expenses, after approval by the proper officers of the Brotherhood, shall be paid direct by the officers of and from the funds of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates Raymond Wilcox, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646; F. W. Ely,

of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Accountants' Union No. 13188; Mabel H. Hudson, of the Office Employees' Association No. 12755, and W. M. Pollock, of Stenographers, Typewriters and Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773:

WHEREAS, There are now sixteen local unions of office workers in New York, Chicago, Washington, San Francisco, Kansas City, Boston, Indianapolis and other cities, including in their membership nearly two thousand members; and

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in any other calling, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no short-cut road will bring them to better wages and conditions; and

WHEREAS, Nearly all of the above named local unions have expressed themselves in favor of forming a national union for office workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to organize and grant a charter to an International Office Workers' Union to include all office workers.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Women constitute one-fifth of the wage-earners of the United States and this number is yearly increasing; and

WHEREAS, The effect of industrial conditions on women workers should receive sympathetic study and fair analysis; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Department of Labor have not given to this important subject the attention it deserves and cannot as the department is now organized; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve the effort that is now being made to secure the establishment of a woman's bureau in the Federal Department of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The principle of old age retirement for superannuated service employees is now generally recognized in every country in the world, except China and Turkey; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of the Government employees of the United States is insufficient to permit of adequate savings against old age; and

WHEREAS, The retirement of the aged postal employees of this country is desirable from a humane as well as a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, Congressman Peter F. Tague, of Boston, has introduced in the Committee of Post Offices and Post Roads, of which he is a member, a straight pension bill built along equitable lines, both toward the postal department and the postal employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federa-

tion. of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby endorse the Tague Retirement Measure, and urge upon the members of Congress from this State all reasonable effort to secure its enactment.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Carl Freeman, of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased greatly during the past four years, and yet during that time the salaries of railway postal clerks have been decreased—by working substitutes without giving them an appointment; by cutting the salaries of transfer and terminal clerks; by reducing the classification of certain lines; by taking mail from lines of high classification and working it in lines of terminals where lower classification exists, thereby reducing the force of the higher class lines; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the affiliated railway postal clerks to secure legislation which will correct these conditions, and also their efforts to secure a higher wage scale, and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks in seeking legislative relief in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 82—By W. M. Pollock, of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773:

WHEREAS, In the latter part of February, 1916, Congressman W. P. Borland, of Missouri, proposed an amendment to the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill in the House proposing to increase the hours of government clerks from seven to eight per day, upon which our organization, which then included in its membership a number of government clerks, immediately became active and secured many applications for membership among government clerks; and

WHEREAS, At a mass meeting held March 3, 1916, held under the auspices of the Central Labor Union of Washington, in accordance with a motion introduced by our delegate, Secretary Morrison, over the verbal protest of members of our organization effected a temporary organization of government clerks; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773, grants, under the approval of the American Federation of Labor, jurisdiction over "office workers generally" to that association; and

WHEREAS, Stenographers, statistical clerks and office workers of all classes employed in the government service now hold and have for several years held membership in this association, with the full knowledge and consent of the officers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Due to a protest of our organization the American Federation of Labor could not issue a charter to the proposed organization of government clerks, our protest being based on the fact that two provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor were being violated, namely, Section 11, Article IX, which says "that no charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade or Federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions," and Section 4, Article XIV, which says that "the American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation for local unions or Federal unions from a vicinity where a chartered central labor union exists to that body for investigation and approval;" and

WHEREAS, Over our further protest the Executive Council permitted the organization of government clerks to amalgamate with Federal Labor Union No. 14632, composed of about eight members in the Treasury Department under an agreement whereby six of the eight members were to be guaranteed offices in the consolidated organization before the 5,000 members of the temporary organization would be allowed to join the eight, both organizations thus assisting by a plain subterfuge an attempt to violate the jurisdictional right of a sister organization, when the original application on behalf of the 5,000 could not be granted under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council refused to sustain the protest of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association on the ground that the Seattle Convention, 1913, had adopted a resolution looking toward the organization of government clerks; and

WHEREAS, The said organization voted to take an appeal from the said ruling of the Executive Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that the Seattle convention did not mean that in following out the provisions of said resolution that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor should be violated in any particular or that the jurisdiction of any organization affiliated with it should be trespassed upon; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention recognizes the jurisdiction of the said organization over stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, bookkeepers' assistants and office workers generally in the government service in the territory mentioned in its constitution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to transfer forthwith to the said organization such members of Federal Labor Union No. 14632 as are eligible thereto.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many of the clerks in the postoffices are compelled to work nights at high tension and under conditions that impair their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department grants no recognition either by wage or time differential to the clerks employed at night; and

WHEREAS, The British postal service has long recognized a seven-hour tour for night workers, and our Government in its printing office at Washington grants night workers a 20 per cent. wage differential; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before Congress, the Randall Lewis bills, which seek to grant a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked by postal employees between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m. and which will operate to minimize night work by confining it to the distribution and dispatch of important mail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, hereby endorse the Randall Lewis bills and urge the members of Congress to have these bills enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 84—By the Delegates from International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Circular No. 235, issued by the Department of Commerce, and dealing with the enforcement of the language clause of the Seamen's Act, is so worded that it stands in the way of any proper enforcement of the Act; and

WHEREAS, There can be no real equalization of the operating expenses of foreign and American vessels without the proper enforcement of this clause; and

WHEREAS, The American cannot get to sea if men without the knowledge are permitted to continue to sail in violation of this law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully protest against Circular No. 235, and urge that it be so revised that it will be in harmony with the letter, spirit and purpose of the law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the Secretary of Commerce and the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, of the Little Rock, Ark., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, We have been trying to shorten the hours of labor as economic development and progress warranted it, and that eight hours is the work day decided in order that our members may have more opportunities for intellectual development and social enjoyment; and

WHEREAS, The last United States Congress passed an eight-hour law for the

benefit of the railroad brotherhoods, the same being endorsed by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary action to secure a universal eight-hour day as a standard workday for all mechanical, industrial and mercantile establishments throughout the entire United States by legislative enactment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, together with its legal advisory board, draft such a measure, and present it to Congress at the next general assembly, and when submitted to Congress the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall send forth instructions to all general presidents of all national and international organizations, also all central bodies and federal labor unions to the end that they urge every local organization at the proper time to urge and demand of their Congressmen from their several districts in every state of the union, and their United States Senators from the different states to support such a measure.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate G. W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The principle of co-operation is receiving more and more attention of the workers and many others interested in economic and social advancement; and

WHEREAS, We hold and declare that the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliated national and international and local unions should be entirely free from commercial enterprises and should never be engaged in business for profit; and

WHEREAS, Production and distribution co-operation to be successful should be grounded upon a broad, workable plan, and, while not owned by the American Federation of Labor or any of its affiliated organizations, should, nevertheless, be under the control of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, through the President of the American Federation of Labor, be and is hereby authorized and instructed to appoint a committee of five for the purpose of taking under consideration the question of co-operation, the President of the American Federation of Labor to be ex-officio a member of the committee, but without vote; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the committee when appointed be and is hereby empowered to make a full investigation of co-operation in all of its different phases and ramifications, and report a plan of co-operation and law governing same that will be feasible, practicable and workable; and be it

RESOLVED, That the committee on co-operation shall be allowed the amount of — per day for actual time lost while in session, and transportation to headquarters, with the exception of the President, whose

expense and per diem is already provided for; and be it

RESOLVED, That the President shall obtain by correspondence all information possible upon the question of co-operation for the use of the committee, and he is hereby instructed to do the preliminary work of gathering statistics, information, etc., and shall furnish through correspondence the balance of the committee with all such available information, and that the preliminary work of the committee shall be done by correspondence, and the committee may be called together by the President for the purpose of drafting a report, and a law for submission to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor; and be it

RESOLVED, That the final meeting of the committee herein provided for shall not exceed in duration fifteen days, and that the report together with the recommendation of the committee shall be submitted to the Executive Council at least one month prior to the opening of the 1917 convention of the American Federation of Labor, and through the Executive Council submitted to the 1917 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman David Lewis, of Maryland, provides for the reclassification of salaries of postal clerks and letter-carriers increasing the maximum to \$1,400 per annum in first-class postoffices, and to \$1,300 per annum in second-class postoffices; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of postal employes have not been increased proportionately with the increased cost of living, nor do they receive a wage commensurate with the important exacting duties they are required to perform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby endorses the Lewis bill, and urges upon Congress its enactment.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Public sentiment is now crystallizing industrial, social and health insurance, and just what concrete form this sentiment will take depends largely upon, first, the intelligent and, second, the determined declaration and attitude of organized labor's forces; and

WHEREAS, We declare that, regardless of the form the insurance may finally take, and declaring against compulsory insurance of any kind, we are unalterably opposed to private insurance companies for profit, which should be eliminated from any kind of industrial, social or health insurance; and

WHEREAS, It is claimed that in Massachusetts in 1915 the working men and

women paid to four insurance companies, operated for profit, more than \$12,000,000 for industrial insurance, and that these companies return to the policy-holders only a very little more than \$4,000,000; and

WHEREAS, The terrific waste due to overhead charges and personal profits actually amounts to more than is paid to the beneficiaries insured by private concerns; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Thirty-sixth Annual Convention assembled, declares against private insurance, or insurance for profit, as it may apply to industrial, social or health insurance.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate James H. Hatch of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America includes jurisdiction over carpet upholsterers, whose work consists of carpet laying, cutting and measuring; linoleum laying, cutting and measuring, and the laying, cutting and measuring of other fabrics, tacked or cemented to finished floors; and

WHEREAS, Local unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America are interfering with and endeavoring to obtain control over work covered by the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of North America to refrain from doing work covered by the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America and from interfering with members of said organization while employed on the work in question.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Homer D. Call and Dennis Lane of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at San Francisco, Cal., one year ago, the Executive Council was requested to render such assistance in organizing the butcher workmen as its finances would permit; and

WHEREAS, In compliance with that request the work has been earnestly carried on for the past few months, with the result that many new organizations have been started in the large centers and more are in the first stages of formation; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to secure the benefits already attained through the kind offices of the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council be requested to continue its assistance to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen so far as its finances will permit.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 91.—By Delegate R. E. Peabody of the Federal Employees' Union No. 14774:

WHEREAS, It has become a fixed principle in American civilization that six days shall constitute a week's labor and that eight hours shall be the standard of a day's labor; and

WHEREAS, Along the boundary lines between the United States and Canada and the United States and Mexico, and the United States custom and immigration inspectors are compelled to work seven days per week, and in many instances in excess of twelve hours per day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as being opposed to this condition of affairs and that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to take this matter up with the executive departments of the Government looking toward relief for these men, and also to prepare and urge upon Congress such legislation as may be necessary to correct this evil.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work-day.

Resolution No. 92.—By Delegate Al. Rich of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The most practical, the most economic, the most profitable and the most reasonable methods that the Government of the United States can employ in a policy of preparation against war with foreign nations is to begin by removing the conditions that are primarily responsible for the creation of such wars; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention favors the establishment of a commercial union between the United States and the South and Central American Republics; that we also favor the establishment of steamship lines to give ample and efficient service to the commerce of the countries composing such union; that we favor the issuing of bonds by the Government of the United States to an amount sufficient to finance such steamship lines; that we favor the extension of credits or loans by the United States Government to such of the countries composing this union as may require a loan or credits, to enable them through ownership and control of stock in such steamship lines to participate in the management thereof and to secure for the people the benefits to be derived from the operation of such service; the amount of such loans or interests to be determined by a convention or joint commission representing the countries comprising such union and empowered to make such apportionment of interests, on condition that the government of the country receiving such appointment of stock or interest retain not less than one third of the same under the direct ownership and control of their respective governments as a guarantee of the safety of the investments and the efficient and impartial management of the services in the interest of all of the people of these republics, as we hold that the interest of all the people of the republics of this continent, including the assurance of peace amongst themselves, is of more vital importance, and therefore entitled to greater

consideration than the selfish desires of a few individuals, whose chief aim, object and purpose is to exploit them and their industries down even to the point of precipitating wars between them for the retention of this privilege.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 93.—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The members of the International Association of Machinists, employed at the plant of the Busch-Selzer Bros. Diesel Engine Company, located in the city of St. Louis, Mo., numbering upward of 150 men, have been on strike since September 21, 1916, as a result of the firm's refusal to establish a 48-hour week; and

WHEREAS, The controlling interest of this firm is in the hands of Adolphus Busch, of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, of St. Louis, manufacturers of various brands of beer; and

WHEREAS, Different international unions affiliated with the American labor movement as recognized by the A. F. of L. are engaged directly in the manufacture of this product, working under agreements, and the product of this brewing association is one that depends for its patronage upon the general public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be instructed to correspond with Mr. Adolphus Busch, urging him to use his influence to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this strike.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 94.—By Delegate Elizabeth Christman, of the International Glove Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The International Glove Workers' Union of America has had unusual struggles during the past few years, not only through strikes in the East, but in Milwaukee, Wis., which has been one of the centers of our organization; and

WHEREAS, Because of these difficulties, together with the small size of our organization, we have not been able to do the organization work necessary to build up our organization and completely organize our trade; and

WHEREAS, This year seems the opportune time to organize the glove workers if funds and workers could be secured; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled authorize the officers of the Federation to co-operate with the International Glove Workers Union, and assist them in organization work during the next six months by assigning an organizer to that particular trade.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 95.—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is an assured fact that the union label is one of the most potent factors for the advancement of the most vital interests of the membership of our

trade-union movement, and by which we are enabled to help each other in discriminating between union and non-union made products when purchasing commodities for our daily needs; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union, having a union label, is seeking a wider demand for tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the union label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Baltimore, Md., that inasmuch as union-labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best qualities are marketed in parcels that come within the reach of all consumers, and easily accessible to all purchasers, they should receive a larger share of the purchasing power of union men and their friends; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the consensus of opinion of the delegates attending this convention that the practice of demanding the union label on our purchases has heretofore not given the results we have a right to expect. In view of this condition we give a renewed expression of our fealty to our cause, and pledge our effort to creating a more extended demand for union-labeled tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff, thereby employing union men and women working in the tobacco industry.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of Federal Employees Union No. 14682:

WHEREAS, The titanic and murderous wars now in progress between certain European nations and in Mexico have brought vividly to our attention their horrors of death, agony privation and devastation, and their very existence caused us to realize that no nation, however civilized and peaceful, is safe from possibility under the present diplomatic system; and

WHEREAS, The laboring class must, and does, bear the burden of sacrifice and loss, in which the capitalist or wealthy class not only does not participate, but from which it in reality profits; and

WHEREAS, The political representatives of the nations of the earth too frequently heed the demands of the wealthy for profit and the protection of their properties to the detriment of ourselves and our people, and too often arouse racial and national jealousies, prejudices and hatred, for the purpose of provoking war for the benefit of the said capitalist class; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America is the principal neutral nation, and we, its citizens, are in more favorable circumstances than the workers of any other neutral or belligerent country for instituting and conducting a movement for the protection of ourselves and our fellow-workers from the extension of the present conflict and from future wars; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn war as a means of settling international disputes, and hereby place the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, on

record as unalterably opposed to the slaughter of human beings for the purpose of extending commercial opportunities of controlling or subjugating the laboring class, or maintaining the so-called national honor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of this Federation be, and they are hereby empowered and directed to take the necessary steps to establish and maintain, in conjunction with the labor bodies of other countries, an international congress or federation of labor, with such provision as may be necessary and practicable for the hearing and discussion before international officers, or special commissions of labor representatives appointed for that purpose, the causes of disagreement between two or more nations, with a view to the prevention of a state of belligerency through reaching an amicable understanding as demanded by civilization, humanity and the welfare of the workers in the nations involved, and to the execution of such political action by such workers as will bring to the attention of the governmental representatives of such nations the expediency of settlement by diplomatic means.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The present rules governing the organization of Federal and local labor unions present a handicap to the average community and the system of reports are confusing to the uninitiated mind; and

WHEREAS, Locals of this character are generally composed of members without previous experience in the union movement and, as such, must have the movement simplified to gain their interest and adherence; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to this convention that we favor the plan of forming these locals directly under the supervision of local central labor councils, where these exist, and under the direction of the state federation of labor where local councils are not existent, as subordinate locals during their period of organization, and holding these organizations responsible for their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor within a reasonable period of time; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the restrictions governing the membership of such Federal labor unions be left to the judgment of the central body, if such there be in that community, or the State Federation of Labor, believing that they will always strive to use mature judgment in their decisions and will work for the best interests of the movement.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates John Williams, John J. Sullivan, Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and Louis Leonard, Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly:

WHEREAS, The Committee on Industrial

Relations have been the most powerful factor of modern times in bringing to light the many causes of industrial unrest; and

WHEREAS, By their thorough investigation and fearless publication of facts have brought about improved working conditions for thousands of toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor favors the enactment of a law making the Industrial Relations Committee a permanent body supported by the Government with headquarters at Washington, D. C.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to draft a bill embodying the intent of this resolution, said bill to be presented to Congress at a time which, in the judgment of the Executive Council, seems advisable.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organized labor of Wyoming, through the eighth annual convention of the State Federation of Labor, has provided a permanent education committee, which committee has been authorized to solicit donations from individuals, unions or other sources, the fund thus created to be administered in the furtherance of educational opportunities among worthy workers who have been denied an opportunity by reason of their economic position; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such a movement is one worthy of emulation by all State organizations, to the end that we may take a more active part in the work of extending opportunities for an education to our less fortunate brothers and sisters; and

WHEREAS, Brother E. Richard Shipp, a member of the Casper Typographical Union, chairman of this committee and the father of this idea, has given this subject most thorough study; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we approve of the plans as formulated by this committee and indorsed by the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, recommend similar action on the part of our various State federations and invite Brother Shipp to contribute an article, or articles, on the Wyoming plan for publication in the American Federationist.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Thomas F. Kennedy of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The subject of arbitration now commands the attention of the world as offering a possible solution for those great problems which cause international wars and national controversies, which put armies in the field and which cause strikes and lockouts in industries, and bring starvation to helpless women and innocent children; and

WHEREAS, At the present crisis in the labor movement this subject of arbitration has been projected before the people of the United States as a picture is thrown from a

stereopticon upon a screen, and this picture is accompanied by seductive descriptions of its reputed worth, and is sustained by appeals to patriotism and denunciations of the use of force; and

WHEREAS, While the picture looks pretty on the screen, we have ample causes for dreading the secret designs of the operators in the darkness behind the machine as well as the painters of the picture, for the newspapers have aided in producing artificial effects and in promoting an illusion craftily designed by the capitalists; and

WHEREAS, While the Federation of Labor has always stood for fair arbitration and frequently pleaded for it in vain, it now becomes necessary for us to oppose that kind of arbitration which is being prepared for us by those who do not represent our interests; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Chicago Federation of Labor that we announce our views upon this subject of universal interest, and this proffered salvation from the woes of the world:

1. We hold that since arbitration has not been proposed for those who fix and control the prices of flour, meat, milk and all the necessities of life, that arbitration applied by compulsion to wages for a term of years would result in holding the laborers in a box trap while they were being skinned to furnish profits to those who control the prices which we must pay to live; therefore, until the laborers can arbitrate prices the capitalists must not be allowed to fasten a compulsory arbitration law upon wages.

2. We hold that arbitration is the hearing and determining of a cause between parties in controversy by persons chosen or agreed to by the parties.

3. We hold that arbitration depends upon the opinion agreed to by a committee, of which the majority are chosen because of their previously declared opinions, their skill in presenting such opinions and their firmness in adhering to such opinions.

4. We hold that arbitration is the commitment to a small body of combatants of a cause in which the welfare of a much larger body of persons is involved.

5. We hold that arbitration is in its nature similar to the choosing of champions who shall engage in personal combat, as did knights of old in a tournament, the victory to rest with the fortunate possessors of superior muscular or brain power.

6. We hold that arbitration to be effective must be made compulsory and must bind the parties in controversy to abide by the decisions of the chosen arbitrators for a future period, and their decisions must later be enforced by courts, police and militia, involving lawyers, trials, fines and imprisonments.

7. We hold that wages and hours of labor are not a minority matter, but concern the vast majority of mankind, and are therefore vital to the welfare and happiness of the whole nation.

8. We hold that wages and hours of labor are problems of such a nature that decision by committee cannot be permanently satisfactory.

9. We hold that free people will never consent to be ruled by any less principle than that of the Declaration of Independence, which reads, "Governments instituted

among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

10. Therefore, We publish these principles and appeal to the laborers, organized and unorganized, of these United States to gain for themselves all the powers of a free people, and especially to gain additional power to decide for themselves the hours which they shall work and the compensation therefor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of the Federal Employes Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, The prices of foodstuffs, clothing, fuel, and other necessities of life have increased to such an extent during the last few years that a large percentage of the population of the United States is no longer able to maintain a reasonably decent and comfortable standard of living; and

WHEREAS, While in many instances organized labor has been able to secure increase of wages somewhat commensurate with the increase in the cost of living, there are a great many other instances where organized labor has not been able to secure increases of wages and there are many workers who are as yet unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Even in those cases where increases in wages have been secured there is a constant and growing demand for still further increases to meet the increasing cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The conditions which are today confronting the workers who have not received increases in wages are deplorable and a continuance thereof can result only in absolute destitution and want; and

WHEREAS, There is a growing complaint that labor is demanding too much as wages in many instances and due to this feeling the increases are becoming harder and harder to get, so that in a short time difficulties will arise in the efforts to secure increases which will be insurmountable; and

WHEREAS, There has as yet been no organized effort to prevent the increase in the cost of living by the enactment of laws designed to prevent the undue raising of prices and providing for the conservation of the resources of the country to an extent which will prevent the disproportion now existing between the supply and demand of supplies; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is composed of representatives of all classes of workers from all parts of the United States, who are in touch with the workers of other countries, these workers being vitally interested in the prevention of prices for commodities higher than they can pay at the wages now in vogue; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and they are hereby instructed to take such steps as are necessary to cause an adequate and full investigation of the matter to be made as early as practicable with a view to appointing a committee to make further investigations, give full consideration to the matter, and to recommend

some action which will tend to prevent further rise in prices of necessities of life and tend to lower present prices wherever practicable, taking into such consideration the advisability of recommending laws to Congress on the subject or submitting for approval an amendment of the Constitution of the United States whereby a tax may be laid on exports from the United States so as to prohibit the exportation of necessities of life at prices lower than they are sold at retail in the United States; thus insuring to the purchasers in this country the first opportunity to procure necessities and preventing the wholesale exportation of such supplies before the domestic demand for them is met at reasonable prices.

Referred to committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Charles MacGowan, M. J. McGuire, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, It became necessary for the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America to enforce discipline in the City of Chicago, Ill., which resulted in the revocation of the charter of subordinate lodge number one, July twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and fifteen; and

WHEREAS, Official notice of such action was given the Chicago Building Trades Council, through its secretary, James Conroy, and to the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. through its secretary, William J. Spencer, on the same date; and

WHEREAS, All correspondence and requests to the Building Trades Council of Chicago upon the subject matter have been ignored and unacknowledged; and

WHEREAS, The secretary of the Building Trades Department has advised that several requests were made by him upon the Chicago Building Trades Council of Chicago to unseat the delegates of the suspended local; and

WHEREAS, Article XI, Section 9, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor specifically provides that "no Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a national or international organization of their trade herein affiliated under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter"; and

WHEREAS, This expelled local union is still seated in the Building Trades Council of Chicago in violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department, and is given encouragement and support which is a serious obstacle to the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, in its enforcement of its laws and the settlement of the controversy with this expelled local union; and

WHEREAS, An appeal was made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, under date of January 5th, 1916, requesting that the laws of the A. F.

of L. be enforced and the Chicago Building Trades Council required to unseat this suspended local union; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the instructions of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to the Building Trades Department to have this local unseated by the Chicago Council, they are still in affiliation with the Chicago Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to enforce the laws of the A. F. of L. by requiring the Chicago Building Trades Council to unseat this suspended local union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That upon the failure of the Chicago Building Trades Council to comply with the law of the A. F. of L. and the Building Trades Department that they be revoked in accordance with Article XI, Section 2, of the constitution of the A. F. of L., also Article XV, Section 3, governing departments.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is composed of affiliated international, national and local unions, all advancing the idea of democracy in industry and government; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention is subversive of the true spirit of democracy, and not in accord with the underlying principles of our movement; be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be so changed as to provide for the nomination and election of all officers by a referendum vote of the affiliated membership.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates Homer D. Call and Dennis Lane, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the eight-hour working day; and

WHEREAS, The butcher workmen of this country are in most localities working from ten to fourteen hours per day; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor indorse the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in their efforts to secure a universal eight-hour working day in all departments, and in all localities where possible; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledges its moral support to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in their efforts to secure the eight-hour work day.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 105—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, As a result of its recent investigation of news print paper prices, the Federal Trades Commission declares that during the first half this year, when prices already were soaring to unprecedented figures, the average cost of producing news print paper in domestic mills was less than \$1.65 a hundred pounds, or below the average cost of production in the last three years; and

WHEREAS, Contract prices rose this year from less than \$2.00 per hundred pounds to \$3.00 and \$3.50, and on current market purchases publishers have been compelled to pay as high as \$7.00 or more for paper bought in the same way prior to January 1, 1916, for between \$2.00 and \$3.00; and

WHEREAS, The facts obtained by the Federal Trades Commission show that the price of news print paper has advanced beyond all reason, considering the cost of manufacture, thereby indicating the existence of an illegal conspiracy to control prices and to extort illegitimate profits for jobbers and manufacturers; and

WHEREAS, The exorbitant and still growing prices charged for news print and other papers have had the effect of forcing some newspapers to suspend publication, others to consolidate, and still others to reduce the number of pages printed, thereby greatly reducing the number of employees in departments under the jurisdiction of the International unions represented in the International Allied Printing Trades Association; and

WHEREAS, Many newspaper publishers and commercial printers are reluctant to volunteer evidence tending to establish the existence of an illegal conspiracy, formed for the purpose of compelling the payment of extortionate prices for papers used in the printing industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in behalf of the men and women employed in the printing industry, urges an immediate and thorough investigation by the Department of Justice, to determine the influences which have effectively controlled the prices of printing papers during the past year, and which threaten to still further increase the prices of the same; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the Department of Justice be urged to immediately institute investigations through Federal grand juries in the larger cities of the United States for the purpose of obtaining evidence of the illegal conspiracies which are believed to exist; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to obtain action

by the Federal Trades Commission, the Department of Justice and by Congress to the end that the printing industry may be rescued from the clutches of the conspiracies which are successfully manipulating the prices and supplies of papers used in printing.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 106.—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in Congress a bill known as the Nolan Minimum Wage bill that would grant to all employees of the United States Government after two years of service not less than \$3 per day; and

WHEREAS, Contrary to the general opinion of presumed high wages of those employed by the Government, there are thousands of such Government workers who receive \$50 per month and less, as disclosed at the hearings of the Nolan bill; and

WHEREAS, The general standard of wages for the average mechanic and skilled worker is in excess of \$3.00 per day and the Government should raise its standard of wages to the same level that prevails outside the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby endorse the Nolan Minimum Wage bill and that the members of Congress from this state be urged to endeavor to secure its enactment of this measure.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 107.—By Delegates James William Fitzpatrick and Harry Mountford of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The White Rats Actors' Union of America, the only actors' organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has for the past sixteen years been trying to improve, uplift and better the conditions of employment for the actors and actresses of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, There is an association known as the "Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association," which is said to consist of all the managers of vaudeville theaters, burlesque theaters, circuses and all other forms of entertainment; and

WHEREAS, Repeated attempts have been made by the White Rats Actors' Union, through its international executive and Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Harry Mountford, to obtain a conference with the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association; and

WHEREAS, Acting under the instructions of the International Board, the International President, Mr. James William Fitzpatrick, addressed many letters to them, to which no answer was received, and finally was compelled to make a public request for a conference with them, which was published in the professional press on Friday, September 22, 1916; and

WHEREAS, The Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association answered this public appeal by a public refusal published in the professional press on Friday, September 29,

1916, in which they absolutely refused to meet a committee of the White Rats Actors' Union on the following grounds, which reasons are quoted in their own language: "Since the reorganization of the White Rats Actors' Union we have declined to deal with it because it is a trades union, and it advocates the principle of the 'closed shop'."

"* * * We absolutely refuse any conference with any committee of White Rats as long as the White Rats bears the union stamp. * * * We are forever pledged against the White Rats and against any conference with it and any of its committees, so long as the White Rats continues to be a labor union, with its policy of closed shop. * * * We are opposed to the White Rats as at present constituted, with its malignant and cancerous growths, which have attached to it, such as the closed shop, agitation, strikes, * * *," and

WHEREAS, In the same published reply they describe their patrons as the "always ignorant public;" and

WHEREAS, Their patrons are largely made up of members of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, They have repeatedly, privately and publicly, threatened that they will lock out all members of the White Rats Actors' Union, and deprive them of any employment in the United States and Canada; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor extend every possible assistance to the White Rats Actors' Union of America in resisting any threatened or attempted lockout of its members, and in enforcing the demands of the White Rats Actors' Union of America for an equitable, enforceable contract between managers and actors, the legal rate of commission, a board of arbitration and the union shop.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 108.—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is an established fact that available finances are an absolute necessity in the conduct of a successful strike or for the protection of workers' property where these workers have been held liable for damages through the exercise of the right to strike and boycott; and

WHEREAS, The need of a fund to meet these and other urgent needs which the present revenue of the American Federation of Labor is inadequate to meet, appears vital to the future success of our movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Baltimore, that we submit to the various international unions affiliated with this body a referendum for an assessment of one dollar each year on their membership; that in the event such referendum returns the assessment as adopted that the officers of the American Federation of Labor levy such assessment on all directly affiliated local and federal labor unions; these moneys to be

made payable to a special defense fund of the American Federation of Labor and disbursed under the direction of its officers and according to their judgment as strike-relief or special defense purposes, among affiliated unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this referendum be submitted at the earliest period possible that the fund may become a reality and available.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The illegal, unwarranted and unlawful issuance of injunctions in trade disputes is in violation of all constitutional and statutory rights, and robs, through judge-made law (?), the workers collectively and individually of their freedom of action as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment; and

WHEREAS, The abuse of such injunctions is the greatest strike-breaker known in modern industries, and places in the hands of unscrupulous employers an unfair and powerful weapon which is unfairly wielded to the disadvantage of workmen and women who engage in the lawful effort to maintain decent living conditions, increase wages and shorten the hours of labor; and

WHEREAS, The so-called Clayton Act, which declares that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce, and in so far as the Federal statutes are concerned tends to correct the illegal issuance and abuse of the writ of injunction in trade disputes; and

WHEREAS, We hold that the paramount issue now confronting organized labor specifically and unorganized labor in general is the extension of the provisions of the Clayton Act until it becomes a law and operative in every State in the Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of labor in convention assembled at Baltimore, Md., November, 1916, earnestly urge upon all State Federations of Labor and organized labor everywhere that they make the injunction question the paramount issue in all of their future political activities, and that they continue such activity until the law is on the statute books of every state of the Union, which will safeguard and protect the rights and liberties of all citizens in so far as the illegal, unconstitutional and unwarranted use and abuse of the writ of injunction is concerned in trade disputes.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Department of Agriculture estimates that the 1916 wheat crop, and the surplus from the 1915 crop are barely sufficient to provide bread for our own people for the coming year; and

WHEREAS, It is alleged that the agents of foreign countries have contracted with

American grain speculators for two hundred million bushels of wheat; and

WHEREAS, Flour is now higher than at any time since the Civil War and all other food staples are advancing in proportion so that it is rapidly becoming impossible for a great portion of the working people of this country to obtain sufficient and proper food for their families; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs is a menace to the physical and social well-being of the nation and a matter of vital importance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor urge upon President Wilson and Congress the necessity of placing an embargo upon the export of wheat and other foodstuffs until it is positively determined that our domestic needs are fully provided for.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 111—By Henry W. Raisse, of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, and George Hahn, of the Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The emigration of Southern negroes to Northern labor centers, which has lately attracted the attention of the United States Department of Labor, and has occasioned anxiety on the part of the organized labor movement because of the danger such emigration will cause the workers in Northern States; and

WHEREAS, The investigation of such emigration and importation of negroes in the State of Ohio has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the labor leaders in that state that they were being brought North for the purpose of filling the places of union men demanding better conditions, as in the case of the freight handlers; and

WHEREAS, The shortage of European labor has made the Southern negro an asset in the labor markets of the North, and the conditions that prevailed in Ohio may apply in all Northern States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the President and the Executive Council to inaugurate a movement looking toward the organization of these men in the Southern States, to the end that they may be instructed and educated along the lines of the trade-union movement, and thereby eliminate this menace to the workers in the Northern States.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, of the Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council:

Amend Article IV by adding a new section to be known as section 2-B.

Each delegate must be a member in good standing of the union he or she represents, and working at the trade at least three (3) months preceding the convention, but this should not be construed to bar the election of any member of an affiliated union who may be in the employ of his or her union as a salaried official thereof, and devoting the major part of his or her time to the same, nor to any member thereof, who may

have become victimized for his or her activity in a strike, a lockout, or organization work.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The toil of any wealth producer is for the purpose of securing for those dependent upon it, food, clothing and shelter requirements and surplus which is essential for emergencies; and

WHEREAS, The channels of distribution of these products of labor of the farmer and wage-worker are practically controlled by monopoly, which exacts tribute from both producer and consumer by fixing the price at which the producer must sell, and the price at which the consumers must buy, regardless of the natural law of supply and demand; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As the expression of this state branch that it demands legislation, state or national, that shall nullify the power of any monopoly to control the price of the necessities of life for producer and consumer; we declare that while the price of the product or the wage is expressed in the terms of money, the true return for the producer or the wage-worker is in the purchasing power of that wage or their product; we declare that all reasonable demands for shorter hours and higher wages are affected by the growing power of the monopolistic distributing factors to fix the price of the necessities of life for the producer and the consumer; there is no permanency for the wage until there is an assured permanency for the purchasing power of that wage governed by natural laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Our Legislature is made up in a large measure of lawyers who write laws that too often require the assistance of the Supreme Court to determine what they mean:

RESOLVED, That we renew our attempt to exchange views with the farmers to the end that the hammer and the pitchfork may be as largely represented with their plain language in the councils of the State and the nation as they were in the days to which statesmen point with pride and fall in their feeble attempts to initiate.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and indorsed by that body:

WHEREAS, Conditions in all warring countries have resulted in filling trades hitherto supplied by men workers only, with enormous numbers of underpaid women, unorganized and voteless; and

WHEREAS, We foresee, at the close of the war when men return asking back their jobs, grave danger that these exploited women will be used to lower the wages of men as well, permanently and everywhere,

thus causing the hard-won results of previous years of organization to be lost to the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we indorse the movement to obtain from all governments at the time of the signature of the treaty of peace the establishment of international agreements to take effect within a definite time and embodying the following principle: The wage paid for definite work must be absolutely independent of the sex of the individual performing it.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Harry P. Griffin, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The bulk of the workers of our country and their families are suffering keenly on account of the exorbitant cost of the necessities of life, especially food and fuel; and

WHEREAS, We believe the first duty of a community is to protect the homes and firesides of its own people; and

WHEREAS, The present outlook seems to indicate that still greater suffering is in store for all who depend upon wages for their daily sustenance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, that we call upon Congress to legislate as speedily as possible in the interests of the great mass of our people by placing an embargo on the export of food and fuel until our own suffering people have obtained some measure of relief from the constantly rising cost of living through circumstances over which they have no control.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Members of Local 15, United Garment Workers of America, have been forced upon the streets of Baltimore through the efforts of a strike-breaking agency parading in the guise of a labor union; and

WHEREAS, This strike-breaking agency is being ably assisted in its work of attempting to destroy an organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor by certain employers, to wit, Henry Sonneborn & Co. and Strause & Bros.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Labor instruct its secretary to notify as quickly as possible all state federations, city central bodies, local and federal unions that "Style-plus" clothing, manufactured by Henry Sonneborn & Co., and "High Art" clothing manufactured by Strause & Bros., are produced by strike-breakers, thugs and jailbirds, brought to Baltimore from the slums of New York and Chicago for the sole purpose of destroying an organization of unquestioned standing in the American labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 118—By Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, A. Rosenberg, Sarah Shapiro, Max Gorenstein and Morris Deltch, Delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The European war is daily growing in extent and horrors, and the unfortunate nations involved in it seem to be powerless to check the fury of mutual destruction and wholesale bloodshed; and

WHEREAS, Many nations in Europe are held in political subjugation by the great powers, are deprived of the right of self-government, hampered in their free national and cultural development, oppressed, maltreated and persecuted, and the existence of such oppressed nationalities, and their natural and legitimate struggles to liberate themselves constitute a fruitful source of international strife and war; and

WHEREAS, Some of the warring countries of Europe still withhold from the Jewish people the political, national and civil rights enjoyed by other citizens or subjects of those countries, although the Jews are making untold sacrifices in goods and blood for the countries of their birth or adoption; and

WHEREAS, The international movement of organized labor has for its aim the abolition of all forms of oppression and discrimination, national and racial as well as political and industrial; be it, therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Baltimore in November, 1916, gives its hearty endorsement to the joint house resolution introduced by Congressman Meyer London in the House of Representatives, and by Senator Lane in the Senate, calling upon the President of the United States to convene a Congress of neutral nations with the object of terminating the fratricidal war in Europe and establishing a durable peace upon just terms which shall include effective machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the future and ample provisions for the political independence and self-government of the oppressed nations and the removal of all political, national and civil disabilities of the Jewish people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the organized workers of the United States are urged by the American Federation of Labor to render moral and material assistance to the full extent of their means to their suffering fellow-workers, the victims of the war as well of political, religious and racial persecutions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 119—By Federal Employees' Union 15236, Canal Zone, Panama:

WHEREAS, To secure and retain competent workmen on the Panama Canal, the Isthmian Canal Commission, with approval

of the Secretary of War and the President, announced in 1907 the granting of longevity increases of 5 per cent. for the second-year service, and 3 per cent. for each additional year, effective from beginning of service of all employees until the maximum of 25 per cent. allowed; and

WHEREAS, Such longevity pay was abolished by action of Congress in 1909 without previous notice to workers on the Panama Canal by providing that appropriations could not be used for its continuation; and

WHEREAS, Congress in Sixty-third Congress voted (resolution 16510) general rewards to all officers of the Army, the Navy and the Marine Hospital Service in providing for their promotion of one grade in rank and retirement on application of all who served three or more years on the Panama Canal, including younger officers educated at public expense at West Point, and who had rendered to the Government little or no service, except the three or more years on the Panama Canal, and some of whom have now retired, and others are eligible to retire on three-fourths pay for life of grade to which promoted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention record its disapproval of the partiality of legislation from House resolution 16510 of Sixty-third Congress rewarding generally all military and naval officers for three years or more service on the Panama Canal by retired pay for life, while ignoring members of organized labor previously deprived of continuation of longevity pay and civilians, who, as publicly stated by General Goethals, performed more acceptable service for longer periods of time than military officers rewarded; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such discrimination and partiality in favor of the military be especially condemned as contrasting strongly with attempted and officially proposed reduction of wage scales for organized labor in 1914, and also attempts to reduce wage scales by making charges for quarters, light and fuel, as actually charged from March 1 to May 24, 1915, and again proposed to become effective July 1, 1916, but later again rescinded, and which proposed charges constituted a relatively greater reduction in remuneration of members of organized labor than of military and naval officers detailed for duty on the Panama Canal in official positions; and be it also

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends that Congress rescind its cancellation of longevity, and that such be granted all American workers of the Panama Canal, or that Congress investigate legislation classed as partial and discriminatory in the preceding, and take such other action as may be deemed fit and appropriate to correct existing injustice to members of organized labor and other civilians equally entitled to consideration with military officers, as evidenced in resolutions of many national, state and federated bodies of organized labor, and acknowledged by many senators and representatives in letters to constituents, and that in pursuance of such request that copy of this resolution be sent to each House of Congress, to Congressman Adamson, who introduced measures into the

House granting retired pay to military officers; to Senator Chamberlain, who proposed amendment in the Senate; to the Secretary of War, who exercises supervision over matters pertaining to the Panama Canal, and the public press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate James O'Connell, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made to deprive the employes engaged in the construction of the Panama Canal of privileges which they enjoyed since the work of building the Canal was started; and

WHEREAS, These employes as a whole have received no general increase in their wage rate since the work began on the Canal; and

WHEREAS, There are other conditions relative to aliens doing work that rightfully belongs to mechanics; and

WHEREAS, The only and safest way the interests of these employes can be safeguarded and their conditions improved is by proper organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe the general situation warrants a thorough investigation of all the conditions affecting the employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Baltimore, Md., instruct its officers to deputize someone to proceed to the Canal Zone within the near future to make such an investigation and to conduct a general organizing campaign on the Canal Zone for such length of time as the circumstances warrant.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that trades unions in various parts of the country are signing so-called arbitration agreements with their employers, forbidding the sympathetic strike; and

WHEREAS, The sympathetic strike is the most powerful weapon of organized labor in its struggle against unfair employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appeals to all affiliated unions to assist each other in every way possible and to refuse to enter into agreements that call for the surrender of the right to strike in support of other workers.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate John B. Breslin, Panther Creek Valley Central Labor Union, Lansford, Pa.:

WHEREAS, The interest of organized labor in national legislation and administration has become of vital importance; and

WHEREAS, The rank and file of organized labor should be kept continuously in-

formed as to the actions of its political friends and enemies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention elects and that the American Federation of Labor in convention annually hereafter re-elects a Labor Representation Committee consisting of five members of organized labor, who during their term of office shall be resident in Washington, one of these members to be the President of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the compensation of the members of this committee shall be fixed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey and Charles A. Carbon, American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, To entertain the thirty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Philadelphia, Pa., November, 1914, the municipal authorities of the city appropriated \$5,000 to properly care for and entertain the delegates to that convention; and

WHEREAS, Among the functions given during the time the convention was in session was a torchlight evening parade; and

WHEREAS, For this parade 1,000 musicians were employed, 300 of whom were employed direct by the committee having charge of the care of the delegates and convention; and

WHEREAS, After some of the expenses incurred were paid, including all the musicians except the 300 employed by the general committee, the \$25,000 appropriated by the city was exhausted, and the 300 musicians employed by the general committee, to whom \$1,500 is still due for this service, have not been compensated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Philadelphia Central Labor Union to endeavor to make provision to pay this just debt so long past due.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate James H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Carpet Upholsterers in Portland, Oregon, and Pittsburgh, Pa., are not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America and have refused all overtures made to them with a view of having them affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers the work performed by the members of the organizations in question, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to instruct their representative in Portland, Oregon, and Pittsburgh, Pa., to adopt such means as may be necessary to bring about the affiliation of the two organizations in question with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Edward I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers and Rammermen:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has issued a Federal charter to the Refiners and Mixers of Sheet Asphalt for street pavements, known as Mill Workers' No. 15033, of Chicago, Ill.; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Asphalt Workers, Etc., covers the work performed by the men in question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to withdraw Federal charter No. 15033 and to notify this organization to apply for charter of affiliation to the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen and Asphalt Workers, Etc.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate James H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 28, of San Francisco, Cal., has been suspended from membership by the Upholsterers' International Union of North America for refusing to comply with a decision rendered by the General Executive Board; and

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 28 is affiliated with the California State Federation of Labor, the San Francisco Labor Council and the Building Trades Council of San Francisco; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who have included in their membership Local Union No. 28 of San Francisco, to unseat this organization within thirty days after the adjournment of this convention.

Referred to Committee on Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegates Perkins, Gompers, Mueller, Barnes and Campbell, Cigar Makers International Union:

WHEREAS, About 7,000 unorganized cigar-makers, 98 per cent. of whom are women and girls, went on strike in the city of Detroit, Mich., against working conditions which were a disgrace to American ideals and a fitting standard of womanhood, and for an increase of wages; and

WHEREAS, These workers struggling for decent living and working conditions, finding themselves hopeless and impotent against a merciless combined manufacturers' association, backed by a hostile police force and a strikebreaking injunction, in their desperation turned to the Cigar Makers' International Union for refuge; and

WHEREAS, The Cigar Makers' International Union, true to its mission, opened its doors and admitted these unfortunates and helpless workers to membership; took up their burden and have successfully held them, in line for eighteen weeks, despite the machinations of a hostile police force and an ever-ready injunction judge; and

WHEREAS, About twelve of these striking girls have been convicted of contempt of

court for an alleged violation of judge-made injunction laws, and three of them given jail sentences; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse and commend the stand taken by the women and girls involved in this unequal but justifiable strike and rejoice in the magnificent courage they have displayed under conditions before which it requires stout hearts and great determination.

RESOLVED, That we see in this great display of courage, fortitude and determination upon the part of these new recruits and heretofore unorganized workers an inspiration, hope and a justification and a fulfillment of all that we have claimed for the trades union movement and its final triumph.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We deem it for the best interest of public safety that there should be two licensed men in the pilot house of all steamers of 100 tons and over carrying passengers while they are under way; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate representing the American Federation of Labor, at the National Convention, be instructed to introduce a bill at the convention covering the purport of this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to secure the passage of this Bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate D. P. Haggerty, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Hon. John I. Nolan introduced in the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress a bill known as H. R. 12029, which provides for Government regulation of gill-nets used in the waters of Bristol Bay, Alaska, for catching red salmon, provided that it shall be unlawful to use a mesh in these waters of less than five and three-quarter inches stretched measure mesh, in order that the great red salmon industry in Bristol Bay may not be destroyed; and

WHEREAS, Said bill (H. R. 12029) was not at the final adjournment of the Sixty-fourth Congress reported out of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to which committee it had been referred; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, that the Legislative Committee is hereby instructed to use its best endeavors to have said bill enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate C. C. Dane, of Federal Labor Union No. 14781:

WHEREAS, There is a great need at the present time for organization in the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia, and the Island of Cape Breton, and the time being opportune for same; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the A. F. of L. to send an organizer down to this part of the Dominion of Canada for some reasonable time to organize men of these districts.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, of Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The motion picture business of this country has grown to such an extent that today it not only serves as an agency for recreation, but has become a public agency for education, for dissemination of current information, comparable in many respects to the daily press and the public forum. They have a determining influence in directing and educating public thought and opinion; and

WHEREAS, Motion pictures supplement the spoken and written word by a powerful appeal to the mind through the eye, the event or the thought to be conveyed is thereby visualized; and

WHEREAS, Motion pictures must be protected by the same guarantees of freedom that have been bestowed upon oral utterance, and upon the press. It is fundamental for the protection of free institutions that freedom of speech, and discussion should be assured for only when there exists most complete freedom to express thought or to criticize is there established a guarantee that political and other representative agents shall not violate the rights and authority that they do not rightfully possess; and

WHEREAS, Freedom of speech is inseparable from free institutions and the genius of a free people. This freedom must be protected against abuse by holding the individual responsible for his utterances when the same are based on fact. Legal restriction in advance of presentation limits research, investigation and inquiry for broader and deeper truths; and

WHEREAS, Here of late efforts have been made to establish State or Federal boards of censorship to review motion pictures, it being the purpose of those who propose such censorship to present to the public only such things as they may be permitted legally to see. Thereby putting very dangerous authority in the hands of a few, for it enables the board of review to restrict and determine the very fountain heads of information; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the city of Baltimore, register its unrelenting opposition to any scheme or system which denies freedom of speech, press, or the showing of motion pictures, when they are based on facts; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being in opposition to government censorship of expression of opinion in any form, and that we endorse again the declaration that freedom of expression of opinion, freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press, and motion pictures are the palladium of free institution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive board investigate and report to the next convention of the A. F. of L. some practical plan

by which we can get labor's side of all questions before the general public through the motion pictures of the country.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Ida Fursman of the American Federation of Teachers:

We of the American Federation of Teachers, in making our first appearance before a convention of the American Federation of Labor, do not wish to appear presumptuous, but we feel that our mutual relationship obligates us to lay certain matters before you.

It is our earnest conviction that organized labor, on behalf of itself and all of the people, must closely watch our public schools, which are now determining the quality of the democracy of the next generation. A radical reconstruction of our educational system to meet changing social and economic conditions is in progress. The forces of privilege and reaction are seizing this opportunity to entrench more firmly their domination of the schools of the country. The teacher is made the center of attack, since it is logically recognized that the molding of the child's habits of thought and life results not from material equipment or texts, but from the living personality of the teacher. Hence there has developed a vicious, country-wide attempt to abridge the freedom of the teacher,—freedom of speech, of organization, of citizenship.

At present this attack is concentrated on the teachers of Chicago, but the outcome will have far-reaching consequences for the entire country. On June 27, 1916, a bare majority of the Chicago Board of Education, which had previously paved the way by repealing the "Meritorious Service Clause" in the employment of teachers, dropped summarily, without warning or a hearing, thirty-eight members of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, including all of the officers. This un-American act was consummated in defiance of the recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools, who had given marks of high efficiency to the thirty-eight, almost all of them being graded either "Excellent" or "Superior."

The American Federation of Teachers contends that the American Federation of Labor cannot safely ignore this frontal attack on the right of public employees to organize and affiliate with labor; that it must vigorously protest against this suspension of the American right to a hearing; and against this attempted curtailment of the teacher's full rights of citizenship.

Two fundamental remedies, tested and approved by the experience of many cities and states, which will prevent the recurrence of this intolerable situation, are, first, to remove the control of the teaching staff from lay boards of education, and place it in the hands of the Superintendents of Schools; and second, to apply the principle of civil service to the employment and dismissal of teachers, thus removing the schools from politics, and securing tenure during efficiency.

We believe that the schools cannot perform their chief function, the preparation for life in a democracy, unless in their administration and very atmosphere they are themselves democratic. Since the vital element in the school is the teacher, democratic school administration can mean only administration in which the teacher has an effective voice.

We believe that the schools cannot achieve their best results until the economic status of the teacher is materially raised.

We believe in vocational education rather than vocational training. The school must definitely help the child to become self-supporting. But democratic vocational education must be so broad and elastic that no arbitrary restrictions are placed on the choice of trade or profession, that no child is necessarily condemned for life to a choice made at twelve or fifteen, and that no child can ever be made an unthinking adjunct of a machine. To guard against these and other dangers, any scheme of vocational education must be made an integral part of the general educational system. "Unit," and not "dual" control must be maintained.

We further believe that in a matter so vitally affecting the very existence of popular government as educational policy, the people should retain direct control, and therefore we urge labor to actively encourage the growing tendency toward elective boards of education.

We believe that the experience of fourteen states has proved that a system of free text books is an essential of genuinely free and democratic public schools.

It is now recognized that enlightened public policy demands pension laws for public employes, and we urge that labor assist in securing such laws in backward states; and in particular that this convention take definite action toward securing from Congress adequate pension provisions for the teachers of Washington, so that the list of backward cities in this regard may no longer include our national capital.

In conclusion, we of the American Federation of Teachers consider ourselves workers in a vitally important field, and believe that we should stand shoulder to shoulder with the other workers of the country, to whom democracy is not a machinery for private gain, but a hope and means of completer living. And believing that all forward looking workers appreciate their vital state in our public schools, we ask this convention, for the sake of our common democracy, to record its approval, and urge upon its affiliated bodies the support of the following principles:

1. The right of teachers to organize and affiliate with labor must be recognized.

2. If our children, during their most impressionable years are to have the benefit of daily contact with examples of upstanding American manhood and womanhood, and not to be exposed to an atmosphere of servility in the schoolroom, teachers must be given warning and a hearing before being separated from the service.

3. The teacher must be guaranteed the opportunity to make his due influence felt in the community, working through the

schools chiefly, but free to work through all the avenues of citizenship.

4. The control of the teaching staff should be removed from the lay Board of Education, and placed in the hands of the professional expert, the Superintendent of Schools.

5. If our democracy is not to be crippled at its source, democratic school administration must be secured by insuring to the teacher an effective voice in that administration.

6. The schools must be removed from politics by the application of the merit principal of civil service to the employment, advancement, and dismissal of teachers, thus securing tenure during efficiency.

7. The work of the teacher, now notoriously ill-paid, determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial recognition more nearly commensurate with its importance to the community.

8. Vocational education should be encouraged, but only under a "unit system."

9. The people should directly control educational policies through the popular election of Boards of Education.

10. A system of free text books is an essential of genuinely free and democratic public schools.

11. Enlightened public policy demands adequate pension provisions for public school teachers.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There are employed by the United States and the District of Columbia several thousand workers who have grown old in the service, who are no longer able to render services commensurate with the salaries paid to them, and who are absolutely dependent upon the said salaries for their support, because the cost of living has increased of late years to such an extent that comparatively few of them have been able to accumulate any savings; and

WHEREAS, The efficiency of the service of the United States and of the District of Columbia is impaired to a very great extent by the retention in the service of these supernumeraries, and the continued requirement by the United States that they shall render service despite their physical disability, is an inhumane treatment, but to discharge them, as is sometimes done, with absolutely no provision for their old age, is even more inhumane and unjust, as they have devoted their lives to the service; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the commercial and industrial world has shown the wisdom and economy of retiring supernumerated employes, as is indicated by the fact that several hundred of the largest corporations now have provisions for the retirement of their supernumeraries, even though in many cases the promise of retirement to the employes is in the nature of "strike insurance;" and

WHEREAS, The United States has heretofore shown its concurrence in this view by providing for the retirement of the officers and enlisted men of the Army and

Navy and Marine Corps, the judges of the Federal courts, the members of the life-saving service, the coast guard, the revenue cutter service, and various other special classes of employees, a great many of whom perform services no more dangerous than the work of the civilian employees of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is a widespread and prevalent belief in the wisdom of providing a law under which the civilian employees of the United States and of the District of Columbia who are superannuated may be retired, a great many of the officials of the United States and members of Congress being outspokenly in favor of the plan; and

WHEREAS, The sentiment and views of Congress in regard to this matter are such that there is only required a strong impetus, such as could be furnished by the American Federation of Labor, to induce Congress to enact a law that will be a model retirement system upon which private employees may be induced to base their systems of retirement; and

WHEREAS, The Democratic party is now in power and in control of the House and Senate of the United States, has incorporated in its platform a plank declaring itself in favor of the enactment of a retirement law for the employees of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be, and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States to enact a law at the session of Congress beginning December, 1916, providing that all employees of the United States and of the District of Columbia shall be retired when superannuated at a rate of pay sufficient to enable them to live during their old age without becoming burdens upon relatives or the community in which they live.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate John Lorch, of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The United States is the only large country in the world that has not made suitable provision for its superannuated and otherwise disabled civil employees; and

WHEREAS, The governments, firms and corporations that have established plans of retirement on service annuities for employees of this character have found this method of dealing with superannuation not only just and reasonable from a humane point of view, but also in the interest of efficiency and economy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to use every available means to secure the establishment of a retirement system for Federal civil employees which will not either directly or indirectly cause them to suffer a reduction in wages during employment.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Ida Furman of the American Federation of Teachers:

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemns the unscrupulous act of the Chicago Board of Education in summarily dropping, without warning or hearing, in defiance of the Superintendent's recommendation, thirty-eight admittedly efficient teachers, for reasons which evidently would not bear the light of day. This convention condemns the act as an offense to the American conception of justice, as a reversal from the merit system to spoils politics, as a breach of public trust subversive of the principles of democracy upon which our public schools were founded, and which the Board of Education is pledged to conserve. It was an act which brands the members of the guilty majority as hostile to American traditions and ideals, and unfit to share the privileges and duties of life in a democracy.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Hon. J. Charles Linthicum, of Maryland, has introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution (H. R. 137) providing for the appointment by the Speaker of a committee of five members of the House, whose duty it shall be to investigate and report as speedily as practicable as follows:

(a) Whether conditions prevailing in dairies and dairy products seriously menace the health and property of the people of the United States.

(b) Whether Federal inspection and supervision, either alone or in co-operation with State and municipal inspection and supervision is necessary to the reasonable protection of the health and property of the citizens of the United States.

(c) If so, then the best and most economic methods of inaugurating and enforcing such inspection and supervision; and

WHEREAS, A hearing was had on H. R. 137 on April 11, 1916, before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, at which time Dr. E. C. Schroeder, expert bacteriologist of the Department of Agriculture, stated to the committee that 300 children die annually in New York City of bovine tuberculosis and on this basis the annual death rate in the United States from bovine tuberculosis is 6,000 children every year; and further said that over 9 per cent., or 2,000,000 of our dairy cows have tuberculosis, and are capable of transmitting that disease to children; while Dr. John R. Mohler, assistant chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, told the committee that he had personally examined the bodies of a number of children who died of tuberculosis and found that over 22 per cent. had died of bovine tuberculosis; and

WHEREAS, "The Forecast" of December, 1915, page 399, says: "Other investigation * * * have proved with equal conclusiveness that children are the chief sufferers from the bovine type of tuberculosis, which is so prevalent in cattle that it is useless to think of its immediate eradication. The

only protection for our children, until this is accomplished, is pasteurization. There is no escape from the conclusion, therefore, that in permitting the use of milk or milk products, without pasteurization we are responsible for the slaughter of innocents compared with which that of Herod was a trifle; and many of those whom we do not kill we maim and cripple for life, for the deadly tubercle bacillus attacks the bones, joints and glands of the unhappy little ones rather than their lungs; and

WHEREAS, If these charges are true, then it is the duty of Congress to investigate and to pass such legislation as may be necessary to remedy the evil; and if they are untrue, then Congress should, by proper investigation, show this to be the fact, that the uncertainty now prevalent among our citizens may be alleviated and the real facts known, so that the people may freely and unceasingly avail themselves without fear and trembling of this splendid product, the most nutritious, useful, and when produced and distributed under proper sanitary methods, the most healthful of all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor favors an investigation of the charges made against milk and milk products, and gives its approval to House Resolution No. 137, which is appended hereto; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to communicate our action to each of the gentlemen composing the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, urging a favorable report on H. R. 137; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to do all things necessary to bring to pass the speedy passage of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, During a recent parade to demonstrate preparedness in the city of San Francisco, Cal., ten persons were killed and a number injured by a bomb explosion; and

WHEREAS, Five persons were arrested, four of them being members of labor unions, and charged with murder, and it is a plain and undisputed fact that the prosecution has no direct evidence against them; this fact was brought out at the late trial of one of the defendants, who was convicted by a jury of men of whom the majority of them might well be termed professional jurors; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, after listening to the story as told by the brother from California, pledges its moral support to the end that a fair and impartial trial may be secured, and urges the members of affiliated unions to extend their financial support to gather the necessary funds to defray the legal expense attached to the case.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 138—Presented by D. P. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The urgent need of a Government hospital in the Bristol Bay region of Alaska is greatly felt by everyone engaged in the Alaskan fishing industry, and especially by the Alaska Fishermen's Union, many of whose members have suffered great hardships in past seasons through lack of proper medical attention at the canneries and fishing grounds; and

WHEREAS, It is a matter of vital importance to upwards of ten thousand men who are engaged in the fishing industry in Alaska that such a hospital be established as soon as possible and that immediate steps be taken to secure the proper presentation of this matter to the Congress of the United States at its coming session; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Legislative Committee use its best efforts to secure the establishment of such hospital.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill of Little Rock Central Trades Council, Little Rock, Ark.:

WHEREAS, Central Trades Councils and State Federations of Labor have proven of great benefit to organized labor in the respective cities and states in which they are located; and

WHEREAS, Some local unions refuse or fail to affiliate with these bodies; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor require their local unions to affiliate with Central Trades Councils and State Federations of Labor where such exist.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate Edward I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers and Rammersmen:

WHEREAS, The Sheet Asphalt Workers' Local Union No. 84, of San Francisco, Cal., affiliated with the International Union of Pavers and Rammersmen and Asphalt Workers, Etc., has jurisdiction over paving.

WHEREAS, The United Laborers' Local Union No. 1, also known as United Laborers' Local No. 12992, is endeavoring to force the members of the Asphalt Workers' Union No. 84, San Francisco, Cal., to relinquish their membership in said organization and to affiliate with the United Laborers' No. 1 or No. 12992, of San Francisco, Cal., and because of this condition the higher rate of wages established by the International Union of Pavers, etc., would be obligated by the United Laborers' Union and the lower rate of wages demanded by the United Laborers' Union would be established; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to notify the Central Labor Council of San Francisco, Cal., to co-operate with Local Union No. 84, of San Francisco, Cal., in order to establish with the municipal government and contractors control over the working in question and the rate demanded.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate D. P. Haggerty, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There has been for a long time a United States hospital ship on duty on the Atlantic coast for the care and cure of sick or injured fishermen; and

WHEREAS, The number of deep sea cod fishers and other fishermen in Alaskan waters is large and their calling an unusually dangerous one because of the nature of those seas; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Government of the United States of America should be urged to install and maintain in Behring Sea a Government hospital ship for the care and cure of all sick or injured fishermen in that vicinity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor use all possible efforts to secure the installment of a hospital ship as herein proposed.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Secretary of War has communicated with public school authorities in various parts of this country inquiring if they were willing to introduce military training of the boys in the schools, and stating that the War Department would provide instructors and rifles and ammunition; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is utterly opposed to militarism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention protests against the action of the Secretary of War, and hereby instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to request President Wilson to prevent any further attempt to militarize the public schools.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate D. P. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The protection of our fishermen should be of as much importance to the Government of the United States as the protection of any other class of laborers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. That all laws of the United States applicable to steam vessels of the merchant marine of one hundred tons burden or over, and made for the health, safety or protec-

tion of life, or from personal injury of the crew of said vessels, should be made applicable to all fishing vessels of the United States of one hundred tons burden or more, including Federal inspection of said fishing vessels, exempting, however, therefrom the physical examination, as set forth in section 13, of the Act of March 4, 1915; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federation instruct its Legislative Committee to use its utmost efforts in securing changes of the navigation laws of the United States of America as herein proposed.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate J. P. Holland, New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, will celebrate his sixty-seventh birthday and his fiftieth marriage anniversary on January 27, 1917; and

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers has devoted his whole life and the best that was in him for and in the interest of the organized labor movement, and remains today just as determined and sincere to secure justice and right for labor; be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that for the purpose of publicly demonstrating our appreciation of his purpose, his efforts and sincerity, we, the delegates here assembled, unite in making this celebration an epoch in the life of Samuel Gompers, and therefore call upon all international and national officers and all sympathizers and friends to assemble in the city of New York on January 27, 1917, at a mass demonstration to thus honor him and show our individual devotion.

RESOLVED, That this convention appoint a committee to co-operate with the New York State Federation of Labor and the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity in carrying out the object of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades of New York City are not conjointly giving to themselves nor to the organized labor movement the concerted activity which is essential to progress, to trade union developments as well as to mutual advantage;

WHEREAS, Those trades are not through a trades council affiliated to the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. nor have efforts in that direction in recent years been successful.

RESOLVED, That Baltimore convention of the A. F. of L. hereby authorizes its Executive Council, together with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, to assemble in New York City at the most opportune date for the purpose of organizing a Building Trades Council in affiliation to the Building Trades Department and subject to its general rules and regulations.

RESOLVED, That in order to make this

effort successful and permanent the General Presidents of the Building Trades affiliated to the A. F. of L. and to the Building Trades Department are herewith invited and directed, in so far as the A. F. of L. can direct, to be in attendance at the conference herein provided for and that they or their executive boards, prior to the date of the conference, shall arrange that three representatives of their respective local unions shall attend the conference for the purpose of and with authority to thoroughly organize a Building Trades Council of bona fide building trades.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate W. B. Hilton, of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor; Louis Leonard, of the Ohio Valley Trades Assembly; John Williams and John J. Sullivan, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be hereby authorized and instructed to prepare and submit to the Congress of the United States a bill to provide for an old age pension of not less than \$20 per month; to urge upon state branches that they take similar action with regard to their State Legislatures, and assist them in so doing; and that the Executive Council be authorized to co-operate with other organizations having a similar object and plan.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate H. M. McLarin of Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There are employed in the District of Columbia about two thousand workers of various grades and classes who are paid from appropriations made by the Congress of the United States, the funds for this pay being derived in equal parts from the Treasury of the United States and from the revenues of the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, This group of employees is engaged upon duties and work very similar to and coequal in value with the duties and work of the employees of the United States in the District of Columbia, but their salaries, wages, hours and other conditions of work are not as advantageous as are those of the employees of the United States in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, These employees of the District of Columbia are in reality, though not according to present interpretation of the law, employees of the United States; they work alongside with and in the same community as do the employees of the United States; they perform practically the same grades of services; they are paid from the Treasury of the United States; the laws governing the District of Columbia (where the citizens do not vote) and the employees of the District of Columbia are enacted by the Congress of the United States, and yet these employees are maintained in a group by themselves working for an average rate of pay less than that of the classified civil service employees of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Democratic party is now in power and in control of the House and

Senate of the United States, has incorporated in its platform a plank declaring itself in favor of the extension of the civil service system of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the District of Columbia are not now included in the classified civil service of the United States, which would insure to them fairness in appointments and ability of appointees, would tend to upbuild the personnel of the employees by requiring specified abilities in appointees, would protect those in the service from summary removal, would prevent the appointment of unqualified persons to positions on account of political influence, and would tend in a great measure to equalize the conditions of pay and work between this group of employees and the other employees of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be, and they are hereby, instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law providing that the employees of the District of Columbia shall be covered into the classified civil service of the United States and shall hereafter be considered in all matters as within the classified civil service of the United States, and that all appointments to the service of the District of Columbia, other than Presidential appointments, shall be by certification by and from the Civil Service Commission of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate Charles A. Patterson, of Missouri State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations we find, on page 70 of said report, the following conclusions and recommendations in reference to the housing of working people in the industrial centers as well as the rural districts:

1. That the Federal and State Governments should institute investigations, directed not so much to ascertaining existing housing conditions as to formulate constructive methods by which direct support and encouragement to the promotion of improved housing can be given. Actual experiment in the promotion of housing should proceed as rapidly as proper plans can be drafted.

2. Special attention should be given to taxation, in order that land should, as far as possible, be forced into use and the burden of taxation be removed from home owners.

3. The municipalities should be relieved from all State restrictions which now prevent them from undertaking the operation of adequate housing schemes and from engaging in other necessary municipal enterprises; and

WHEREAS, The investigation of the Commission on Industrial Relations presents some astonishing and deplorable facts on this important subject in reference to housing of workmen and their families, and the further fact that a system of unemployment exists under our present arrangement of society, which, to say the least, is most unjust, if not criminal, and makes it impossible for any working people to emerge

from the miserable conditions so forcibly described in said report; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the Federal Government has already established a rural credit system for the benefit of the farmer, and in view of the fact that Third Assistant Postmaster-General has recently published a statement to the effect that there were on deposit in the Postal Savings Banks of this country the sum of \$90,000,000.00, we believe it is an easy matter for the Government to take such steps to relieve the working people in the industrial centers of the insanitary homes that are now unfit for habitation; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That Congress be urged to pass such necessary legislation whereby the money on deposit in the Postal Savings Bank may be loaned to municipalities for the purpose of building model homes for its citizens. Or the Government should establish such a system of credits whereby the people may borrow money for a long term of years, at a low rate of interest, to build their own homes; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention indorse the idea, therein set forth, and that our secretary be instructed to forward a copy to the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that they prepare the necessary legislation in reference to this matter and have same introduced at the next session of Congress. And that our delegate to the convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to present this matter to the convention, and also urge the delegates to take it back to their respective organizations, so that we may be able to bring about this most necessary social reform.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and endorsed by that body:

WHEREAS, Mr. Lewis, of Maryland, introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Postoffice and Post Roads and ordered to be printed:

"A BILL, To reclassify clerks at first and second class post offices and carriers in the city delivery service. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That on and after the first day of July next following the passage of this act, clerks at first and second class post offices and carriers in the city delivery service shall be classified as follows: Grade one, at a salary of \$800 per annum; Grade two, at a salary of \$900 per annum; Grade three, at a salary of \$1,000 per annum; Grade four, at a salary of \$1,100 per annum; Grade five, at a salary of \$1,200 per annum; Grade six, at a salary of \$1,300 per annum; Grade seven, at a salary of \$1,400 per annum.

"Sec. 2. That clerks and carriers at first-class offices shall be promoted successively to the seventh grade, and clerks and carriers at second-class offices shall be promoted successively to the sixth grade.

"Sec. 3. That a clerk or carrier who shall have completed one year of service in

any grade with a satisfactory record for efficiency shall be eligible for promotion to the next higher grade, such promotion to take effect from the beginning of the next quarter year period thereafter.

"Sec. 4. That an act entitled, 'An Act making appropriations for the service of the Postoffice Department for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1908, and for other purposes,' approved March 2d, 1907, in so far as the same is in conflict with the provisions of this act, is hereby repealed."

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor indorse the Lewis Bill, and instruct its Legislative Committee to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks to secure this wage increase for the postal employees.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegates Homer D. Call and Dennis Lane of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, On May 14, 1916, in regular meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Mo., a bill of grievance was filed by the Teamsters' Joint Council No. 13 against Meat Cutters' Local No. 88, of St. Louis, Mo., asking that the delegates of the meat cutters be unseated in the Central Trades and Labor Union; and

WHEREAS, A motion was made and seconded that the request of the teamsters be complied with; and

WHEREAS, A substitute for the motion was made and seconded that the Secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Union be instructed to forward the communication from the Teamsters' Joint Council to President Gompers, and requested President Gompers to inform the Central Trades and Labor Union whether or not the late ruling of the American Federation of Labor on controversy of Brotherhood of Teamsters vs. Bakery Workers and Laundry Workers Union covers the controversy mentioned in the Teamsters' Joint Council No. 13 communication of April 24, 1916. The question before the house was discussed at some length when a motion was put the previous question was offered, put and carried. The substitute was put and carried; and

WHEREAS, The instructions to the Central Trades and Labor Union by virtue of the substitute motion, which had been carried by the vote of the body, was ignored and not carried out; and

WHEREAS, The delegates from Meat Cutters Local Union No. 88 were unseated at the meeting of May 14, 1916; and

WHEREAS, Such action is in violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article 11, Section 8; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Mo., to seat the regular appointed delegates from Meat Cutters' Local No. 88 pending a conference of the executive officers of the two international unions which could bring about an amicable settlement of the grievance in question.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

THIRD DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 15, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, November 15, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Meyers, Kuhlman, Schwarz, Mareschi, O'Connor (T. V.), Vaccarelli, Barker, Lavender, Felder, Rau, McGrath, Flynn, Adams, Canavan, Malone, Curtis, Jarrett, Dowler, Cohen, Harlin, Alexander (Lee), Young, Willis, Brandle, Boos.

President Gompers announced the following changes in the make-up of committees: Owing to the absence of President Mahon of the Street Railway Employees, D. A. Post, Pennsylvania State Federation, was substituted for him on the Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Thomas R. Preece, Bricklayers and Masons International Union, substituted for William Bowen, of the same organization, on the Building Trades Committee; George Jones of the Bricklayers substituted for P. F. Shaughnessy on the Committee on Laws; William Bowen substituted for Thomas R. Preece on Committee on State Organizations.

Delegate Greene, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Your committee reports that we have received the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Bricklayers and Masons International Union of America—George Jones.

Railway Postal Clerks, Brotherhood of—Carl Freeman, 27 votes.

Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—Richard A. Cooney, 1 vote.

THOS. HARRISON, Chairman;

JAS. MORIARTY,

M. A. GREENE, Secretary.

Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, N. Y., Nov. 14, 1916.

Hon. Samuel Gompers,
President American Federation of Labor,
Baltimore, Md.

The daylight saving movement is rapidly gaining favor throughout the United States; the Merchants Association of this city, the Chambers of Commerce of Chicago, Pittsburg, Boston and other large cities favor it as a national proposition. The purpose is by turning the clock forward an hour during the summer months to reduce gas bills, save eyesight and permit working people and all others to stop work an hour earlier in the afternoon during hot weather. We

are calling a national convention at Hotel Astor here January 30, 1917, and would like to have your organization appoint a large delegation to attend; number at your discretion. Trust that you will also introduce a resolution for the appointment by your organization of a committee to study daylight saving plan.

MARCUS M. MARKS,

President Borough of Manhattan.

The Secretary read invitations from various cities and organizations in Texas, inviting the convention to meet in Fort Worth in 1917, as follows: Robert E. Speer, Fort Worth, Postmaster and member I. T. U. Local No. 198; Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, B. E. Keith, President; Amos G. Carter, Fort Worth Star-Telegram; Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers' Association, Dallas; Chamber of Commerce, Houston; Hon. James E. Ferguson, Governor of Texas; Henry D. Lindsley, Mayor of Dallas; Galveston Commercial Association and Chamber of Commerce, San Antonio.

Hon. C. A. Culbertson, Washington, invited the convention to meet in that city in 1917.

A telegram was received from Hon E. N. Woodruff, Mayor of Peoria, Ill., inviting the Federation to hold its next convention in that city.

President Gompers asked for reports of committees. None of the committees was ready to report.

Delegate Shamp, Stationary Firemen, received unanimous consent to introduce two resolutions, which were referred to the Committee on Organization.

President Gompers stated that a resolution had been submitted Tuesday by the Musicians, but as some changes were necessary in the preamble it was not printed with the resolutions that were submitted before 7 o'clock Tuesday evening and would be included with the proceedings of Wednesday.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Report of Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Woll submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fellow Workers:

We have had in the past many interesting and instructive reports of Fraternal Delegates having attended and participated in

the meetings of the British Trades Union Congress, all of which were then alluded to as the most important in regard to issues vitally affecting the organized workers. On no previous occasion, however, were your Delegates charged with attending and participating in a meeting of this kind under conditions and circumstances such as surrounded the British Trades Union Congress this year. At no previous time in the history of the Organized Labor Movement have those charged with representing the workers' aims and ideals, hopes and aspirations, been confronted with greater absorbing and more intricate problems, or challenged to meet more momentous facts and circumstances than were the Delegates to the recent meeting of the British Trades Union Congress.

Reporting upon our visit to and the work of the British Trades Union Congress, it is not our desire, nor is it our purpose, to submit a graphic and dramatic description of the many incidents of war, or to interpret in words of feeling the logical and unavoidable consequences of a world's tragedy and in which the British workers have assumed a most active and important role. Our observations of a people at war would undoubtedly prove intensely interesting and highly instructive. We believe, however, our duty is not to submit to you a picturesque, dramatic relation of the incidents and events arising out of the gigantic struggle now taking place in Europe, but to report comprehensibly, yet concisely, those matters having received the immediate attention of the Congress, dwelling especially on those subjects of prime importance to the work of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations.

Unfortunately, because of a delay in landing in Liverpool, we arrived at Birmingham on the day of the opening of the Congress, too late for the opening session, but in time for our attendance at the afternoon meeting. A most cordial welcome and reception was accorded us upon our arrival by the Convention. Many delegates personally expressed their pleasure in having the American Federation of Labor again represented at the Congress meetings.

While on all previous occasions a sort of civic welcome had been given the delegates to the Congress, which has come to be looked upon as an inevitable formality, the address of welcome advanced by the Lord Mayor (Alderman Neville Chamberlain) was enthusiastically received.

In his official welcome the Lord Mayor reminded the delegates that their deliberations were likely to exercise a more profound effect on national affairs than ever before, and, turning to the after-the-war problems and conditions, he expressed the opinion that some of the revolutionary changes that had taken place within the last two years would not have been altogether distasteful to them. He mentioned the contemplated control by the state of railways and shipping, the establishment of national factories, the restrictions imposed upon many thousands of industrial concerns, the taking over of breweries, distilleries, and some public houses, and the state purchase of meat and sugar. He would not prophesy that those would be a permanent part of the constitution, but the experiment would provide data by which

they may be able to estimate difficulties and objections which formerly were theoretic.

The most striking point in the Lord Mayor's address was his hope that "something will be done in the way of economic treaties with the Dominions and their Allies to prevent them from being exploited, after the war, by those who have stood aside while the battle for freedom is being waged."

Other welcomes by the Right Hon. J. W. Wilson, member of Parliament for the Birmingham district, and Mr. George Stanway, for the Trades Council, were brief. Mr. J. W. Davis, also, was very brief in thanking the reception committee.

Mr. G. J. Wardle, M. P., extended the welcome for the Labor Party.

After Mr. J. Wellington, on behalf of the Co-operative Union, had expressed another welcome, the presidential address was delivered by Mr. Harry Gosling. It was in the main a forecast of after-the-war problems and the means of dealing with them. Institutions which they had imagined proof against all change had, he said, been thrown into the melting pot of national necessity and emergency. Trade union practices, built up and indorsed by generations of trades unionists, had been given over as willingly as thousands had given their lives, because such are deemed essential for purposes of national defense.

He contrasted the conduct of the workers and their sons and brothers who had suffered the rigors of warfare with the conduct of the "Shipowners, food exploiters, war contractors, and other profiteers who have scrupled at nothing so long as it secured their enrichment."

Unless and until the authorities were going to take such action as might be necessary to protect the workers' standard of life, trade unionists must act in such a manner as was necessary to protect the purchasing power of their wages.

Dealing with the question of a Ministry of Labor, the President contended that they had found during the two years of war that well-nigh all depended upon the efficient service of labor, and labor was entitled to demand the foremost place within the councils of the nation. Mr. Arthur Henderson was now Labor Adviser to the Government, but they would not be content until the creation of a Ministry of Labor.

Under the heading of "after-the-war problems" they were calling for the state to take over the mines, railways, and shipping services, and to exercise control over the great cold storage warehouses and granaries and their contents, to put an end to those speculative interests which had done so much to enhance the prices of foodstuffs during the war; the reduction of the old-age pension age limit to 60, and an increase in the amount to at least 10s. per week. Mr. Asquith's reply to their deputation on that question did not satisfy them.

The danger of unemployment after the war was fully dealt with by Mr. Gosling. They had a right to ask the Government to take all necessary steps to prevent any widespread or lasting unemployment by properly organizing the extensive public works of all kinds that must necessarily be undertaken.

But they hoped for something better than a mere avoidance of unemployment and

strikes. "We are tired of war in the industrial field," he asserted. Would it not be possible for the employers, on the conclusion of peace, to agree to put their business on a new footing by admitting the workmen to some participation, not in profits, but in control? They wanted a voice in the daily management of the employment in which they spend their working hours. They would never get any lasting industrial peace except on the lines of industrial democracy.

On the franchise question he said they must make up their minds that all the wretched anomalies of the electoral system must be ended for all time. They did not want a General Election during the war, and they could and must see to it that those fighting for them today should have every possible chance to vote for and with them tomorrow.

The idea which animated the majority of the five millions who voluntarily enlisted was that they were taking part in a war to end war, and they who were denied by age the ability to take part in the actual fighting must keep their minds filled with the will to end war if they would consecrate those lives that had been lost and the bodies that had been maimed. Many there were—some from sordid motives, others with a desire for revenge—who spoke and wrote exultantly of trade wars and tariff wars, but they were not going to let it be supposed that they countenanced their entry into this terrible war for the purpose of capturing German trade, their motives—the motives of the overwhelming majority—was to enforce the recognition of the treaties.

The Parliamentary Committee's report was next presented. This report is an extensive document covering 112 pages of closely printed matter. Inasmuch as the subjects contained in this report were acted upon simultaneously with the proposals submitted by the affiliated Unions, a separate consideration of this report is unnecessary. Rather it is advantageous to report upon the subjects regardless by whatever method they were presented to the Congress.

Labor and Peace Terms.

The report of the Parliamentary Committee with reference to organized labor and a peace conference at the close of the war gave rise to a heated discussion. The report stated that early in the year a communication was received to the effect that the American Federation of Labor and the French section of the International Federation of the Building Industry had been considering the question of holding a conference at the same place and time as the conference which would be held at the termination of the war for the purpose of settling peace terms. Correspondence ensued upon the subject, and the Parliamentary Committee recommended that the Congress should co-operate in the holding of an International Trade Union Congress at the same time and place as the meeting of the plenipotentiaries who would be arranging terms of peace.

Mr. Will Thorne, M. P., said he wanted to make it quite clear that he would have nothing whatever to do with any conference which would be attended by delegates from the Central Powers. He contended that in making that statement he was speaking for 98 per cent. of the people of the country.

Mr. C. G. Ammon discussed the question from the pacifist point of view, and spoke of the harm which would come if they pushed to the extreme any advantage which was gained, and did not give some consideration to beaten opponents.

Mr. Jack Jones made an impassioned speech against the German Social Democrats, and recalled the betrayal of the German delegates of their colleagues in the International Bureau on the eve of the war. They promised, he said, to go back and vote against war supplies, but immediately they got away they voted the war budget. On the plea that they were afraid of invasion, they decided to invade, and on the altar of liberty they sacrificed liberty. The German Socialists and trade unionists were just as much responsible for the destruction of homes and lives and liberties as the Kaiser.

Mr. J. Hill suggested that the Parliamentary Committee were simply asking the conference to take a share in shaping the conditions which would be agreed to at the end of the present war. The reply of the Socialists of the Central Powers to the proposition had been that they were living under a Government of absolutism, which they hoped, however, to alter at the end of the war, although, of course, some time would elapse before the relaxation of the present restrictions.

Mr. G. H. Roberts, M. P., remarked that even if such a conference was practicable or desirable, it would be too late, because if international labor was to have any real effect on the terms of peace its opinions and desires must be made manifest through the respective Governments prior to peace negotiations. If he interpreted the opinion of this country aright, he believed people would not enter into negotiations with German Socialists until the German democracy had purged themselves and got rid of Kaiserdom and all it stood for. This resolution was not going to tend to unity, and if it were carried and put into operation it meant, for generations to come, the biggest split in the British labor movement of which they had ever dreamt. There might be some who held they ought to turn the other cheek to the smiter, but he was not one of those who would do so. The people of this country would not tolerate negotiations with the German people until the German people themselves had taken the matter into their own hands and purged themselves and told the world they regretted the past and were going to do their best in the coming generation to expiate the crimes that had ever been committed in history.

Mr. Stuart Bunning pointed out there was bound to be peace some time or other. There would also be negotiations, and the point was whether the trade union movement in the country was going to take its proper place in them. The Conference would be held, and the practical issue was whether they should or should not be represented at it.

Mr. T. E. Naylor insisted that in the greater fight between capital and labor the German working man was on the same side as the English working man.

Mr. A. Wilkie, M. P., after describing some of the speeches delivered as "Sentimental hosh," protested vigorously against any international trade union congress being called

which included any but representatives of the nations united with them.

The vote resulted as follows: For the elimination of the recommendation in the report, 1,486,000; against, 723,000.

The report of the Parliamentary Committee on the proposal of the A. F. of L., as amended, was then adopted.

Libel by Lloyd-George on Workers.

Reference was made to the statements of Mr. Lloyd-George at the Bristol Congress last year, regarding certain hindrances which, he alleged, had been placed in the way of the speedy output of munitions of war. This dealt with the charges against Coventry trade unionists of circulating a letter in certain works accusing workmen of doing too much work. The committee expressed the opinion "that the immediate and frank repudiation by the men should at once have been accepted as relieving them from responsibility for the charge levelled against them by the Minister."

A scathing indictment came from Mr. A. Bevin. He described it as the "climax of a huge campaign of libel in order to get certain restrictive legislation imposed upon the trade unions." It would be impossible in the future to take the word of Mr. Lloyd-George or any other Cabinet Minister. "Behind Mr. Lloyd-George," he went on, "is a sinister crowd of civil servants who prepared the documents for him and put the words into his mouth—the Labor Exchange crowd."

It was decided to refer back that paragraph of the committee's report.

Compulsory Military Service.

Compulsory military service was a subject for discussion, Mr. W. Godfrey submitting a resolution viewing with grave misgivings the introduction of compulsory military service, and calling upon the Parliamentary Committee to lose no opportunity after the war to press for the repeal of all Acts imposing economic, industrial, and military compulsion upon the manhood of the nation, and to re-establish individual liberty.

The trade unionists, he said, had given up their rights and privileges for collective bargaining in order to assist in the successful prosecution of the war, but if they had military compulsion in industrial centres there could be no opportunity for collective bargaining for the workers.

They required freedom of conscience, and it was necessary for them to show the Government that they did not intend to be slaves, but that they intended to be free men, as they had a right to be, in a free country.

Mr. Will Thorne, M. P., said he still personally believed in a national citizen army for home defense. Everybody should be properly drilled and trained, not only for the purpose of protecting their homes, but also for protecting their labor when soldiers were brought against them in the event of a strike. He was not a pessimist in regard to employment after the war, and believed that for some time after the war plenty of employment would be found for those people now on munitions.

Another delegate said the resolution would prove to be very important in the future. Conscription was said to be for the duration of the war only, but who determined the

duration of the war? The same people who were responsible for the Conscription Act?

It would be better for them, the delegate stated, to make a determined stand, even with an industrial strike throughout the country, rather than allow all the freedom and privileges of generations past to be thrown away under the guise of fighting Prussian militarism.

The resolution was carried.

Factory Compulsion.

Another matter which was referred back, after some discussion, was the question of drafting soldiers into civil employment. Instances were given of working parties, in charge of a non-commissioned officer, being marched to and from work, not being paid wages directly, in some cases only receiving a small amount over their Army pay, and working longer hours at the week-end. Complaint was made that the Parliamentary Committee had not dealt with the matter as they ought.

Mr. Smillie hoped it would not go from that Congress that it was purely a question of the rate of wages. They claimed that those soldiers should return to work, as civilians, though reservists and in no way under military control. Some 16,000 miners were being returned to the mines from service, and at first it was suggested that they should only go back to the mines from which they came, but the Miners' Federation protested, and now they were returning as civilians, with all their rights as civilians and trade unionists, and were to be free to go to any other mine they liked. It was not only the question of wages, but of the freedom of those people. He thought the conditions which the War Office had agreed to with regard to the miners should apply to every other industry.

Mr. Callaghan complained that a party of soldiers had been introduced into the blast furnace department at Palmer's shipbuilding works, and were working there under military control. They were not allowed to receive wages direct, but at the end of each month the employers paid to the military authorities an amount equal to what would have been paid to civilians.

"I think the whole business is a scandal," he observed.

Mr. J. Henson declared that exactly the same thing had taken place in regard to the employment of Navy men in the ordinary merchant service.

Mr. E. Bevin related an instance from Dudley. There some men of the 13th Devons were working sixty hours a week and had been for twelve weeks. They were all voluntary recruits under the Derby scheme who had failed to pass the medical test, and advantage had been taken of their attestation to draft them into civil employment and take them away from their usual occupation.

"That is a cruel deception of the men who volunteered under the Derby scheme," and he thought the Parliamentary Committee should bring to task the department that sat in London concocting schemes to take advantage of the patriotism of the men who had volunteered.

The grievances of the musicians against the Army were outlined by Mr. J. B. Williams, who said the Congress would now realize the competition the musicians had

had to put up with from the Army. For years they had protested against soldiers competing with civil musicians.

After Mr. Potter had voiced the grievance of his union on the same subject, Mr. Bowerman explained that he had not intended to convey that they were satisfied with the assurance with regard to wages. They had passed a resolution that if soldiers were to be sent into factories in cases of emergency, they should go in as civilians, and not as soldiers. That had been forwarded to the War Minister, and he was not in a position to say whether any reply had been received, but Congress could rest assured the matter would be followed up.

The clause was referred back to the committee.

Government Reminded to Keep Faith With Unions.

The question of the restoration of trade union rights after the war was introduced in a resolution of the Parliamentary Committee calling upon the Government for the status quo ante when peace is declared, and demanding that the Government insist upon employers, individually and collectively, keeping faith with organized labor. The motion also provided that, should there be any betrayal, the Parliamentary Committee should call a special Congress, and invite those Ministers of State who urged the workers in a time of national peril to forego rights and privileges to be present to answer questions relevant to the matter.

That matter was described as touching the very life of their great movement. They had surrendered a good many things, and had not yet obtained full recognition, and there was a suspicion that they might not be treated after the war in the same generous spirit as they had treated the Government in regard to the things they had surrendered.

Miss Mary MacArthur expressed the vital interest for women in that matter. It was not a struggle between men and women, but between men and women on one side against the common enemy—the employing classes. The restoration of their standards did not depend upon Ministers' pledges before the war, but on their own foresight, clear thinking, and strength to enforce those standards, and nothing else.

The resolution was carried.

Work Upon Demobilization.

A resolution, calling upon the Government to make provision for the employment of men upon demobilization by reinstatement in their former occupation or in other employment which they are capable of performing, otherwise by the payment of pensions which shall not be considered as wages, and shall be in no way dependent upon charity, was carried without discussion.

The agricultural laborers' lot was next considered, a resolution being adopted to the effect that any scheme for the re-establishment of the industry of agriculture would be most unsatisfactory and unacceptable unless it secured the laborer an adequate wage and good housing free from the tied cottage system.

Industrial Peace.

The London Society of Compositors submitted a resolution instructing the parliamentary committee to approach the Govern-

ment and the Employers' Parliamentary Association with the object of discussing terms to preserve industrial peace, such terms to include:

Membership in a trade union to be compulsory upon all workers; compulsory 48-hour working week in every occupation; compulsory minimum wage of 30s. for all adult workers; no reduction of present wages or increase in working hours; complete recognition by employers of trade unions and all agreements entered into between the unions and employers' associations; state unemployment pay for men and women out of work; and settlement by the unions of the conditions of women's labor after the war.

There was some opposition manifested to the suggestions of membership in a trade union being compulsory. One delegate expressed the fear that "it would mean roping in the man who would take the flowers off his father's coffin to win a prize at a flower show."

Mr. G. H. Roberts, M. P., pointed out that the reconstruction of their factory conditions after the war depended largely upon the relations between employer and employed, and if it was possible to persuade the employers to meet trade unions in all branches of industry to ascertain the possibility of fair conditions being agreed upon it would be well worth the trouble, and a substantial contribution to the rehabilitation of the State.

At the same time he suggested that the clause regarding compulsory trade union membership should be withdrawn.

The mover would not accept this and the resolution was carried.

Protests Against Nonpayment of Soldiers' Allowances.

Another important discussion arose when standing orders were suspended for the consideration of the Parliamentary Committee's resolution condemning the policy of discharging soldiers enlisted during the war on the ground that they were no longer physically or mentally fit for military service and denying them any pension, owing, it is said, to their illness not being contracted in the service; requesting immediate attention to their claims; further protesting against the delays in paying invalidity pensions; and urging upon Parliament the imperative necessity of creating one central department having at its head someone directly responsible to Parliament.

Mr. Herbert Smith, in a pertinent speech, stated that of 600 Yorkshire miners who had returned from the front maimed a fair percentage had not received a penny pension, while in cases of those who had the amounts were inadequate. The majority of those men followed their occupation up to the day they enlisted, which showed that they were capable of following it before going into the army.

Mr. J. Henson pleaded for the inclusion of sailors as well as soldiers, and eventually the Parliamentary Committee made the resolution applicable to both.

The resolution was carried.

The Nonconscripted Clergy.

The exception of the clergy from the operation of the Military Service Act provoked some harsh criticism. There was by no means unanimity of opinion on the subject among

the delegates. A resolution of protest, in proposing which Mr. Ben Tillett spoke of the clergy as "cowardly creatures," and inquired why "those who talked so much about Heaven should be afraid to go there," led to a lively discussion, but it was eventually carried by a small majority.

Union Officials and Military Service.

The position of trade union officials under the Military Service Act was brought up, and the Parliamentary Committee was criticised for not having done all required in procuring proper exemptions for such officials, so that they might be spared the indignity of being rounded up. One delegate complained that at a football match in Birmingham he was forced to stand against a wall like a prisoner and the military authorities dared him to move a foot. He demanded that those entitled to exemption should be provided with a card to avoid such unpleasantness as he had indicated.

The President replied that the Parliamentary Committee was doing the best it could.

Old Age Pensions.

A resolution was submitted instructing the Parliamentary Committee to promote legislation to provide that superannuation and other trade union and friendly society benefits should not be taken into account in assessing an applicant's income for the purpose of old age pensions.

In support of the resolution, which was carried, it was urged that applicants for pensions ought not to be deprived of the full allowance on the ground that they had been thrifty in the past.

It was also moved that the Government be requested to introduce a bill to amend the Old Age Pension Act, increasing the amount from 5s. a week to not less than 7s. 6d. a week and reducing the age limit from 70 to 65 years. The increased cost of living, it was said, made imperative an increase in the scale of pension allowances, in order that the old people might live in comfort.

Mr. J. R. Clynes, M. P., said the war conditions strengthened the demand contained in the resolution. There had been only one argument against increasing the amount and lowering the age, and that was the cost that would be involved. The Government had met the cost of a righteous war, and that did away with any further excuse for not meeting the cost of a righteous claim with regard to the pensions.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. H. Potter moved a resolution demanding that the Government should institute a national scheme of pensions for widows and fatherless children at the earliest opportunity. He said it was remarkable that organized labor had not pressed forward the demand before.

The motion was carried.

Workmen's Compensation.

A resolution of fourteen clauses was moved calling for the amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act, providing among other things for it to be made obligatory upon employers of workmen partly or wholly recovered to find such men work at their full average wage prior to the accident; for employers to pay full compensation to parents in all cases of fatal accident or even when they are partially or totally disabled: the payment of £50 in addition to the amount of

compensation for each dependent who has been deprived of his or her breadwinner; that injuries from bombardment or aircraft sustained by transport workers and others more liable to such injuries shall be deemed to have been sustained by accident; and that all or any disease which may be contracted by munition workers owing to handling of chemicals shall be scheduled as industrial diseases.

Conscription of Accumulated Wealth to Pay for the War.

A demand was made by Congress for the conscription of such a proportion of the accumulated wealth of the country as is necessary to defray the cost of the war. The Parliamentary Committee was instructed to demand from the Government a census of wealth—banking accounts and balances, currency, the capital estimate of productive material, transport and distributive wealth, and the whole of the profits appertaining thereto, and an estimate of the value of property and real estate and other forms representing rents, interest and profit.

It was urged that instead of borrowing huge sums upon which interest would have to be paid by future generations, the wealthy persons of this country should be informed that one-tenth of its accumulated wealth, as an instalment, would be conscripted to pay the cost of the war. Ten per cent. of the wealth of this country would be equivalent to about £2,000,000,000.

Mr. Ben Tillett drew attention to the large shipping profits, and passionately affirmed that they had to face the fact that their own people were "plundering the stomachs of little children with as ruthless a hand as any Hun could do." The Government, he said, was imposing all sorts of restrictions on labor under the Defense of the Realm Act, but when it came to the wealthy they went tax free.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Congress endorsed the view that in order to meet the cost of the war there should be a heavier graduated taxation of all large incomes, a special tax on land values, royalties and wayleaves, increase in estate duties on large estates, graduated tax on capital, utilization of national factories after the war for useful production, organization of industry to secure employment for all workers at trade union rates, or adequate maintenance till such work is found, and the nationalization of railways, mines, shipping, banking and insurance.

Child Labor.

Mr. J. R. Clynes, M. P., moved a resolution protesting against permitting children of school age to be taken from the schools to labor in agricultural work and in factories and workshops. Labor, he said, was weak just now, compared with what it would be when the children of the workmen were permitted to take full advantage of the educational system. One certain result of the war would be considerably to reduce the physical standard of the people, and care should be taken that the children of today were not overworked.

The resolution was carried.

Fair Wages Clause.

The National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers submitted a resolution urging that, in view of the trade unions waiving the

right to strike and relaxing their rules during the war, it was imperative that contractors and sub-contractors violating the fair wage clause should be dealt with promptly by the several Government departments. The resolution further demanded the strict enforcement of the provisions of the fair wages clause in every instance. The mover said the practice seemed to be to pass complaints from the Ministry of Munitions to the War Office, without anyone apparently being responsible.

The resolution was carried.

Congress also agreed to a resolution, backed by the United Garment Workers' Trade Union, condemning the action of the Government departments in giving out contracts for clothing to firms independent of their reputation or prestige.

Eight-hour Day.

Mr. A. Short moved a resolution in favor of an eight-hour day, saying that in view of what was likely to happen after the war, and of the unemployment predicted by Cabinet ministers and labor leaders, it was desirable Congress should adopt some method for the initiation of schemes to absorb as many unemployed workmen as possible. He maintained that no proposition was more likely to bring tangible benefit to the workers than the reduction of hours suggested in the resolution. It might be said that such a reduction would lead to lower wages, but where the eight-hour system had been put in operation, as in one case at Sheffield, they found higher wages paid to all classes of workmen. The problem of unemployment was likely to be an unexampled one, and by the Labor party initiating schemes adapted to the needs of the moment they would be conferring not only an immediate benefit to the workers, but immense benefits on society itself.

The resolution was agreed to without discussion.

A resolution was also adopted instructing the Parliamentary Committee to prepare a bill for the abolition of all overtime in woolen and worsted mills, and the reduction of the hours of the ordinary working week from 55½ to 48 hours per week.

Another resolution, which went through quickly, asked for an amendment of the Miners' Eight Hours' Act, 1908, by providing that the hours of employment for underground pumpmen, mechanics and stationary enginemen should not be more than eight per day, and to amend the Mines' Act of 1911, to deal similarly with enginemen, boilermen and stokers working on the surface.

Chinese Labor

Proposals with regard to legislation affecting seamen were discussed at some length.

The first resolution viewed with alarm the steady increase in the employment of Chinamen and other Asiatics on British vessels, and urged that every encouragement should be given to boys of British birth to adopt the sea-faring profession. The resolution also declared that the employment of cheap Asiatic labor would, if encouraged, gradually drive the Britisher from employment on ships.

Mr. J. Cotter, condemned the employment of Chinese, whose morals and mode of living, he said, were a serious menace to the country. There were over 15,000 Chinese

engaged on British ships sailing from the ports of this country. They were not content merely to live in the big seaport towns, but were gradually settling down in the big inland towns. Every Chinese laundry was a prospective gaming house. In Chinese boarding-houses he had visited he saw gambling going on to an inordinate extent, and in the bedrooms men were lying on the beds in a comatose condition, brought about by smoking opium.

The resolution was carried.

Mr. Cotter then moved a resolution which declared that the only way to safeguard the lives of passengers and crews carried on ships was by insisting on legislation being passed which would call for a proper scheme of manning all vessels. When the Titanic was lost the people of this country awoke to the fact that ships were not properly manned, and the Seamen's Union had made up its mind that every ship leaving port must have as part of the crew efficient boatmen.

The motion was carried, and further resolutions dealing with ventilation of ships' bunkers, check weighing and adequate accommodation for ships' crews were approved.

Labor Exchanges.

The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners brought forward a resolution recommending a number of changes in the control and administration of the labor exchanges with the object of making them of real service to the workers in the readjustment of labor after the war. The resolution, however, was rejected. Mr. A. Short, one of the opponents, said there was an attempt being made to make these exchanges the only medium for obtaining employment. If, as he understood, reorganization of this state department were to come, it was unwise that trade unionists should put forward such incomplete recommendations as were embodied in the resolution. Better to wait until the Parliamentary Committee had received complaints and reviewed the whole situation.

Equal Pay for Women.

Miss Mary MacArthur, on behalf of the National Federation of Women Workers, moved a resolution which, while approving the powers given to the Ministry of Munitions to fix minimum rates of wages for women engaged in certain classes of munitions, protested against the failure of the Government to protect other women, especially those employed on war work in factories whose profits are uncontrolled, and in industries of national importance. The resolution also asked for machinery to repair this omission, and that where a woman was doing the same work as a man, she should receive the same rate of pay. The mover quoted cases of women over 18 years of age in controlled establishments whose wages for a full week were as low as 11s., and demanded the same rates for women as those paid men for the same class of work, and in the interests of health and efficiency a reduction of the hours of labor.

Mrs. Wilkinson asserted there were women workers in Birmingham whose piece rate was 2½d., as against 7d. for the same class of work paid to men.

The resolution was agreed to.

The Congress was also asked to indorse a resolution calling for a revocation of the

order licensing women to act as conductors on omnibuses or trams, these licenses having been granted as a war emergency measure. Surprise had been created by the contention that these licenses were issued for all time. It was felt that on peace being declared all such licenses should automatically expire on the date for which they had been issued. It had been found that the industry was entirely unsuited for women, both from a moral and physical standpoint. This resolution was agreed to.

Ministry of Labor.

Mr. J. Havelock Wilson moved the elimination of the reference in the report to a Ministry of Labor, which stated: "What more fitting recognition could be given to labor's co-operation during the war than by the establishment of a ministry of labor, which would enable the workers to realize that at last they were taking a direct, active and real part in the administrative affairs of their country. It behooves the trade union movement to see to it that the recent consultations with its representatives were something more than a mere passing phrase of the direct association of labor with the government of the state." He reminded the Congress of the result which had followed their demands for the establishment of labor bureaux. Year after year the Congress called on the Government to establish these institutions, and now they were champion blacklegs. The Government of this country was in the hands of a few permanent officials, so that it did not matter what ministers come or go.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, M. P., remarked that it was quite true that there had probably been no real change in the government of the country for a hundred years. In those cases in which labor had had a voice its influence had been left upon legislation. They had not made as much progress as they ought to have done, but that was due to their own indifference, and not so much to the virtue of the other people.

The motion for reference back was defeated, the numbers being 78,000 for and 2,310,000 against.

Government Control of Food Prices Demanded.

The debate on the increased cost of living arose on a resolution tabled by the Scottish Union of Dock Laborers, declaring that the Government had failed to give proper attention to the serious grievances the masses of the people are suffering in consequence of the enormous and unjustifiable increase in the cost of living, and urging the necessity of immediate steps being taken to secure a revision of the prices of all such commodities, either by fixing maximum prices or taking full control of supplies into their own hands, and thus prevent the people being systematically robbed as at present.

It was said there was only one action, and no matter how reluctant they might be to put it into operation, it was the only remedy, and that was that some of their industries had to teach the Government that something must be done. It was pointed out that the Co-operative Society had started sugar cards, allowing the people only a limited amount, while the jam makers could get as much as they required.

Mr. F. Bramley suggested that trade unions and trade councils should call citizens' meetings all over the country and protest against the inactivity of the Government.

Miss M. Bondfield pointed out that while the women were mainly responsible for the Rent Bill, by the drastic action they took, it was not reasonable or fair to expect that the mother of the household could possibly bring herself up to the agony of boycotting things necessary for her children.

She instanced how at York housewives could only buy one pound of sugar by buying something else, while there was seen going into the house of a wealthy family half a hundred-weight of loaf sugar, half a hundred-weight of soft sugar, and a load of coal. The women would join in any procession or citizens' meeting, and she appealed to the delegates to make up their minds not to wait for the Parliamentary Committee to act, but to act for themselves.

The resolution was carried without opposition.

Railway Nationalization.

There was a spirited discussion on a motion in favor of the nationalization of railways.

Mr. Havelock Wilson, speaking in opposition, inquired whether the railway men had considered what state control involved? Had they not had sufficient experience of permanent officials? Under state control the condition of things would become worse and trade unions would suffer. "Depend more on your own strong right arm," said Mr. Wilson.

The resolution was carried with few dissentients.

Call for Restrictions on Imported Goods.

It required but fifteen minutes or so to move the acceptance of the fiscal policy manifesto.

The motion was that "in view of the attempts now being made to capture the support of the trade union movement for a change in our fiscal policy with protection as the main objective," Congress instructed the Parliament Committee to prepare and circulate a manifesto demonstrating how that, in their opinion, the industrial, economic and social interests of the country can best be preserved.

The amendments were to eliminate that portion referring to "a change in our fiscal policy, with protection as the main objective," to insert the words to the effect that the attempt to capture the support of the movement was being made by "laissez faire traders and protectionists," and to add to the clause dealing with the abolition of sweating that "as one means to this end methods should be adopted which will restrict or prevent the importation of cheap manufactured goods which have been produced at lower rates of wages, or under worse labor conditions than those prevailing in this country."

The resolution, as amended, was carried by 1,739,000 votes, against 500,000.

Co-operative Movement.

The position of the co-operative movement in reference to the wages of its employees was raised upon a resolution proposed by Mr. Luckhurst, expressing the opinion that the development of the co-operative move-

ment is essential to a militant trade union movement, and suggesting the appointment of a joint committee to prepare plans for mutual assistance.

Mr. J. Turner warned Congress that it was possible the organized working-class consumers might in their turn become exploiters of labor.

Up-to-date private traders were in many instances paying better wages to their employes than co-operative societies, and instead of being leaders in the payment of a proper rate of wages, the co-operative movement was taking the attitude that they would pay them when private concerns did so.

He urged that the proposed committee should also inquire into the position of the co-operative societies' employes, and make it a condition that if there was to be a close working together of the two movements, the co-operative side should put its house in order.

The resolution was carried.

Reorganization of Joint Board.

Considerable time was spent in discussing a resolution framed by the Miners' Federation to secure the dissolution of the present joint board and the setting up of a new one, consisting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress and the Executive Committee of the National Labor party. The question was debated with considerable keenness.

Mr. R. Smillie denied that it was an attack on the General Federation. On the other hand, the miners were willing to give every assistance in linking up all trade unions in the country, but they did say that all men working in or about the mine should belong to the Miners' Federation. They believed that with the Joint Board's present constitution there was overlapping, because all societies connected with the General Federation either were or ought to be affiliated to the Trade Union Congress or the National Labor party.

Mr. G. H. Roberts, M. P., in opposing, prophesied a further split if the General Federation were excluded. He would like to see the whole three bodies merged into one, doing the whole of the work in one substantial building. "If the miners and the railway men force this matter," he warned Congress, "they will aggravate the state of affairs and make unity in the movement impossible for years to come."

The resolution was carried by 1,570,000 votes, against 1,095,000.

A resolution which provoked a considerable manifestation of feeling among the delegates invited the Congress, in order to avoid further misunderstandings of the political aims and objects of organized labor and to prevent overlapping, to express the opinion that the organized trade unions of the United Kingdom should take the necessary steps effectively to control and concentrate trade union political action through the Trades Union Congress only.

On being submitted to vote the resolution was declared to be lost, there being a large majority against it.

Technical Education.

The development of technical education was urged in a resolution declaring that the war had demonstrated the need for serious attention being given to the educational sys-

tem, and calling upon the Government to reorganize the system, and to pay special attention to the establishment of a proper system of technical education and to the fullest encouragement of scientific investigation. Complaint was made that technical education had been neglected in the past.

It was remarked that the children of the workers had no opportunity to pass from the elementary school to the university. They did not want a system of free scholarships, but of free education.

The resolution was carried.

Ties With Colonies.

In a resolution, which was adopted, in favor of extending and strengthening the ties between the British trade union movement and the trade union movement of the Dominions, a delegate inquired if it would be possible to give powers to the Parliamentary Committee with reference to the convening of a conference between the trade unionists in the Dominions and themselves on the lines of the conference suggested in the early part of the Congress, but without the enemy nations.

Mr. Gosling replied that he did not think the resolution would go so far.

Amalgamation of Trade Unions.

The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners directed the attention of the Congress to the distinctive features of the existing trade union and by resolution the Parliamentary Committee was instructed to do all that is possible in pressing for an amendment of the Trade Union Act, which will enable trade unions to amalgamate if a majority of their members vote in favor of amalgamation.

This resolution was adopted without discussion, but upon inquiry it developed that at present two or more trade unions cannot amalgamate unless the members of all such unions affected approve amalgamation by the vote of at least two-thirds of the entire membership, as distinguished from the number of votes cast.

Fraternal Delegates.

One of the pleasant features of the convention was the cordial reception tendered your delegates and the interest displayed in our fraternal greetings. Mr. W. D. Mahon, in his address, explained the reasons for the invitation to an international congress which the Congress had disapproved and of the difficulties which had confronted the American workers as a consequence of the European war. Mr. Matthew Woll addressed the Congress upon the efforts of the American workers to improve their condition of work and life, explaining the obstacles encountered in securing remedial legislation and, when secured, to maintain its constitutionality. He also advised the Congress of the remarkable legislative achievements secured through the American Federation of Labor, such as the Clayton law and the seamen's enactment.

Mr. J. Simpson, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, in his address referred to the fact that the Congress had refused to take part in the proposed international trade union conference to take a share in the peace terms, and said that the Canadian Congress had agreed to be represented at that conference. What would the British workers say when

they found the colonies at that conference and the mother country entirely absent from it? His suggestion was that in any future action the Congress took calling for a conference of the Allies that they should not forget the colonies of the empire.

M. L. Jouhaux, the delegate of the French General Confederation of Labor, addressed the Congress in French, urging that they ought to become pacifists again as soon as the present calamity had passed and work in agreement to obtain a durable basis of peace. That desire for peace, however, could only find its realization when the violated nationalities had been absolutely reconstituted and reparation exacted for rights outraged by force.

The delegate of the Belgian Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. C. Mahlman, in the name of his compatriots thanked the Congress for what they had done for the Belgians of Belgium. The message he brought from his countrymen was: "The working classes are resolved to undergo every conceivable hardship and the deepest suffering rather than accept a German settlement which would not give a lasting and enduring peace."

Messrs. H. Gosling and W. Whitefield were elected as delegates to the American Federation of Labor and Blackpool was selected as the meeting place of next year's Congress.

Observations and Conclusions.

In the foregoing report your delegates have tried to carefully avoid expressing their individual and personal opinions. We have endeavored to record the more important matters, free from all bias and prejudice, yet sufficiently clear to evidence the reasons prompting the Congress in its conclusions. There are a few subjects, however, upon which we feel it our duty to venture our opinions.

Although it is said that there are nominally three bodies that speak for labor, the Labor party, the General Federation of Trades and the Trade Union Congress, it is a freely admitted and indisputable fact that the Trade Union Congress is in many ways the most truly representative body of the workers. This year's Congress was not only the largest in attendance of delegates but in membership as well. Six hundred and sixty-seven delegates were present, representing a membership of nearly three million workers. It is interesting, if not impressive, to note that despite the turbulent conditions of trade, due to the nation's participation in war, that compared with the Congress of the previous year the affiliated membership has been increased by 168,190. This year's Congress was vested with unusual interest, not only in consequence of the great part which labor is playing today, but rather for the part it will play in the many problems that must arise after this world contest.

The first impression that one gets in the large number of elderly delegates in attendance. While the old hands, such as presidents and general secretaries, were said to be present as usual, quite a few younger delegates were noticeable among those in attendance. The increasing number of young delegates was heralded as a good indication and as evidencing a growing interest of the rank and file and the addition of new blood and enthusiasm ready and eager to participate in the fighting essential for improving the conditions of life and work of labor.

Another impression formed relates to the procedure followed in submitting proposals for consideration to the Congress and the method of discussion by which final conclusions are agreed to. While the method in use unquestionably makes for brevity and expedition it is equally true that the procedure followed does not admit of the extensive consideration of problems, and for the full and free discussion allowed by our method. Although their method and procedure are intended to expedite the work of the Congress, the same hurried consideration of problems was nevertheless experienced during the last few days of the Congress, as has been required by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on a number of occasions. Without intending or desiring to pass judgment upon their method of conducting the affairs of the Congress, believing that our short acquaintance with the work of the Congress has not qualified us any more than would the British fraternal delegates to the American Federation of Labor be qualified to pass judgment on our procedure, nevertheless we believe the method followed by the Congress inapplicable to the affairs of the American Federation of Labor.

Public opinion and the war being in the state that they are, it was not surprising that the Trade Union Congress disapproved the problem of diplomacy and democracy raised by the rejected recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee to co-operate in the holding of an international conference at the same time and place as the meeting of the peace plenipotentiaries recommended by the American Federation of Labor. By rejecting this proposition the opportunity has been delayed for the time being of asserting the right of the democracies of the world to a real influence upon the after-war settlement. Regardless of this adverse decision your delegates feel that the action of the Congress will not preclude the American Federation of Labor of finding a modified method for an international conference or impressing upon all labor movements the necessity of doing their utmost in order that the democracies of the world may have a larger share in determining international relations, and a fuller knowledge of ambassadorial conversations than heretofore. We feel confident that further discussions and continued negotiations with all European labor organizations will remove some of the very dangerous misconceptions which seemed to prevail at the Congress, and thus clear the way for a future co-operation.

The delegates to the Trade Union Congress were deeply imbued with a sense of their important and increasing responsibilities. Realizing, as they do now, the importance of the part they play in the national scheme of things, they also realize more clearly than ever before the necessity for a change in their relationship to their employers and to the State. It has been found that labor can no longer be regarded and treated as a mere market commodity, but must be recognized as a human force, carrying in its hands and brain, in its power to do its best or worst in the sphere of labor, the potentialities of victory or defeat. The British workers are convinced that labor must have a greater share of the wealth which it produces; it must have greater security of position, more leisure, better conditions and a chance to live a

nobler and better life. Labor now claims a share in the management and control of industry. This unquestionably is a far-reaching reform—a revolution, call it what you will—that labor can achieve. To be no longer a mere commodity, subject to the haggings of the market and employer's whims, but a human directing and impelling force in the industry itself is an ideal the British workers now believe worthy of every sacrifice and every human effort. Perhaps out of the calamity of war may be raised a finer and higher social state and a greater and more humane conception of brotherhood. We urge that no time, effort or money be spared to secure in permanent and accessible form complete data of all movements and policies contemplated and followed, and everything relating thereto, by all the governments at war, and by the respective labor movements, so that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations may be fully prepared at all times to meet whatever emergency, circumstance or condition may threaten the tranquility of our people, endanger the life and liberties, hopes and aspirations of the working men and women of our country and affect the welfare and well-being of our children.

We direct your attention to another subject somewhat with a feeling of hesitancy yet mindful of our duty, wherein that which may now seem innocent on the surface is nevertheless pregnant with grave danger if allowed to develop. While not pronounced as such, there has been developing the thought among British workers that the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada is a movement separate and distinct from the American Federation of Labor. Unconsciously this belief is given credence in the statements of its representatives in their discussions and addresses which have a tendency to create the belief in its listeners that the policies and actions of the American Federation of Labor are not binding unless agreed to by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada as a separate and distinctive entity. Then, too, there is a strong desire developing in Great Britain to extend and strengthen the ties of the British Trade Movement and the Trade Union Movement of the Dominions. Indeed, a resolution having this purpose for its final object received the indorsement of the British Trades Union Congress. The convention will no doubt recall that the General Federation of Trade Unions, some time ago, recognized the full and complete autonomy of the American Federation of Labor over the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada. Yet we apprehend a degree of injury from this declaration by the recent action of the Congress, and therefore urge a careful consideration of this entire subject by this convention.

Perhaps an unnoticed feature of the foregoing report is the absence of any reference to disputes of jurisdiction between the trades unions of Great Britain. It is true that the Congress itself did not deal with questions arising out of jurisdictional controversies. It is equally true that we are not alone affected with these continual organization disturbances. Jurisdictional controversies exist in the British Trade Union Movement as well as they exist in our movement, although a more tolerant spirit is manifested on the part of all disputants. As a matter of fact, a number of organizations, representing the

same trade and craft, are represented in the Congress without any thought of interference by one or the other. The Parliamentary Committee, in its report, directs attention to its unsuccessful efforts during the past year in adjusting disputes relating to lines of demarcation between the French Polishers and House and Ship Painters' Society, the Gasworkers' Union vs. the Workers' Union, North Wales Quarrymen's Union vs. Dock Laborers' Union, Clerks' Union vs. Insurance Clerks' Union, National Union of Railway Men vs. Craft Union—almost 30 in number—the Electrical Trades Union vs. Theatrical Employes' Association, the Typographical Association vs. London Society of Compositors, the National Union of Clerks vs. Licensed Vehicle Workers' Union, the National Association of Prudential Assurance Agents vs. the Prudential Staff Federation. The evident policy of the Congress seems to be to keep hands off these disputes, and to allow the Parliamentary Committee to use its good offices in an endeavor to reach an amicable and acceptable adjustment among the disputants.

In the matter of amalgamation the Congress and the British trade unions find themselves seriously hampered and restricted by the Trades Union Act, which denies the right of any two or more organizations of amalgamating until at least two-thirds of their entire respective memberships agree and vote to accept whatever plan of amalgamation is proposed. The future efforts of the Congress will be directed to remove this restrictive feature of the Trades Union Act and permit a more liberal policy being followed by the British trades unions.

The British Trade Union Congress and trades unions are unquestionably burdened by an obvious sense of responsibility. They who have so proudly proclaimed themselves the freest of all workers have sacrificed, almost without a murmur, most of their hard-won liberties and rights in order, so they believe, to win a historic battle for the freedom of the peoples against dynasts, diplomats and militarists. Today's crisis is whether after making so many of these sacrifices to win the war the Trades Union Congress will be well armed and well prepared to meet the conditions arising during the period of reconstruction. Since their entry into war the British workers have accepted conscription, and it would be foolish not to admit that a good deal of conscription has crept into industry itself. It is evident that militarism, adopted as a principle, involves both the soldiers and the workers. With every able-bodied worker subject to military service, unless exempted and employed in the manufacture of munitions or war materials, or other essential employment, the right not to work or to give up employment singly or collectively has been practically annulled. Compulsion seems to dominate extensively.

In addition, over 600,000 women have taken the places of men in factories during the war. The need for a comprehensive plan to meet the problems of demobilization and undilution of labor is not so easily accomplished. The women's question alone bristles with difficulties. The British trades unionists are realizing that the pledges of one government do not bind its successors. While every effort is bent to have the Government fulfill the promise that pre-war conditions are

restored in industry when the war ends, nevertheless a number of trade unions are taking steps to ascertain the best method by which to compel the re-establishment of former practices and conditions of work. Quoting President Gosling, from his address to the Congress, he has this to say:

"When the Government on the resumption of peace suddenly lessens its gigantic payroll, the biggest that the world has ever seen, and stops its colossal orders for every conceivable commodity—when millions of soldiers are disbanded at approximately the same time that two or three million munition workers are discharged—when something like a third of the whole wage-earning population of this country will be simultaneously losing their jobs—there is bound to be almost a flood of men and women seeking new situations. Then it is that we shall see whether the Government has been equal to its task. Unless adequate preparations are made in advance—indeed, unless proper steps are not already being taken—the trade unions will find their funds rapidly depleted, and their members standing unemployed by hundreds of thousands. This will be a moment of the gravest industrial peril."

Concluding our report, we wish to record our sincere thanks and appreciation for the most cordial and very pleasant welcome tendered us by the officers and delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. We are more than thankful to the delegates to the last three conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the honor they have bestowed in electing us delegates to this meeting. Unquestionably we have greatly profited by the opportunity which the Federation afforded us, and we sincerely hope that this report may to some degree prove commensurate with the trust that the American organized workers reposed in us. We left for England with an unquestioned faith in the American labor movement. We return to you today more fully convinced of the righteousness of our movement, the justice of our cause, and with a renewed and greater faith in the ultimate success and final triumph of the trade union movement of America.

Respectfully submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL,
WILLIAM D. MAHON.

Vice-President Duncan: The report read will be incorporated in the proceedings. The fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is not a delegate to this convention. His report will be sent here, and will be read later.

Regret was expressed by Delegate Woll and by others that W. D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, was unable to be in the convention on account of important business connected with his organization.

Delegate Scharrenburg, San Francisco, asked if President Mahon had made a statement in his address to the British Trades Union Congress attributed to him by newspapers on the Pacific Coast, "That the workers in America generally sympathized with the cause of the allies because they thought

it represented right and liberty?"

Delegate Woll stated that no such statement had been made by President Mahon, but he believed such a statement had been made by the delegate from Canada.

President Gompers in the chair.

Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Delegate Cannon, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

We, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the convention:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9.30 a. m., and remain in session until 12.30. Convene at 2 p. m., and remain in session until 5.30 p. m., except Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9.30 a. m. to 12.30.

Rule 2. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another by his remarks, except it be to call to a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motion shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the

convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least thirty members to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents, and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. No resolution shall be received after Tuesday's session, November 14, without unanimous consent of the convention.

Rule 19. When a roll-call vote has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20. When a roll-call ballot has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21. Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 22. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Reading minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Report of Regular Committees.
5. Report of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,
THOS. RICKERT, Chairman;
J. F. McGRATH,
THEODORE THOMPSON,
FRANK FISHER,
EDWARD MENGE,
MARY CONROY,
R. C. SCHNEIDER,
ABRAHAM ROSENBERG,
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,
JOHN SULLIVAN,
JAMES H. HATCH,
J. T. CAREY,
ALFONSO D'ANDREA,
GEO. A. NOLTE,
JOSEPH D. CANNON, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Delegate Bradley, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: I move that upon the adjournment of this convention on Saturday next the delegation in a body go to Washington for the purpose of visiting the President of the United States, and also for the purpose of visiting the home of the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried).

Delegate McDonald received unanimous consent to the introduction of two resolutions which, owing to a delay in receiving

them, could not be introduced before 7 o'clock Tuesday evening.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that, in order to facilitate the work of the committees, an adjournment be taken to the usual hour Thursday morning. (Seconded).

Delegate Ferguson, of the local entertainment committee, announced that a special train would be arranged to leave the Park Avenue Station at 1 o'clock on Saturday to convey the delegation to Washington. He also announced various entertainments for the delegates during the week.

The motion offered by Vice-President O'Connell was carried, and at 11.40 a. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 18.

The following resolutions were introduced by unanimous consent, and referred to committees:

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton and W. J. Brennan:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen has succeeded in establishing a uniform scale of wages in many of the municipalities, county and State institutions throughout the country for the following occupations: Oilers, stationary firemen and coal passers and helpers; and

WHEREAS, We are now engaged in an effort to obtain the prevailing rate of wages for our members who are now in the employ of the Federal service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. request its Executive Council and all Central Bodies and its Legislative Committee to render the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen such assistance as may be necessary to bring about the desired result.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton and W. J. Brennan:

WHEREAS, At the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L. Resolution No. 150 was, on report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, unanimously adopted; and

WHEREAS, The committee in its report recommended that both organizations appoint committees with power to act to formulate a joint working agreement, under which the members of both International Bodies (namely Engineers and Firemen) may carry on their vocations without the one infringing on the other; and

WHEREAS, At the biennial convention of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, held in Newark, N. J., September 11-16, 1916, a special committee of said organizations to which subject matters was referred, reported as follows that the incoming Executive Board be given full power by this convention to settle the controversy between the engineers or firemen; and

WHEREAS, An amendment to the committee's report was adopted, which read as follows: That this convention go on record as agreeing to amalgamate with the firemen and in the event that the firemen refuse to amalgamate, that our members stand instructed by this convention that hereafter no members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, so far as he has power to live or discharge, shall employ or retain in his employ any apprentice unless he holds membership in our International Union; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid action taken by the Engineers International Union in convention assembled practically makes it impossible for the officers of either organization, much as they may desire to comply with the mandates of the parent body of labor, namely, the convention of the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct the officers of both international organizations in conjunction with the president or a member of the Executive Council, they to hold a conference for the purpose of formulating a satisfactory agreement; and

RESOLVED, That all State or Central Labor Bodies be and are hereby instructed to render all assistance within their power locally, to assist in stamping out the spirit of this resolution, and in the meantime to maintain the laws or mandates of previous decisions of conventions of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey and Charles A. Carbon, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of November 13, 1916, prints an article in reference to the relation between the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Musicians as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the Boston Symphony Orchestra which is misleading and incorrect; and

WHEREAS, The statements made in this editorial are undoubtedly designed to place both the American Federation of Labor and American Federation of Musicians in their relationship to each other in a false light before the people of this country; and

WHEREAS, The true facts are that at one time, about ten years ago, the members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra were also members of the American Federation of Musicians, but when the American Federation of Musicians announced its intention of stopping the general importation of musicians from abroad by symphony orchestra managers and other musical organizations for advertising purposes only, and not for the betterment of such organizations, and that the American Federation of Musicians would insist that the capable American boy be given an opportunity before giving the preference to often a less capable importation from abroad, and that no objection would be made to importations from abroad if actually required, then it was that Colonel Higginson asserted his absolute ownership of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and issued a ukase to the members of that orchestra giving them

their choice between membership in the Boston Symphony Orchestra or membership in the American Federation of Musicians; and

WHEREAS, Outside of the Boston Symphony Orchestra there are in the United States fifteen symphony orchestras, all of whom are members of the American Federation of Musicians, every one of whom must be a citizen of the United States or have declared his intention of becoming such by taking out his first papers, and all of those orchestras have cheerfully submitted to the decision of the American Federation of Musicians in the matter of the importation of musicians from abroad, because they know this decision was arrived at to protect the American musicians against mere whimsical importations solely for advertising purposes, and that no objection was ever made to an importation that was necessary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we denounce this editorial attempt to misrepresent both the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Musicians, and will support the American Federation of Musicians in its efforts to the ultimate uplift of the American musician.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate John A. McDonald, of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is an effort being made by the organized working people of Michigan to secure the adoption of a constitutional amendment restricting the courts from issuing injunctions and abolishing the rights of men and women during industrial disputes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit Federation of Labor hereby requests that the American Federation of Labor endorse the movement and urge that international unions having subordinate locals in Michigan support, morally and financially, the effort to amend the constitution in the State through the initiative and referendum.

Referred to, Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 155—By Delegate John A. McDonald, of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, To secure and retain competent workmen on the Panama Canal, the Isthmian Canal Commission, with approval of the Secretary of War and the President, announced in 1907 the granting of longevity increases of 5 per cent. for the second year service, and 3 per cent. for each additional year, effective from beginning of service of all employees until the maximum of 25 per cent. allowed; and

WHEREAS, Such longevity pay was abolished by action of Congress in 1909, without previous notice to workers on the Panama Canal, by providing that appropriations could not be used for its continuation; and

WHEREAS, Congress, in sixty-third session, voted (resolution 16510) general rewards to all officers of the army, the navy

and the Marine Hospital Service in providing for their promotion of one grade in rank and retirement on application of all who served three or more years on the Panama Canal, including younger officers educated at public expense at West Point, and who had rendered to the Government little or no service except the three or more years on the Panama Canal, and some of whom have now retired, and others are eligible to retire on three-fourths pay for life of grade to which promoted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention record its disapproval of the partiality of legislation from House resolution 16510 of Sixty-third Congress, rewarding generally all military and naval officers for three years or more service on the Panama Canal by retired pay for life, while ignoring members of organized labor previously deprived of continuation of longevity pay and civilians, who, as publicly stated by General Goethals, performed more acceptable service for longer periods of time than military officers rewarded; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such discrimination and partiality in favor of the military be especially condemned as contrasting strongly with attempted and officially proposed reduction of wage scales for organized labor in 1914, and also attempts to reduce wage scales by making charges for quarters, light and fuel, as actually charged from March 1 to May 24, 1915, and again proposed to become effective July 1, 1916, but later again rescinded, and which proposed charges constituted a relatively greater reduction in remuneration of members of organized labor than of military and naval officers detailed for duty on the Panama Canal in official positions; and be it also

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends that Congress rescind its cancellation of longevity, and that such be granted all American workers of the Panama Canal,

or that Congress investigate legislation classed as partial and discriminatory in the preceding, and take such other action as may be deemed fit and appropriate to correct existing injustice to members of organized labor and other civilians equally entitled to consideration with military officers, as evidenced in resolutions of many national, state and federated bodies of organized labor, and acknowledged by many Senators and Representatives in letters to constituents, and that, in pursuance of such request, copies of these resolutions be sent to each house of Congress; to Congressman Adamson, who introduced measures into the House granting retired pay to military officers; to Senator Chamberlain, who proposed amendment in the Senate; to the Secretary of War, who exercises supervision over matters pertaining to the Panama Canal, and the public press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate M. J. McGuire, of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders:

WHEREAS, The best interests of organized labor in general demand such a move, in view of the present unorganized condition of the employes in the shipyards of the United States;

THEREFORE, We, delegates to the Thirty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now assembled, hereby resolve to grant a charter to a Shipyard Federation, to be known as such, and to include the strictly shipyard trades and occupations, such as: Shipfitters, anglesmiths, riveters, chippers and caulikers (iron), acetylene burners and welders, drillers, holders-on, slingers and erectors, bolters, helpers—all under the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

FOURTH DAY--Thursday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., November 16, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 16, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Meyers, Kuhlman, O'Connor (T. V.), Vaccarelli, Lavender, Flynn, Chnavan, Curtis (C.), Cohen, Willis, Brandle, McGrath, Boos.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

New York, Nov. 15, 1916.

Convention American Federation of Labor:

Accept our congratulations. May your hard labor and the present legislation and deliberations in behalf of the working men and women be crowned with success.

JOINT BOARD CLOAK AND SKIRT MAKERS' UNION.

LOUIS LANGER, Secretary,

New York, Nov. 15, 1916.

American Federation of Labor Convention:

Accept congratulations upon glorious record of successes for past year. Hope convention will adopt measures that will firmly solidify ranks of the workers of the country and enact legislation that will tend to lighten their burden. Let the power and influences of labor be felt in the legislative halls, and may our efforts in the uplift of humanity be unceasing.

ISADORE EPSTEIN,

Secretary Executive Board Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Local Union No. 10.

Telegrams urging that the convention be held in Fort Worth in 1917 were received from the following, and read by Secretary Morrison: Fort Worth National Bank, Farmers' National Bank, American National Bank, First National Bank and Carter Grocery Company. All the telegrams extended cordial invitations to hold the convention in Fort Worth, and all stated that the delegates would be entertained royally in that city.

President Gompers announced that a resolution had been introduced before the time expired for introducing resolutions, apparently by the United Garment Workers, but bearing the name of the Union Label Trades Department. He stated that the organizations and delegates of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor could introduce resolutions, but that departments could not. A delegate from the United Garment Workers stated that they were the authors of the resolution. The resolution was accepted, numbered 157 and referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

President Gompers: The delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada advises us that he is unable to attend this convention, but has sent his report, which will be read by the Secretary.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Report of Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Baltimore, Md.

Brothers:

Having represented the American Federation of Labor as fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress at Toronto, Canada, September 25th to 30th, 1916, I desire to submit the following report:

I attended all sessions of the Congress and was very much impressed with the interest taken and the work outlined in the interest of the wage-earners of Canada. At the opening session many good talks were made by representatives of the Dominion, provincial and local governments of Canada, and also by representatives of labor. President Waters, of the Congress, replied in an able manner.

Many matters of importance were considered by the Congress during the six days it was in session. Much time was devoted to the question of what position should be taken in the future by the organized workers of Canada concerning the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act, and after nearly all delegates had expressed their views a resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority instructing the Executive Board to work for the repeal of the act. Several other legislative matters were taken up by the Congress, and plans outlined to have many questions submitted to the Dominion and provincial governments in Canada in the interest of the wage-earners of that country. Mr. Williams represented the British Trades Congress and addressed the Congress on Thursday. He delivered one of the best talks it has ever been my pleasure to hear. He dealt principally with the conditions of the workers in Great Britain.

Miss Mary Anderson represented the Women's Trade Union League of the United States as fraternal delegate, and delivered a very good talk, dealing principally with the results achieved through the organizations of the women wage-earners.

Your fraternal delegate also addressed the Congress on Thursday, dealing principally with the legislative achievements of the American Federation of Labor.

On Saturday, the last day of the convention, the delegates of the Congress, who had taken up a voluntary collection, presented the fraternal delegate from Great Britain

with a handsome gold watch. Miss Mary Anderson was presented with a handsome pearl brooch, and your fraternal delegate was presented with a beautiful diamond ring.

In conclusion let me add that I never experienced such hospitality and kindness in all my travels and I shall always feel proud of the honor that was bestowed upon me by the American Federation of Labor when it unanimously elected me as its fraternal delegate to represent the labor movement of my country at a convention of our sisters and brothers in another country when only an imaginary line separates us.

I regret very much that I was unable to attend the convention and personally present my report, but I take this opportunity of wishing success to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in its work in the interest of humanity.

Fraternally yours,

H. P. CORCORAN,
Wheeling, W. Va.

President Gompers: The report of the fraternal delegate will be spread upon the record.

Delegate Fitchie, Illinois State Federation of Labor, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of two resolutions, which were numbered 158 and 159 and referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

President Gompers noted the following changes in committee appointments: Upon the request of the Electrical Workers Edward Kloter was substituted on the Building Trades Committee for F. J. McNulty, who had not been able to attend the convention.

President Gompers also announced that the Painters' delegation requested that George F. Hedrick be substituted for J. C. Skemp on the Committee on Building Trades.

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Sara A. Conboy, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Claude O. Taylor, of the Michigan Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to consider the advisability of creating a new department comprising those organizations directly connected with the theatrical industry; and, therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That if, after careful consideration, the Executive Council deems wise and beneficial to create such a new department that it be empowered to do so.

Secretary Conboy: Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for action thereon.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate H. S. McCluskey, of the Arizona State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Owing to the time and distance to be traveled, the expense attached, the Southwest has been more or less neg-

lected by the various international unions in the matter of organization, the adjustment of disputes, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Plans have been outlined by the Arizona State Federation of Labor and the recently organized district union of the Western Federation of Miners to carry out an extensive campaign of organization during the coming year; and

WHEREAS, New Mexico, an adjoining State, has but two local unions in the entire State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Arizona State Federation of Labor instruct its delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention to try and secure the appointment of an organizer in the Southwest; be it further

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Convention endorse the request that an organizer be appointed for Arizona and New Mexico.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that an organizer be sent to this district if the funds of the A. F. of L. will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate James F. Brock, Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union is not financially able at this time to place any additional organizers in the field to organize our craft; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of Chicago, Illinois; New York City, N. Y.; Boston, Massachusetts, and Seattle, Washington, are working under deplorable conditions, owing to the fact of not being strongly organized; and

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' International Union is not financially able to appoint an organizer in the above mentioned cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to transfer one or more of its organizers or appoint special organizers to the above mentioned cities for at least one month's time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various district organizers of the American Federation of Labor, and also the volunteer organizers of the A. F. of L., be instructed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to give their special attention to the organization of the laundry workers in their respective districts and localities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the Laundry Workers' International Union, will co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in their work of organization to the full extent of their ability.

Your committee concurs in this resolution, and recommends that the whole matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for action.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate Edmund P. Walters of the Bottle Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers No. 10875:

WHEREAS, There are a number of concerns engaged in the manufacture of bottle caps, corks and stoppers which employ unorganized labor; and

WHEREAS, Many of the employes of said concerns have not had the opportunity to organize for their interests. Neither have the natural benefits which would accrue to them by being members of an organization affiliated with union labor been properly brought to their attention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that a special effort be made to organize all labor engaged in the manufacture of bottle caps, corks and crows; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a regular or special organizer be appointed to effect the purpose of this resolution.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that an organizer be appointed for this work if the funds of the American Federation of Labor will warrant same.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 33—By R. L. Brazzle, Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The federal and local labor unions in the building service line, such as elevator conductors and starters, janitors, watchmen, window washers, porters and other kindred crafts at the present time are unable properly to protect their interests; and

WHEREAS, There is a large field for the organization of the wage-workers in these crafts in every city where there are office buildings; and

WHEREAS, With the amalgamation of these locals they can better safeguard their interests and extend their organizations to new fields; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor grant them an international charter, subject to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and that the secretary be instructed to call a convention of all the locals interested at such time and place as may be found desirable, such international to be known as the Brotherhood of Building Service Workers of America.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation, and if it be found that the proposed international organization can be formed without violating and infringing upon the jurisdictional rights of other affiliated bodies, and that if the Executive Council deems such action wise and expedient for the best interest of all concerned, that this charter be granted.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate H. Kritzer, Celluloid and Tortoise Shell Workers No. 15189:

WHEREAS, The present European war has stimulated in this country the production of celluloid and tortoise shell articles, such as combs, toilet sets, goggles and novelties, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The number of workers engaged in the production of said articles number 75,000 and over; and

WHEREAS, This industry is especially centered in one State, Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS, The wages and conditions of employment of the workers of this industry are very poor; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take steps to organize the workers of this industry so that their condition may be brought to the level of organized labor in this country.

Your committee concurs in this resolution, and refers the same to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry out.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Section 2, of Article XI, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which provides that "it shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered central labor bodies and State federations in their vicinity, where such exist," is largely inoperative; and

WHEREAS, Such affiliations are necessary to insure the success of our movement and further that unaffiliated locals are taking advantage of work accomplished by affiliated locals that are carrying on the actual work of local organization and are themselves impeding the progress of unionism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Baltimore assembled, that such affiliation with all regularly chartered central bodies, subordinate to the American Federation of Labor, shall be mandatory on all local unions whose internationals are chartered by this organization. This to the end that funds now used to encourage such affiliation may be directed to the more vital work of organization and education of the unorganized workers.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrency in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming, stated that the resolution had been introduced for the purpose of calling attention to the experiences of some of the Western States in securing the affiliation of local unions; that it was estimated that in Wyoming it cost practi-

cally 40 per cent. of the amount that should be devoted for organization work to secure the affiliation of locals.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate James Coen, of Hospital Nurses and Attendants' Union No. 14714:

WHEREAS, It has ever been the aim and inspiration of organized labor to promote the general welfare of its members and also that of the unorganized for the betterment of mankind, to the end that those who toil may strengthen their participation in the powers of the Government and thereby obtain more complete co-operation in the administration of the laws enacted to further the common interests of all in a free and just administration of the laws of a popular government; and

WHEREAS, The State hospitals for the insane of Illinois are already organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and through their efforts have gained for their employes a working day of eight hours with one day of rest in every seven; and

WHEREAS, These same workers in the State hospitals for the insane in Illinois, during the time of the inception of their various locals, felt the great need of a person whose experience qualified him to sympathize and advise and direct their efforts in this great enterprise and who, knowing all the conditions and difficulties under which these workers labor in these institutions, would be free from all obligations and not under the commands of the management of any of these institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we entreat the American Federation of Labor to appoint a special organizer, whose duties it will be to organize the other hospitals for the insane throughout the various States with the view of bringing their employes within the ranks of organized labor; and be it

RESOLVED, That we pledge ourselves to bend every effort to the securing of the appointment of such an organizer from the ranks of the employes of the State institutions, whose knowledge and experience of the details of institution life will enable him to cope with the difficulties and problems which will attend this position.

Your committee concurs, and recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to carry out its provisions if the funds of the American Federation of Labor will permit.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Coen, of the Hospital Nurses and Attendants' organization, made a brief statement in regard to the condition of attendants and nurses in State institutions in the various States. He reported upon the improved conditions in the Illinois State institutions, where the hours of labor had been reduced from thirteen and sixteen

hours a day to eight hours a day, where equal pay for equal work was given men and women, and where the employes received a two weeks' vacation annually. He urged that other States endeavor to secure similar improvements in the conditions of nurses and attendants in the institutions.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers made a brief statement in regard to arrangements that had been made for the delegates and visitors to go to Washington after the adjournment of the Saturday morning session. He announced that President Wilson had arranged to greet the delegates at 5 p. m.; that the convention would visit the American Federation of Labor headquarters prior to that hour, and that arrangements had been made for a special train over the Pennsylvania Railroad, leaving Union Station, Baltimore, for Washington at 12.55 p. m. Saturday, and leaving Washington for Baltimore at 6.30 p. m.

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of a resolution. The resolution was numbered 160, and referred to the Committee on Law.

Delegate Harrison, of the Longshoremen, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of two resolutions. The resolutions were numbered 161 and 162, and referred to the Committee on State Organizations and the Committee on the Report of the Executive Council.

Report of Committee on Organization

Secretary Conboy then continued the report of the Organization Committee, as follows:

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Frank B. Brown, of the Kansas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organized labor is represented by a very small percentage of the labor population of Kansas; and

WHEREAS, The Kansas State Federation of Labor and the central labor bodies are constantly receiving appeals from the organized workers all over the State for assistance in unionizing the crafts; and

WHEREAS, The Kansas State Federation of Labor and the central labor bodies are not financially able to place organizers in the field, the strength of union labor in Kansas is being very materially retarded; and

WHEREAS, If the working men and women of Kansas are to maintain their social, political and economic welfare, free from the evils of autocracy, they must be fostered by the great head of organized crafts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That such being the condition in the State of Kansas, the Kansas State Federation of Labor feels justified in so doing, and does appeal to this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to instruct its Executive

Council to place a permanent organizer in said State.

Your committee recommends that the whole subject matter be referred to the Executive Council to carry out its provisions if the funds will permit.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers called attention to the fact that the preamble of the resolution contained the words "through failure of the American Federation of Labor to give the State a permanent organizer." This he considered an unjust attack upon the American Federation of Labor. Delegate Brown, the introducer of the resolution, stated that no attack was intended, and asked that that part of the preamble be stricken out. No objection being offered, the words "through failure of the American Federation of Labor to give the State a permanent organizer" were stricken from the preamble of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate P. M. Draper, of the Ottawa, Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association:

WHEREAS, There exists in the Province of Quebec, Canada, a large number of industries which remain unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The great majority of the employes working in these various industries are of French-Canadian nationality, being unable to speak or understand the English language but very little; and

the members of that orchestra giving them

WHEREAS, In order to successfully prosecute and accomplish organization along international trade union lines in the midst of these men it is necessary to have an organizer employed, who is capable of speaking both the French and English languages fluently; and

WHEREAS, At the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada a resolution was, at the request of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, unanimously adopted instructing the Executive of the Canadian Trades Congress to urge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to place an organizer in this province at an early date; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Baltimore convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to give the Quebec situation its best and most careful consideration, as soon as practicable after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to coping, in the most effective manner, with a situation that is menacing and retarding the growth and progress of the international trade union movement in this particular province.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive

Council for its consideration and for action if funds will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates W. V. H. Bright, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and Hubert S. Marshall, International Union Journeymen Horseshoers:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is a young and growing organization operating in a field in which there are something over 350,000 wage-earners in the United States and Canada, who are eligible to membership; and

WHEREAS, The railroads, through their General Managers' Associations, have been harassing the members and attempting to prevent organization by dismissals and lock-outs of the organized clerks wherever found; and

WHEREAS, These tactics on the part of the railroads have compelled the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood to use all its efforts and money to protect its membership, thus making it almost impossible to extend the organization work because all officers, organizers and moneys of the brotherhood had to be used to meet this condition; and

WHEREAS, The organization of this class of wage-earners would prove of almost inestimable value to the American labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that an amount not exceeding five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) be and is hereby appropriated out of the funds of the American Federation of Labor, to be used in assisting the said Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to organize this great army of unorganized wage-earners; and be it further

RESOLVED, That organizers for this purpose, not exceeding four, be designated by the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, with the understanding that the salaries to be paid said organizers are not to exceed one hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$125.00) per month, with expenses, and that said salaries and expenses, after approval by the proper officers of the Brotherhood, shall be paid direct by the officers of and from the funds of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends as a substitute for the whole the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give such assistance to organize railroad clerks as the funds of the organization will permit.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Homer D. Call and Dennis Lane, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at San Francisco, Cal., one year ago, the Executive Council was requested to render such

assistance in organizing the butcher workmen as its finances would permit; and

WHEREAS, In compliance with that request the work has been earnestly carried on for the past few months, with the result that many new organizations have been started in the large centers, and more are in the first stages of formation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in order to secure the benefits already attained through the kind offices of the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council be requested to continue its assistance to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen so far as its finances will permit.

Your committee concurs in this resolution, and refers the same to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The members of the International Association of Machinists, employed at the plant of the Busch-Selzer Bros. Diesel Engine Company, located in the city of St. Louis, Mo., numbering upward of 150 men, have been on strike since September 21, 1916, as a result of the firm's refusal to establish a 48-hour week; and

WHEREAS, The controlling interest of this firm is in the hands of Adolphus Busch, of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, of St. Louis, manufacturers of various brands of beer; and

WHEREAS, Different international unions affiliated with the American labor movement as recognized by the A. F. of L. are engaged directly in the manufacture of this product, working under agreements, and the product of this brewing association is one that depends for its patronage upon the general public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be instructed to correspond with Mr. Adolphus Busch, urging him to use his influence to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this strike.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate Elizabeth Christman, of the International Glove Workers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The International Glove Workers' Union of America has had unusual struggles during the past few years, not only through strikes in the East, but in Milwaukee, Wis., which has been one of the centers of our organization; and

WHEREAS, Because of these difficulties, together with the small size of our organization, we have not been able to do the organization work necessary to build up our organization and completely organize our trade; and

WHEREAS, This year seems the opportune time to organize the glove workers if

funds and workers could be secured; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled authorize the officers of the Federation to co-operate with the International Glove Workers' Union, and assist it in organization work during the next six months by assigning an organizer to that particular trade.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for its consideration, and action, if funds will permit.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 111—By Henry W. Raisse, of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, and George Hahn, of the Cleveland (Ohio) Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The emigration of Southern negroes to Northern labor centers, which has lately attracted the attention of the United States Department of Labor, and has occasioned anxiety on the part of the organized labor movement because of the danger such emigration will cause the workers in Northern States; and

WHEREAS, The investigation of such emigration and importation of negroes in the State of Ohio has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the labor leaders in that State that they were being brought North for the purpose of filling the places of union men demanding better conditions, as in the case of the freight handlers; and

WHEREAS, The shortage of European labor has made the Southern negro an asset in the labor markets of the North, and the conditions that prevailed in Ohio may apply in all Northern States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct the President and the Executive Council to inaugurate a movement looking toward the organization of these men in the Southern States, to the end that they may be instructed and educated along the lines of the trade-union movement, and thereby eliminate this menace to the workers in the Northern States.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers the whole subject matter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Brown, Kansas State Federation, discussed the report briefly. He urged that the most serious consideration be given the question dealt with in the resolution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate James O'Connell, International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, Attempts have been made to deprive the employees engaged in the construction of the Panama Canal of privileges

which they enjoyed since the work of building the Canal was started; and

WHEREAS, These employees as a whole have received no general increase in their wage rate since the work began on the Canal; and

WHEREAS, There are other conditions relative to aliens doing work that rightfully belongs to mechanics; and

WHEREAS, The only and safest way the interests of these employees can be safeguarded and their condition improved is by proper organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe the general situation warrants a thorough investigation of all the conditions affecting the employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Baltimore, Md., instruct its officers to deputize someone to proceed to the Canal Zone within the near future to make such an investigation and to conduct a general organizing campaign in the Canal Zone for such length of time as the circumstances warrant.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate C. C. Dane, of Federal Labor Union No. 14781:

WHEREAS, There is a great need at the present time for organization in the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia, and the Island of Cape Breton, and the time being opportune for same; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the A. F. of L. to send an organizer down to this part of the Dominion of Canada for some reasonable time to organize men of these districts.

Your committee concurs in the resolution, and recommends reference of same to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to act if the funds will permit.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Dane: I consider Nova Scotia has been a neglected province, and we ought to impress upon the American Federation of Labor the necessity of sending an organizer there. There is a big field there, and the province ought to be organized. This resolution ought to be adopted unanimously.

President Gompers made a statement, in part as follows:

"Look over the expenditures of the American Federation of Labor, and you will find that not less than three-fourths of the money expended is for organization purposes and for campaigns of education for organization. It is impossible for the Executive Council to expend more money than is available and in the funds of the Federation. If greater organization work is to be conducted in the future, and it is the desire of the officers and the delegates that that cam-

paign should be extended, it will be necessary to provide the means by which that work can be carried out. The Executive Council will be unable to carry out your purposes unless you provide the means with which that work can be performed."

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Supplemental Report of the Executive Council.

Vice-President Duncan read the following supplemental report of the Executive Council:

Report on International Labor Relations.

Baltimore, Nov. 16, 1916.

To the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

Since our report was prepared and in printed form an important communication has been received that ought to be considered by this convention in connection with that subject. The following is a letter from Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions in Germany:

International Federation of Trade Unions.
Berlin, October 4, 1916.

To the American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Comrades:

Incidents which appear apt to break up the organization of the International Federation of Trade Unions render it expedient to summon an International Trade Union Conference during the time of war.

The conference is to take place at Berne (Switzerland) on December 11, 1916. The agenda will comprise decision regarding:

1. The continuation of the International Federation of Trade Unions.
2. The publication of the International News Letter.
3. Miscellaneous proposals.

According to the rules (resolutions of the conferences of Budapest, 1911, and Zurich, 1913), each national centre is not allowed to send more than two delegates to the international conference.

The necessity of the conference is apparent from the following:

On July 5th of the current year a trade union conference sat at Leeds, England, at which the Confederation Generale du Travail and the General Federation of Trade Unions were officially represented by their secretaries. Besides, there were present representatives from Belgium and two representatives of a trade union organization in Italy not affiliated to the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, but recognized by the conference as representing the trade unions of Italy.

The international trade union organization known as the International Federation of Trade Unions continues to exist even if, at present, it can only execute the tasks entrusted to it in a limited way. As long as the war ravages the European countries, exterminates the masses and internationally separates labor, it is the office of the International Federation of Trade Unions to safeguard the unity without, so that it may resume more easily its former manner of

activity and be developed to a greater degree.

The Amsterdam branch office makes it possible for all national sections which—owing to the war—could not communicate with the central office of the International Federation of Trade Unions to maintain the connection without getting into conflict with the interests of their own country. Each national centre ought to have refrained, therefore, from holding special conferences. Neither the national centres of the neutral countries nor those of the Central Powers has ever attempted or even suggested anything of the kind. Their exchange of correspondence with the International Federation of Trade Unions was exactly the same as that conducted with the Entente Powers via Amsterdam, although the desire for discussion existed here just as much as there.

Not only did such discussions take place at the Leeds conference, but resolutions were passed the carrying out of which would be identical to the establishing of a new international organization for the four countries named. A correspondence bureau is to be erected in Paris, which is to be headed by a council of delegates of the affiliated countries. The secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail was, besides, commissioned with preparing a new conference of trade unions of the allied countries.

Thus the organization of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been violated. The affiliated national organizations must be given the opportunity of deciding in regard to the continuation of the International Federation of Trade Unions and its further activity. This can only be done at a conference at which all national centres affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions can be represented. For that reason Berne has, after consulting the Swiss trade unions, been decided on as the place of meeting and the date put off until the middle of December.

The difficulties in the way of sending delegates to and holding an international trade union conference are obvious. The matter, however, cannot be settled in any other way, if the trade union is not to be paralyzed completely for years to come. Once before, in June, 1915, the majority of the national centers decided by letter that no change was to take place regarding the International Federation of Trade Unions until the conclusion of the war. It will not be possible now to consult the opinion of the national organization by letter, because after the sitting of the Leeds conference the question at issue is not the removal of the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions, but the continuation of the trade union international and the form it is going to take in the future. Under these circumstances the difficulties in the way of an international conference must be overcome and the unpleasantness connected with the representation question endured. We trust, therefore, that all national centers desirous of preventing the international separation of the trade unions will send representatives to the conference. With fraternal greetings,

(Signed)

C. LEGIEN.

President Gompers wrote to Mr. Legien acknowledging receipt of his communication

and stating that it would be submitted to this convention. On November 11 the following cablegram later was received:

"Kjøbenhavn (Copenhagen).

"Mr. Samuel Gompers,
"American Federation of Labor,
"Washington, D. C.

"International Trade Union Conference at Berne, Switzerland, 11th of December, cancelled until other information is given. Letter follows.

LEGIEN."

We ought to call the attention of the delegates to the action of the American Federation of Labor approving the proposal submitted by the Federation Generale du Travail of France to move the international office to Switzerland. The American Federation of Labor then submitted that in the event of war between groups of countries the labor movements of which are affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions the headquarters should be automatically neutralized and the affairs of the international labor movement protected against the charge or the appearance of partisanship.

The American labor movement has refused to consider or to suggest any other international proposition concerned with the labor matters during the war. The proposition considered by the Philadelphia and San Francisco conventions was to give the workers an opportunity to find a means for presenting the immense human interests affected by international relations at the time when, after the war, steps were being taken for reconstruction and for giving direction, tone and purpose to future development.

We have been appalled by the human suffering, the physical and mental agony and the loss and waste of human life in the European war and we earnestly desire to prevent the recurrence of such a horror. That purpose cannot be achieved unless constructive measures are devised to accomplish it.

The domain of international relations is yet in chaotic condition. There exists a vague mass of customs known as international law and the beginnings of international morality. However, there has been little or no effort to organize this domain for peace and for constructive work. Public opinion has been educated far in advance of the development of agencies through which it must operate.

The important thing is to take steps in the right direction, when peace brings opportunity. This thought has been uppermost in the minds of humanitarian men, many of whom have banded together and formulated definite programs.

In order that the wage-workers of America may be ready to participate in the field of international affairs, it is necessary for us to consider various tentative suggestions and to determine upon a definite program promoting labor's interests.

The various proposals for the organization of international relations disclose that the field and its problems are analogous to those of relations between individuals—a domain that is now systematically regulated by the governments of the various states. Some of the same principles will apply to the larger domain between nations.

We submit that there ought to be a voluntary union of nations, a league for peace to adjust disputes and difficulties, and to take

the initiative in constructive efforts to direct and facilitate world progress in accord with highest concepts.

Among the suggestions usually made for maintaining peace is arbitration. Arbitration has been so generally discussed that it is not necessary at this time for us to consider its purposes and functions. However, it has been generally conceded that arbitration has an exceedingly important field of service within definite limitations. Arbitration can be effective only in the adjustment of differences, and thus is limited to justiciable matters. We suggest, therefore, that it is not suited to adjust difficulties that are most likely to threaten peace between countries, and it cannot deal constructively with elements and conditions in their making, which, when further developed, would inevitably result in friction, misunderstanding or the use of force.

There is nothing novel or untried in the first proposition. Arbitration treaties exist between practically all civilized countries. Between some, as the United States and Canada, permanent courts have been established to adjudicate differences. To apply this principle to world relations would necessitate a permanent agency, to which would be submitted all justiciable differences arising between signatory nations and not susceptible of other adjustment. Would not a permanent world judicial tribunal, composed of jurists and those familiar with international law, with jurisdiction over judicial questions concerning members of the league, be a fitting agency to perform this work?

In international, judicial and justiciable matters there are a large number of problems susceptible to mediation and administrative action. For these we suggest a second agency adapted to deal with matters of an entirely different nature, such as economic issues and the affairs concerned in the daily life and work of the citizens of the nations. Such a commission should be composed of men in close touch with industrial and commercial forces in action, not those who from a viewpoint remote from the political and industrial struggle look down upon the activity of the people and the creative forces hewing out the destiny of the nations. The real interests, needs and ideals of the people would be best represented by selecting for this commission journalists, publicists, scientists, professional men, men of affairs, wage-earners—those in close touch with the heart of the nations, through their work, whether as organizers of the processes of production and commerce or as the human agents necessary for the utilization of material resources.

Fundamentally, would not the creation of this commission for hearing, considering and recommending as to the infinite variety of interests arising between nations make for the organization of the field and forces of diplomacy? By democratizing the commission and appointing to it those representatives of the rank and file of nations and their varied interests, the light of publicity would be turned upon secret diplomacy and its agents would be rendered more responsive to the will of the people.

Old style diplomacy here failed. The traditional diplomat regarded his service as an art detached from the crude struggle for an

existence and was unmindful or ignorant of the human interests involved in machinations of diplomacy. Diplomacy must be made more open, more honest, more effective if our civilization is not to be brought into question and jeopardy.

We suggest consideration of means to make the purpose of the League for Peace effective. Would not those nations that band themselves together in a league for peace need to agree upon means for securing compliance with regulations and for the use of force against a signatory nation which might go to war or engage in hostilities against another member of the league without having submitted its grievances in the proper way provided by the agreement? Joint use of both economic and military forces of signatory nations could be directed against the offending nation.

In order to render international law more tangible and better adapted to the problems with which it must deal would it not be well to provide for conferences of nations to meet at definite times to formulate and codify international law?

The suggestions which we submit are to be considered as a general foundation for organization for peace between nations, and would help to avert unnecessary wars. We do not declare that it would abolish war—but by mediating the causes of war, war becomes less probable.

We submit for consideration whether each separate nation ought not to maintain its separate agencies for compulsion, with the assurance to each of sovereignty and necessary authority to determine matters of a distinctively national character? Collective action by a league of nations ought not to dictate the limitation or the regulation of military and naval equipment, but it can properly prevent the use of such force for national aggrandizement and for exploitation of the small countries. We deplore militarism, but the fight against militarism must ultimately be made by the citizens of the different nations. Establishing methods and agencies which render display of military and naval power no longer effective is the practical and direct way to abolish rivalry between nations in standing armies and naval equipment.

The way to prevent war is to organize for peace. The working people of all countries are vitally interested in the maintenance of world peace. We feel that in addition to expressing our desire we ought to consider constructive suggestions.

We are keenly conscious that institutions and regulations alone are not sufficient. These are only the agencies. Back of them must be an international mind and conscience educated to demand the democratization and humanization of our common affairs. The labor movements of all countries have contributed much to the will for peace and justice, and must do their part in the development of the agencies by which their will can be expressed.

We suggest that the Executive Council be authorized to continue its efforts in behalf of an international labor conference after the war, with instructions to have the American Federation of Labor represented in that conference. No one can foretell what eventuality may occur in the war; perhaps it may end before our 1917 convention. Therefore, the Executive Council ought

to be in a position to take action to carry out labor's purpose and to protect its interests.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES DUNCAN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
D. A. HAYES,
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,
JOHN R. ALPINE,
H. B. PERHAM,
FRANK DUFFY,
WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JOHN B. LENNON,

Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers: The supplemental report submitted by the Executive Council will be referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

President Gompers: Dr. Mathews, of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, as one of our fraternal delegates, will now address this convention.

Dr. Shaller Mathews, fraternal delegate of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. President and Members of the Convention: The honor which I have of sitting here as a fraternal delegate is due to the fact that I am president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The Federal Council is a body which represents thirty or more of the Protestant religious bodies of the United States; it has approximately 140,000 churches in these denominations, with a membership of about 18,000,000 in these churches. This council has been engaged for the last eight years or more in the endeavor to bring to bear upon social and other questions in the United States the combined religious interests and spirit of these various bodies. In the very nature of the case religious bodies can hardly be called into economic operation, but none the less they are engaged in the development of a spirit of social agitation which shall find expression in the public opinion and in the legislation ultimately of our country.

We have maintained a commission on social affairs, with which Mr. Stelzle has been connected for a number of years. I have been just told by him that during the last few days the Lackawanna Steel Company sent in an appeal to the Industrial Commission of the State of New York requesting exemption from the observance of the one-day's-rest-in-seven law. Federations of various denominations, under the leadership of Mr. Stelzle, appeared before that commission and, largely because of their arguments, the request of the Lackawanna Steel Company was not granted.

We are maintaining at the present time a rather elaborate attempt to educate public opinion through the churches in matters relating to the conservation of human life. We have a force in operation heading up that movement, and the effort is, so far as possible, to bring the churches and, through them, the community at large to better ideals of the meaning of life and of the worth of the

human personality. We have maintained also for the last eight years what is known as the social creed of the churches. This has been adopted by pretty nearly all the Protestant denominations in convention assembled, and in this social creed of the churches we have set forth some fundamental principles with which I am sure this convention would be and must be in hearty accord.

We are endeavoring thus among the various operations of this great body to bring into the public mind and public conscience of the United States, through the churches, this new conception of morality and the meaning of religion; for we have come to feel that while it is necessary to prepare men to die it is more necessary to prepare men to live, and in the interests of a good heaven it is a good idea to have a good earth.

We are endeavoring to organize this sentiment in such a way that the public opinion may be affected by ideals which men have professed for a good many years. The difficulty with a great many good people is that they do not have good sense, and that is one reason why the operation of the ideals for which religion stands has been so much slower than it ought to be.

The fundamental thing, however, for which we stand at the present time must be that which is not susceptible of reduction to statistics. I was greatly impressed by the reading of this supplemental report of the Executive Council, and the tremendous influence it will have in shaping up the opinion that the great effort in which we are engaged at the present time is not the mere increase of material wealth, but the increase of manhood. The ideal which we must constantly bring to bear upon all bodies of men and women is that charity is, after all, a virtue which is going to be outgrown and that in the long run we shall not give money, but we shall give justice, and in the doing of that thing there will develop a new attitude of mind, a new attitude to religion, which will be of the utmost importance for the development of our work.

In this moment of crisis, in which we find the whole world disentangling itself from the past and trying to bring about a new era, we feel that the basis of the future must clearly be a belief that the things of the spirit are of more importance than the things of matter. If we cannot believe in righteousness and justice, then ultimately all our economic world is of small importance, and the thing we have got to learn and as representatives of this religious body we are trying to help people learn, is that man shall not live merely by bread alone.

We are endeavoring to democratize privilege. I suppose the right is, after all, a privilege which society has believed somebody ought to monopolize. Now, in the development of a higher social conscience this idea is being done away with, but back of all that movement is the stability of moral order. We feel that the progress will be slow and that it will always be liable to the dangers and the shocks of the commercial polemic and of contests such as you have seen in the present war.

I thank you most heartily for this recognition. I want you to feel there are forces operating through the churches that are endeavoring to bring about a new social

mind in which religion shall not be merely a thing of the future, but shall be a thing of the present; in which men and women shall be trained, not to fight for their rights, but to give justice to others, and in the effort to be sacrificially social-minded we believe the churches are playing a conspicuous part in this great fight for social order. I thank you for your attention.

Miss Anna Fitzgerald, fraternal delegate from the Women's International Union Label League, was introduced by President Gompers and addressed the convention as follows:

Mr. President, Delegates and Friends: I assure you that I am glad to be here and to be given an opportunity to say to you that the women of this country are trying to do their part in this great work. The organization I represent, as many of you know, is composed of women who are trying to interest the great purchasing power of this country in the part they should take in this movement. We realize that if the American Federation of Labor is going to be all we want it to be, all that we hope for it, we must interest the women.

Our organization has been in existence for a number of years, and we have been carrying on the work of label agitation in particular. We realize that through label agitation many organizations are being formed, other organizations are being strengthened, and as the subject of child conservation is being given considerable thought at this time we realize that to conserve the child we must conserve the parent. If by shortening the hours we can conserve the energy of the parent and by a living wage make it possible to maintain a home, if we can provide sanitary conditions under which to work, we are going to help maintain the parent and consequently conserve the child. I believe there is no way we can do this that is more effective, there is nothing we can do that is going to be more lasting and permanent than a persistent demand for the union label.

Many of the organizations do not seem to realize the great power of the union label, and I feel I am presuming considerably when I have the courage to say to a delegation of the international unions that you do not realize all this movement, or any part of it, means to you; but from my experience it means from time to time this great important part of our movement is overlooked, and we believe it devolves upon the women to take this particular part of the work up and push it forward.

We have been successful in many parts of this country and we are continuing the work. By the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor we hope to form an organization, to build up an organization equal in strength, to direct the purchasing power of the great trade union movement through a channel that will build it up rather than destroy it.

This is an old story, but I am going to make this appeal to you again: Upon your return to your homes give this matter some consideration; take it up in your central and State organizations; take it up with the women's organizations and in your homes. Let us build up an organization of

women that will know they have a right to do something in this great work. If you do this I believe in a year or two we will be able to come back into this convention and say we have accomplished that which has been our dream; that we have been able to get the women together and have them realize what it means to them and what it means to you. If we can destroy the competition of prison labor, child labor and all unfair labor by directing our patronage in a channel that will help you, it seems to me it is a matter that is well worth while. I hope that upon your return to your own homes you will do your part to build up this organization. Whatever our work has been, whatever we hope to be, is only to lend a helping hand to the great labor movement. Our work is with the labor movement; we are not dictating to or leading it; we want to be with it; we want to be part of it and help in the work you have so ably outlined.

Vice-President Duncan: I offer as a motion that after the announcements are made the convention adjourn to 9.30 o'clock tomorrow morning in order to give the committees time to complete their reports. (Seconded.)

After announcement of committee meetings the motion was carried and at 12 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9.30 a. m. Friday, November 17.

Following are the resolutions introduced by unanimous consent during the session:

Resolution No. 157—By the delegates of the United Garment Workers:

WHEREAS, The firm of Strouse & Bro., manufacturers of High Art Clothing, and Henry Sonneborn & Co., manufacturers of Style Plus Clothing, of Baltimore, Md., are endeavoring to destroy the Clothing Cutters' Union of Baltimore, composed of members of the United Garment Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Said firms are recognizing the seceders of the Garment Workers who themselves amalgamated with the Clothing Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, Said firms continually in the past year have conspired and schemed with the seceders to destroy the bona fide membership of the United Garment Workers in their employ and forced them to rejoin the secession movement, and in order for said members to retain their membership in the United Garment Workers they were forced to strike on June 27, 1916, and are still on strike; and

WHEREAS, The seceders, with the aid of the firms of Sonneborn & Co. and Strouse & Bro., have imported strike-breakers and gunmen to intimidate and coerce the clothing cutters to return to their work and join the seceding organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Baltimore, hereby indorses the strike of the Clothing Cutters' Union against the

above mentioned firms, and that this department give all publicity possible to the fact as herein stated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced by the Union Label Trades Department to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for its indorsement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending these conventions on their return to their respective homes are requested to call the attention of the membership of their respective locals, central bodies and the merchants in their localities that the High Art Clothing made by Strouse & Bros., and Style Plus 17 clothing made by Sonneborn & Co., of Baltimore, Md., is unfair to organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 158—By Delegate Robert G. Fitchie, Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organization and education is the prime spirit in industrial emancipation of the working class; and

WHEREAS, There are many classes of industrial activity as yet unorganized that are very keenly feeling the need of organization, and are in a very receptive mood owing to the increased difficulty in solving the problem of meeting the increased cost of living with the decreased purchasing power of their salaries as evidenced by the growth of our organization in the past year among which are the mechanical and architectural draftsmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring the investigation and initiation of steps looking to the organization of this class of labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take steps to organize a national organization of the above mentioned class of labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie, Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, On June 8, 1916, a meeting was held in Paris, Ill., for the purpose of organizing the broom makers employed by the Merkle-Wiley Broom Company. The firm, on learning of the said action, discharged a number of its employes for having become members of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The action of the firm was reported to President John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, who called on the firm for the purpose of settling the grievance of the broom makers, the management making the statement that they did not want their employes disturbed by the establishment of an organization and refusing to recognize organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Merkle-Wiley Broom Company, by its action in discharging employes for becoming members of a trade union, indicate that they do not desire the patronage of union men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, de-

clares the Merkle-Wiley Broom Company, of Paris, Ill., to be unfair to organized labor, and urges all union men and women and friends of organized labor to refuse to purchase the products of the said firm; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Federation notify all State and city central bodies of the above action.

Referred to committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate John A. O'Connell, San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Financial officers of unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are required to submit monthly reports which entail a great deal of unnecessary labor and loss of time to compile by reason of the manner and form of said reports; and

WHEREAS, The same information can be compiled more compactly and equally accurate by the elimination of unnecessary repetition of names and other simplification as shown in the accompanying exhibits of a monthly report of Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union, No. 13105 of San Francisco, showing both the present method and the proposed new form of report and demonstrating the great simplicity and advantage of the said proposed form; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and is hereby, instructed to remedy the aforesaid grievance of directly affiliated unions and substitute a simplified method of rendering their monthly financial reports.

Referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Paul A. Vaccarelli, Thomas Harrison, John T. Joy, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The present lack of shipping to properly care for the commerce of the United States, as well as the commerce of the South and Central American republics, is fully reflected in the high freight rates which have prohibited the further conduct of many lines of industry, at least to the extent upon which they are dependent on such means of transportation for access to those markets; and

WHEREAS, Many notable efforts have been made by prominent citizens of the several republics here concerned to bring about the establishment of steamship lines to give the necessary accommodations to this commerce, which is virtually paralyzed because of this need; and

WHEREAS, The most notable and, in fact, the most promising of such efforts has been the action taken by the Panama-American Financial Conference recently held at the city of Washington, and which are stated in the conclusions and recommendations of that conference for the relief of this situation; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has at many of its conventions placed itself on record as being opposed to the granting to private ship-owning corporations of a ship subsidy subvention, exemption from taxation, or the payment of

port charges, or the granting of any bonus that would result in placing the independent shipowners at an unfair disadvantage in the trade with such corporations, and the final establishment of a monopoly of such service; and

WHEREAS, The membership of this association feel they have just as much right as any other class of citizens to give expression to their views and opinions on a matter of this kind; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor to indorse the action of the Panama-American Financial Conference and commend the efforts it is making to relieve this situation, as it has been disclosed to its view and the people of the several countries interested through this conference; be it further

RESOLVED, That we offer the following suggestions for the careful and unbiased consideration of the representatives of that conference, as well as the committees that were appointed to carry out the instructions of the conference:

First—That the stock of a Panama-American or inter-republic steamship line, or lines, be apportioned to the several countries interested on a basis of their commerce or population, or on a basis that gives consideration to both elements.

Second—That not less than one-third of the stock be so apportioned to be held by the government to which it is allotted.

Third—That the other two-thirds of such stock be offered to the public in such countries as it has been allotted to for public subscription.

Fourth—That the shares be issued in small denominations so as to place the stock within the reach of small investors, or those with moderate means.

Fifth—If bonds are issued to finance such steamship lines, they be subjected to the same rule.

Sixth—That railroad corporations, or other steamship lines whose interest might be opposed to the building up of such service be

not permitted to acquire either stock or bonds of such lines, and that provisions be made against the voting of such stocks or the collection of interest, or dividends, if held by such corporations.

Seventh—That such service be not operated in such a manner as to discourage the independent shipowners from entering the trade.

Referred to the Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 162—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Paul A. Vaccarelli, Thomas Harrison and John T. Joy, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Longshoremen working for the United States Government direct on United States transports and Government-owned vessels generally are not properly protected in case of accident resulting in injury or death; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, be requested to present this subject matter to the proper governmental authorities for the purpose of securing just, fair and immediate compensation in case of accidents resulting in injury or death for all men engaged in loading or discharging vessels and all dock work owned, operated or controlled by the United States Government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that no satisfactory results can be obtained by proper presentation as above specified, the Executive Council be instructed to draft a bill covering compensation for men engaged in the aforementioned work and use every effort to have such bill enacted into law by the United States Congress at an early date in order to relieve this serious defect as soon as possible.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

FIFTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., November 17, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Friday, November 17, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Meyers (E. C.), Kuhlman, Dorey, Hogan, Adams (A. F.), Canavan, Curtis, Dowler, Alexander (Lee), Young, Boos, Sims, Ogletree, Stephens, Betcher, Rander, Graham, Wilkinson, Brazzle, Grimlot, Newland, Windell, Ernst, Dane, Morris, Chase, Melnert.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram:

Tokyo, Japan, Nov. 17, 1916.

Samuel Gompers,
Conference American Federation of
Labor, Baltimore, Md.
Hearty greetings.

YU-AI-KAIS.

Secretary Morrison also read the following communication from Crown Cork and Seal Operatives No. 14204:

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 16, 1916.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

Believing the officers and delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor would be interested in our success through the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, we desire to inform you that the 560 girls holding paid-up cards in the Crown Cork and Seal Operatives No. 14204, American Federation of Labor, have this day, the 16th inst., obtained the eight-hour work day.

We desire to thank the American Federation of Labor for the interest taken in our behalf in not only assisting us to obtain the eight-hour work day, as against the ten-hour day, but aiding us in the four years of our union to procure 40 per cent. increase in wages. We feel proud of our advancement or achievement, and, therefore, request this letter be made a part of the record of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in order that others may read, become interested, and go and do likewise.

Fraternally yours,

[Seal] MISS JOHANNA SMITH,
Acting President.

MISS BELLE CLARKE, Secretary.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from J. S. Ralph, Director of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Washington, in which a cordial invitation was extended to the delegates to visit the bureau on Saturday while in Washington.

Delegate Greene, secretary of the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following supplemental report:

Your committee reports that we have received the following credentials, and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Arthur G. Lewis, 1 vote.

Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—J. L. Pauley, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11507—Harry Hollis, alternate, to act as delegate in place of Mrs. Mary B. East.

Bill Posters and Billers' International Union—Leon Reeves to act as delegate in place of Walter Gazzolo.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS HARRISON, Chairman;
JAMES MORIARTY,

M. F. GREENE, Secretary;
Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Voll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows upon the following section of the Executive Council's report, referred to that committee:

Fraternal Delegate Gosling in the chair.

Railroad Brotherhoods' Strike.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 78-81) the Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

The subject matter is thoroughly and comprehensively set forth in the report of the Executive Council, and its accompanying recommendation is so clearly pronounced as to the position of the American Federation of Labor on the question of compulsory institutions that no doubt of any description whatever is left. Your committee therefore recommends concurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hayes, Typographical Union, asked if there were not resolutions in the hands of the committee relating to the subject of the legal eight-hour day. Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee, stated that those resolutions would be reported upon later.

Delegate Brown (Mass.) spoke at some length in favor of the report of the committee, and emphasized strongly the necessity

of preparing to meet questions such as that dealt with in the report of the Executive Council.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Taylor System in Government Service.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 92-93) the Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

We view with satisfaction the achievements debarring the stop-watch system from the navy yards and arsenals of the United States, and heartily commend the work performed by the officers.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

President Gompers in the chair.

Employers' Liability—Workmen's Compensation for Injuries.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 95-96) the Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

Your committee commends the successful effort in establishing a comprehensive compensation law for Federal employees, and recommends continuation, so that its scope may be further extended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McGowan: I would like to ask the Chair if there is still a possibility of getting favorable action on Resolution No. 100, approved by the San Francisco Convention, and mentioned in the Executive Council's report?

Vice-President Duncan: The paragraph you refer to is as follows: "It was found impractical and impossible to do anything since the last session of Congress on Resolution No. 100, which called for a Federal compulsory compensation law covering all industries, or, as far as practicable, within Federal jurisdiction. This subject or method of dealing with it must be held in abeyance for a while longer."

President Gompers: The report of our Legislative Committee shows that there is hope for a comprehensive compensation law for all workers coming under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Postoffice Clerks' Salaries, Etc.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 96-97) the Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

We heartily concur in the progress made and recommend its continuance in the interest of these Government employes.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Brown (Mass.) asked if all the raises in salaries mentioned and the improved conditions of the postal employes had been gained through the work of the American Federation of Labor. The President answered in the affirmative. Delegate Brown asked further if the postal employes were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers: The Chair is of the opinion that nearly all the employes of the Government are aware of the fact that the benefits in the form of hours, wages and treatment, as well as the right to organize and the right to petition, have been secured for them by the American Federation of Labor. Some of these Federal employes are organized; the largest number of them are unorganized. Some of the organizations are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; some are not.

Vice-President Duncan: The employes of the postoffice affiliated with the American Federation of Labor appreciate most highly what the Federation has done for them. The representatives and officers of the Letter Carriers' Association, who are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—and I mention this so you will know it and can tell the letter carriers in your respective localities—endeavored, through their papers and through their official positions, to convey to their members that what has been read by the committee has been secured through the efforts of the officers of the letter carriers' organization and not through the American Federation of Labor. It is known in a few localities that the American Federation of Labor has been doing this, and where they cannot get their own organization to come into the American Federation of Labor they are forming locals attached to the clerks; but the main body of the letter carriers are in the letter carriers' organization, and I feel if they had the information reported by the committee this morning they would urge their officers to be more friendly to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

*Civil Service Employees—Political Liberty
of—Appeal Court For.*

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 105) the report of the Committee on Resolutions was as follows:

We recommend the continuance of the work in behalf of the civil service employees until every right under the bill of rights is accorded them.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Old-Age Pensions for Government Employees.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council (pp. 105-106) the Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

The progress that is being made toward the establishment of old-age pensions, as shown by the report of the Executive Council, gives great hope that a continuation of effort, which your committee recommends, will result in the establishment into law of this humanitarian proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The principle of old-age retirement for superannuated service employees is now generally recognized in every country in the world, except China and Turkey; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of the Government employes of the United States is insufficient to permit of adequate savings against old age; and

WHEREAS, The retirement of the aged postal employes of this country is desirable from a humane as well as a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, Congressman Peter F. Tague, of Boston, has introduced in the Committee of Postoffices and Post Roads, of which he is a member, a straight pension bill along equitable lines, both toward the postal department and the postal employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby indorses the Tague retirement measure, and urges upon Congress its enactment.

The committee reported that the subject matter contained in the resolution was covered by its recommendation on the Execu-

tive Council's report on old-age pensions, and no further action was necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee recommended the adoption of Resolution No. 30, when amended, to read as follows:

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate William Green, United Mine Workers:

WHEREAS, The prices of all necessities of life have increased, and are continuing to increase so rapidly as to constitute a menace to the standard of living of the American wage-earner; and

WHEREAS, The enormous profits amassed by grain speculators, meat packers, mine owners and many manufacturers, and by jobbers and dealers in foods and other commodities, as well as by railroads, express companies and other public service corporations, indicates that these prices are, to a large extent, artificial and unjustifiable; and

WHEREAS, Among the chief beneficiaries of this abnormal situation are the bitterest enemies of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, demands the creation of a Federal commission, which shall investigate all phases of this subject, and which shall recommend to Congress measures designed to remedy this situation and to prevent its recurrence; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to use all means within its power to procure speedy action in accordance with the intent of these resolutions.

The question was discussed by Delegate Brown (Mass.), Vice-President Duncan, Treasurer Lennon; Delegates Seidel, Decatur; Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union; Lynch, Painters; Green, Mine Workers; Cannon, Western Federation of Miners, and Griffin, Seamen.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice-President Duncan, after ascertaining that no other committee was ready to report, moved that the convention suspend the rules and adjourn to 9.30 o'clock Saturday morning to enable the committees to prepare reports, so that the members of the committees would be able to attend the sessions.

The motion was seconded, carried, and at 12.30 the convention was adjourned to 9 a. m. Saturday, November 18.

SIXTH DAY--Saturday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 18, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock Saturday, November 18th, President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees—Kuhlman, Meyers (E. C.), Dorey, Hogan, Canavan, Curtis, Dowler, Alexander (Lee), Young, Boos, Sims, Ogletree, Stephens, Stevenson (W. A.), Betcher, Rander, Graham, Wilkinson, Brazzle, Grinnell, Newland, Kennedy (T. F.), Windell, Ernst, Dane, Morris, Chase, Meinert.

Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Koveleski, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 9 be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate Gertrude M. McNally, of Federal Labor Union No. 12776:

WHEREAS, the rate of pay in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing to women machine operatives differs in certain branches; and

WHEREAS, The work done on one machine does not differ materially from that done on others; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor a minimum wage for all women machine operatives to be not less than \$2.24 per diem, the rate now paid to most of these women; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every influence to bring about this result.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended, the only amendment being the substitution of "minimum" for "standard" in the first resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14.—By Delegates R. Taylor, Laborers' Protective Union 15037; R. E. Peabody, Federal Employees' Union 14374; George Rulcker, Sign and Bulletin Board Makers 14872; Gertrude M. McNally, Federal Labor Union 12776; W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants 11773; Henry Raines, Federal Watchmen's Union 14964; R. L. Brazzle, Central Labor Council, Seattle; H. M. McLarin, Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, At present local trade unions and Federal labor unions have no direct representatives to assist in the various problems arising in connection with such organizations; and

WHEREAS, The selection of one or more men to devote their entire time to organizing or otherwise assisting said organizations would be most advantageous; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is directed to appoint at least one representative from the local trade or Federal labor unions, who shall devote his entire time to such work as the Executive Council may deem most important to the interests of such organizations.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it deems best, with the further recommendation that traveling organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to look into condition of the local trade and Federal labor unions and report their findings to the Executive Council; further, that state federations of labor and city central bodies should appoint committees where they do not already exist for the purpose of studying condition of local trade and Federal labor unions, and report the same to their organizations, in order that something more tangible may be accomplished for these organizations.

The recommendations of the committee were adopted.

Resolution No. 16.—By Delegates Henry A. Raines, Federal Watchmen's Union No. 14964; W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773; R. E. Peabody, Federal Employees' Union No. 14374; H. M. McLarin, Federal Employees' Union No. 14632; R. L. Brazzle, Central Labor Council, Seattle; Gertrude McNally, Federal Labor Union No. 12776; R. Taylor, Laborers' Protective Union No. 15037:

WHEREAS, Local trade and Federal labor unions are isolated from each other, and it is of vital importance that these organizations shall be conversant with the struggles of their fellow-members; and

WHEREAS, The *American Federationist*, the present medium of communication, has not been covering this information; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to provide a department of news covering the activities of local trade and Federal labor unions, either in the *American Federationist* itself or in a supplementary publication, as it may deem best.

Your committee offers the following as the substitute for Resolution No. 16:

RESOLVED, That local trade and Federal labor unions be invited to write items of news concerning their organizations for the *Weekly News Letter* of the American Federation of Labor, and that space be provided for all such items, subject to the supervision of the editor of the *News Letter*.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

President Gompers: The resolution and the committee's report both seem to fail to grasp what the situation actually is. In the *American Federationist* there appears monthly not only articles and editorials, but reports of the officers of the international and national unions, the departments, the state federations, city central bodies, the organizers or any men or women who have anything to say. They are, all of them, invited, requested and urged, and in some instances the constitution of the American Federation of Labor requires that some organizations shall send in their report. The resolution provides for nothing new, and the substitute of the committee would carry with it an implication that the local and federated unions should not hereafter send their reports to the *American Federationist*. It seems to me this recommendation requires a little further consideration by the committee.

Vice-President Perham, chairman of the committee: The committee heard several representatives of organizations represented in this matter. They suggest in the resolution that they shall have a publication of their own. The committee understands that the bodies have not been furnishing the matters desired for publication; therefore it offered as a suggestion that the columns of the *Federationist* and of the *Weekly News Letter* are open to them. If it is the desire to give the resolution further consideration the committee will gladly accept it.

After a further statement by President Gompers the committee withdrew the resolution for further consideration.

The committee amended Resolution No. 35 by striking out the first "Whereas," which reads: "During the past year increases in wages have been granted in all large manufacturing plants in the country" and inserting the words "at least" in the first resolve, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Gertrude M. McNally, of Federal Labor Union No. 12778:

WHEREAS, The wages of the women employed in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, with but a few exceptions, have not been increased in several years; and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has greatly increased; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor an increase of at least 20 per cent. in the wages of all women employees of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing who now receive less than \$2.25 per diem; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exert every effort to have legislation enacted that will bring about the desired result.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Seidel moved as an amendment that the resolution provide that the women workers shall receive the same pay as the men in the printing trades or in any department where they are employed by the Federal Government.

The amendment was not seconded.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Henry A. Raines, of Federal Watchmen's Union No. 14964:

WHEREAS, The Federal Watchmen's Union, by referendum vote of its membership of November 7, 1916, did adopt a resolution known as Proposition No. 1 of the following tenor:

"That the officers of the union availing themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the American Federation of Labor shall seek the enactment of legislation increasing the salary of watchmen in the Government service"; and

WHEREAS, In seeking the enactment of such legislation the high cost of the necessities of life, and the fact that the present salary was set by Congress over 60 years ago and is totally inadequate to meet the present cost of living, should be given full consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor indorses the referendum of the Federal Watchmen's Union as outlined in this resolution, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist in seeking legislation to increase the salaries of the Federal watchmen, with due consideration to the high cost of living and the inadequacies of the present salaries to meet the same.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate C. C. Dane, of Federal Labor Union No. 14781:

WHEREAS, The method now in force in issuing membership books to Federal labor unions has been found unsatisfactory and is the cause of much discontent among the members, having to wait for long periods before receiving said books from the A. F. of L.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the A. F. of L. to issue membership books to secretaries in bulk, in order that same could be issued to new members upon joining the organization; also, that initiation stamps be issued to secretaries of Federal labor unions in the same way as the monthly due stamps.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency in Resolution No. 47.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Curry (G. H.) opposed the recommendation of the committee. He spoke at some length of the experience of his own and other Federal labor unions in the West and Northwest where large numbers of members were accepted each month, and the inconvenience caused by the long wait

for due cards to be received from headquarters.

Secretary Morrison: At the last convention there was some discussion about simplifying the reports that local unions should make. The Butte organization was one of those that wished this done. The chief trouble in some of our local unions seemed to be that they did not desire to report on their full membership. The Law Committee has some resolutions in regard to simplifying the reports, making it easier for secretaries, particularly those that have large memberships, and I would move that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Law to be taken up in connection with the other resolutions of that character, with the consent of the committee.

Chairman Perham of the committee reporting seconded the motion, which was adopted.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of Federal Employes' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, The present rates of pay of practically all of the employes of the United States of America in the classified civil service were fixed by enactment of law in 1853; and

WHEREAS, The salaries and wages of all classes of workers, especially those organized, have very materially increased during the period since 1853; and

WHEREAS, The duties of Government employes, the requirements as to their abilities and the hours of work have from time to time during the period since 1853 increased; and

WHEREAS, The salaries and wages of the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet, the heads of all independent bureaus and commissions, the members of Congress, the judges of all United States courts, the United States marshals, the officers and enlisted men of both the Army and Navy, and of a very large percentage of the supervisory Government officials have been increased from time to time until now these salaries and wages are a great deal larger than they were in 1853; and

WHEREAS, The actual cost of the necessities of life has increased during this period, and especially during the last decade to such an extent that it is now almost impossible for a classified civil service employe to support himself and family on the wages paid by the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law granting to all Government employes in the classified civil service a horizontal increase of salaries or wages, amounting to at least \$200 per annum; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the same conditions confronting the employes of the District of Columbia, the same effort be made to secure for them such an increase in pay as will equalize the rates of pay of the employes of the District of Columbia and the employes of the United States.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

After a brief discussion by Delegate Furseth the motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate John H. Lorch, of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record as favoring pensions for Government employes; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union at its last meeting went on record in favor of pensions for Government employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Labor Union likewise go on record as favoring the passage of a law by Congress providing pensions for the public school teachers, the public school janitors and all other public school employes of the District of Columbia; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee and the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to do their best to have same to become a law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates Joseph H. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey and Charles A. Carbon, American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, To entertain the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Philadelphia, Pa., November, 1914, the municipal authorities of the city appropriated \$25,000 to properly care for and entertain the delegates to that convention; and

WHEREAS, Among the functions given during the time the convention was in session was a torchlight evening parade; and

WHEREAS, For this parade 1,000 musicians were employed, 300 of whom were employed direct by the committee having charge of the care of the delegates and convention; and

WHEREAS, After some of the expenses incurred were paid, including all the musicians except the 300 employed by the general committee, the \$25,000 appropriated by the city was exhausted, and the 300 musicians employed by the general committee, to whom \$1,500 is still due for this service, have not been compensated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention request the Philadelphia Central Labor Union to endeavor to make provision to pay this just debt so long past due.

Secretary Koveleski: Your committee feels that the American Federation of Labor has no jurisdiction in this matter and nonconcurs in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Carbon, Musicians; Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors; Delegate Carey, Musicians; Delegate Miller, Musicians; Delegate Hall,

Textile Workers; Delegate Harrison, Central Labor Union, Philadelphia, and Delegate Seidel, Decatur, Ill., central body.

Upon motion of Delegate Shapiro debate was closed.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Harrison, Longshoremen, moved that all reference to the matter contained in Resolution No. 123 be expunged from the minutes. (Seconded.)

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union, raised the point of order that the resolution of an international organization could not be expunged from the records.

The point of order was declared well taken.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate James H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 28, of San Francisco, Cal., has been suspended from membership by the Upholsterers' International Union of North America for refusing to comply with a decision rendered by the General Executive Board; and

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 28 is affiliated with the California State Federation of Labor, the San Francisco Labor Council and the Building Trades Council of San Francisco; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who have included in their membership Local Union No. 28, of San Francisco, to unseat this organization within thirty days after the adjournment of this convention.

Secretary Koveleski: Extensive hearings were held in relation to this resolution, and the fact developed that a settlement could be reached between Local No. 28 and the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

Mr. Rosenthal, representing San Francisco Local No. 28, agreed to apply for reinstatement of charter.

Mr. J. H. Hatch, general president Upholsterers' International Union of North America, agreed to reinstate the local charter within fifteen days.

We recommend that no further action be taken pending the ratification of the agreement reached between the parties.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, of Little Rock Central Trades Council, Little Rock, Ark.:

WHEREAS, Central trades councils and state federations of labor have proved of great benefit to organized labor in the respective cities and states in which they are located; and

WHEREAS, Some local unions refuse or fail to affiliate with these bodies; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor instruct their local unions to affiliate with central trades coun-

cils and state federations of labor where such exist.

Your committee desires to amend the resolution by substituting the word "instruct" in place of the word "require," which complies with Section 1 of Article XI of the Constitution.

With this amendment the committee concurs in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Chairman Perham: This completes the report of the committee.

(Signed) H. B. PERHAM, Chairman;

STUART A. HAYWARD,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
HUBERT S. MARSHALL,
FRED A. HELLER,
NORMAN C. SPRAGUE,
JOHN H. LORCH,
SARAH SHAPIRO,
JOHN MURRAY,
J. A. SHORT,
R. G. FITCHIE,
H. E. WOODMANSEE, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

The chairman of the Committee on Boycotts announced that Resolution No. 158 had been referred by that committee to the Committee on Organization.

Delegate Kloter, Electrical Workers, asked unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, stating that the subject matter of the resolution was in regard to the organization of all trades and crafts working in the shipyards of the United States.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, objected to the introduction of the resolution.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that the report of the Committee on Adjustment be made a special order of business for 10 o'clock Wednesday morning. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan moved as an amendment that the words "or as soon thereafter as the committee that may be holding the platform finishes its report" be added to the motion.

The amendment was seconded and carried, and the motion as amended was adopted.

The President announced that at 12:55 the special train would leave Baltimore for Washington; that upon arriving there the delegation would visit the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, and at 5 p. m. would be received at the White House by President Wilson.

Delegate Burt moved that the rules be suspended, and an adjournment taken to Monday morning. Seconded and carried.

After the usual announcements the convention was adjourned at 11:30 a. m., to convene at 9:30 a. m. Monday, November 20.

SEVENTH DAY--Monday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 20, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Mullaney, Felder, Myers, Kuhlman, Schwarz, Schlesinger, Zaritsky, D'Andrea, Dwyer, Keefe, Flore, Dorey, Lavender, Weber, Miller, Carbon, Kearney, McGrath, Adams (A. E.), Shap, Dolliver, Konekamp, Agethen, Jarrett, Dowler, Bennett, Cohen, McAndrews, McDonald, Alexander (Lee), Young, Brandle, Boos, Sims, Murray, Connell, Hosler, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Rander, Graham, Wilkinson, O'Connell (J. A.), Lewis, Brazzle, Newland, Kennedy, Windell, Voll, Kritzer, McLarin, Dane, DaCosta, Weber, Coleman, Taylor, Morris, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Hollis, Browder, Chase, Malmert, Rodgers, Anderson.

President Gompers: I think a report should be made to this convention upon the fact that the motion adopted in regard to a visit to Washington has been carried out. On Saturday last the officers and delegates of this convention left the Union Station of the Pennsylvania Railroad at 12:55 p. m., and reached Washington at 1:50. The delegates and their friends proceeded to the American Federation of Labor Building, visited the interior and later a photograph was taken at the building. At 4 o'clock they reassembled at the Federation Building and, with a band of music volunteered by the union musicians of Washington, went on foot to the White House, where the delegates and their friends were received by the President of the United States, Hon. Woodrow Wilson. The President of the American Federation of Labor made some remarks. The President of the United States made response, and thereafter the delegates and their friends passed President Wilson, being introduced to him before passing. After leaving the White House the delegates and their friends returned to the train at Washington, left there at 6:30 o'clock and reached Baltimore after a very pleasant social ceremony and entertainment on the train. This was followed by an entertainment in the evening. It seems this official notice should be given in convention that the motion of the convention has been fully carried out.

Delegate Brown (Mass.) moved that the remarks of both President Gompers and President Wilson be incorporated in the minutes. (Seconded and carried.)

President Gompers stated that the motion would be carried out as far as possible; that he had been informed that the brief address of President Wilson had been reported by a stenographer, but that the response of President Gompers had not been so reported.

[The addresses of President Wilson and of President Gompers will be published in a later issue of the daily journal.]

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Sara A. Conboy, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 151.—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton and W. J. Brennan:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Stationary Fireman has succeeded in establishing a uniform scale of wages in many of the municipalities, county and state institutions throughout the country for the following occupations: Oilers, stationary firemen and coal passers and helpers; and

WHEREAS, We are now engaged in an effort to obtain the prevailing rate of wages for our members who are now in the employ of the Federal service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. request its Executive Council and all central bodies and its Legislative Committee to render the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen such assistance as may be necessary to bring about the desired result.

Your committee reports concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 135.—By Delegate Ida Furman of the American Federation of Teachers:

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemns the unscrupulous act of the Chicago Board of Education in summarily dropping, without warning or hearing, in defiance of the Superintendent's recommendation, thirty-eight admittedly efficient teachers, for reasons which evidently would not bear the light of day. This convention condemns the act as an offense to the American conception of justice, as a reversal from the merit system to spoils politics, as a breach of public trust subversive of the

principles of democracy upon which our public schools were founded, and which the Board of Education is pledged to conserve. It was an act which brands the members of the guilty majority as hostile to American traditions and ideals, and unfit to share the privileges and duties of life in a democracy.

Your committee reports concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegates Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton and W. J. Brennan:

WHEREAS, At the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor Resolution No. 150 was, on report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, unanimously adopted; and

WHEREAS, The committee in its report recommended that both organizations appoint committees with power to act to formulate a joint working agreement, under which the members of both International bodies (namely Engineers and Firemen) may carry on their vocations without the one infringing on the other; and

WHEREAS, At the biennial convention of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, held in Newark, N. J., September 11-16, 1916, a special committee of said organizations to which subject matters was referred reported as follows: "That the incoming Executive Board be given full power by this convention to settle the controversy between the engineers and firemen"; and

WHEREAS, An amendment to the committee's report was adopted, which read as follows: "That this convention go on record as agreeing to amalgamate with the firemen and, in the event that the firemen refuse to amalgamate, that our members stand instructed by this convention that hereafter no members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, so far as he has power to hire or discharge, shall employ or retain in his employ any apprentice unless he holds membership in our international union;" and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid action taken by the Engineers' International Union, in convention assembled, practically makes it impossible for the officers of either organization, much as they may desire to comply with the mandates of the parent body of labor, namely, the convention of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the officers of both international organizations in conjunction with the president or a member of the Executive Council, to hold a conference for the purpose of formulating a satisfactory agreement; and

RESOLVED, That all state or central labor bodies be and are hereby instructed to render all assistance within their power locally to assist in carrying out the spirit of this resolution, and in the meantime to maintain the laws or mandates of previous decisions of

conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Conboy: Your committee concurs in this resolution, with the exception of the last resolution. We feel that the state and central bodies should not be drawn into a controversy of this kind until an understanding or agreement has been reached by the organizations involved. They should then be required only to assist in carrying out the understanding or agreement reached.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 158—By Delegate Robert G. Fitchie, Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organization and education are the prime spirits in industrial emancipation of the working class; and

WHEREAS, There are many classes of industrial activity as yet unorganized that are very keenly feeling the need of organization, and are in a very receptive mood owing to the increased difficulty in solving the problem of meeting the increased cost of living with the decreased purchasing power of their salaries, as evidenced by the growth of our organization in the past year, among which are the mechanical and architectural draftsmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring the investigation and initiation of steps looking to the organization of this class of labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take steps to organize a national organization of the above mentioned class of labor.

Secretary Conboy: Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation, and that when the men referred to are sufficiently organized the Executive Council shall then give the question of forming a national organization further consideration without infringement on the jurisdictional rights of other affiliated organizations.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in unanimously.

Secretary Conboy: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization.

(Signed) FRANK DUFFY, Chairman;
A. J. KUGLER,
WM. A. NEER,
FRANK J. HAYES,
A. HINZMAN,
HENRY F. HILFERS,
J. P. JENNINGS,
P. T. REARDON,
JOHN P. TAGGART,
W. J. BRENNAN,
THOMAS S. FARRELL,
SARA A. CONBOY, Secretary.

Report of Committee on State Organizations.

Vice-President Alpine, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Antitrust and Injunction Regulation and Limitation Legislation in the States.

On that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (pp. 67-69) the committee reported as follows:

Chairman Alpine: With reference to the subject matter under the caption "Antitrust and Injunction Regulation and Limitation Legislation in the States," on pages 67-69 of the report of the Executive Council, your committee concurs to the fullest extent with the recommendations therein contained, and in view of the fact that the past year has more fully demonstrated the importance of making this law the paramount issue in state legislative programs we feel that every state organization should do its utmost to see that a model injunction bill, such as has been formulated by the American Federation of Labor, be enacted into law at the coming sessions of the General Assemblies of their states.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Convict Labor.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (pp. 104-105) the committee reported as follows:

Chairman Alpine: On the subject matter contained in the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Convict Labor," on pages 104-105 of the Council's report your committee feels called upon to commend the action of the Executive Council for its good efforts toward the enactment of laws to correct the evils now prevalent in the various penal institutions and their competition with free labor, and we urge all state federations and city central bodies to be on the alert in the interest of such legislation and to see to it that their Senators and Congressmen support and vote for any law to correct this evil that has the indorsement of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The illegal, unwarranted and unlawful issuance of injunctions in trade disputes is in violation of all constitutional and statutory rights, and robs, through judge-made law (?), the workers collectively and individually of their freedom of action

as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment; and

WHEREAS, The abuse of such injunctions is the greatest strike-breaker known in modern industries, and places in the hands of unscrupulous employers an unfair and powerful weapon, which is unfairly wielded to the disadvantage of workmen and women who engage in the lawful effort to maintain decent living conditions, increased wages and shorten the hours of labor; and

WHEREAS, The so-called Clayton Act, which declares that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce, and in so far as the Federal statutes are concerned tends to correct the illegal issuance and abuse of the writ of injunction in trade disputes; and

WHEREAS, We hold that the paramount issue now confronting organized labor specifically and unorganized labor in general is the extension of the provisions of the Clayton Act until it becomes a law and operative in every state in the Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Baltimore, Md., November, 1916, earnestly urges upon all state federations of labor and organized labor everywhere that they make the injunction question the paramount issue in all of their future political activities, and that they continue such activity until the law is on the statute books of every state of the Union, which will safeguard and protect the rights and liberties of all citizens in so far as the illegal, unconstitutional and unwarranted use and abuse of the writ of injunction is concerned in trade disputes.

Chairman Alpine: Your committee concurs in this resolution and urges all state federations, central bodies and the organized movement in general to do their utmost to see that legislation along this line is enacted and placed on the statute books of their states.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate Charles A. Patterson, of Missouri State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations we find, on page 70 of said report, the following conclusions and recommendations in reference to the housing of working people in the industrial centers as well as the rural districts:

1. That the Federal and state governments should institute investigations, directed not so much to ascertaining existing housing conditions as to formulate constructive methods by which direct support and encouragement to the promotion of improved housing can be given. Actual experiment in the promotion of housing should proceed as rapidly as proper plans can be drafted.

2. Special attention should be given to taxation, in order that land should, as far as possible, be forced into use and the burden of taxation be removed from home owners.

3. The municipalities should be relieved from all state restrictions which now prevent them from undertaking the operation of adequate housing schemes and from engaging in other necessary municipal enterprises; and

WHEREAS, The investigation of the Commission on Industrial Relations presents some astonishing and deplorable facts on this important subject in reference to housing of workmen and their families, and the further fact that a system of unemployment exists under our present arrangement of society, which, to say the least, is most unjust, if not criminal, and makes it impossible for any working people to emerge from the miserable conditions so forcibly described in said report; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the Federal government has already established a rural credit system for the benefit of the farmer, and in view of the fact that Third Assistant Postmaster-General has recently published a statement to the effect that there were on deposit in the Postal Savings Banks of this country the sum of \$90,000,000.00, we believe it is an easy matter for the government to take such steps to relieve the working people in the industrial centers of the insanitary homes that are now unfit for habitation; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That Congress be urged to pass such necessary legislation whereby the money on deposit in the Postal Savings Banks may be loaned to municipalities for the purpose of building model homes for their citizens. Or the Government should establish such a system of credits whereby the people may borrow money for a long term of years, at a low rate of interest, to build their own homes; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention indorse the idea, therein set forth, and that our secretary be instructed to forward a copy to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with the request that they prepare the necessary legislation in reference to this matter and have same introduced at the next session of Congress. And that our delegate to the convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to present this matter to the convention, and also urge the delegates to take it back to their respective organizations, so that we may be able to bring about this most necessary social reform.

Chairman Alpine: Your committee is in full accord with the principle involved in the above resolution for the better housing of the working people, and favors any lawful act that will give to the workers an opportunity of financial assistance for this purpose. With this view in mind, your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council for its consideration and such legislation as in its judgment may bring about the desired end.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 161—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Paul A. Vaccarelli, Thomas Harrison, John T. Joy, International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The present lack of shipping to properly care for the commerce of the United States, as well as the commerce of the South and Central American republics, is fully reflected in the high freight rates which have prohibited the further conduct of many lines of industry, at least to the extent upon which they are dependent on such means of transportation for access to those markets; and

WHEREAS, Many notable efforts have been made by prominent citizens of the several republics here concerned to bring about the establishment of steamship lines to give the necessary accommodations to this commerce, which is virtually paralyzed because of this need; and

WHEREAS, The most notable and, in fact, the most promising of such efforts has been the action taken by the Panama-American Financial Conference recently held at the city of Washington, and which are stated in the conclusions and recommendations of that conference for the relief of this situation; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has at many of its conventions placed itself on record as being opposed to the granting to private ship-owning corporations of a ship subsidy subvention, exemption from taxation, or the payment of port charges, or the granting of any bonus that would result in placing the independent shipowners at an unfair disadvantage in the trade with such corporations, and the final establishment of a monopoly of such service; and

WHEREAS, The membership of this association feel they have just as much right as any other class of citizens to give expression to their views and opinions on a matter of this kind; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor to indorse the action of the Panama-American Financial Conference and commend the efforts it is making to relieve this situation, as it has been disclosed to its view and the people of the several countries interested through this conference; be it further

RESOLVED, That we offer the following suggestions for the careful and unbiased consideration of the representatives of that conference, as well as the committees that were appointed to carry out the instructions of the conference:

First—That the stock of a Panama-American or inter-republic steamship line, or lines, be apportioned to the several countries interested on a basis of their commerce or population, or on a basis that gives consideration to both elements.

Second—That not less than one-third of the stock be so apportioned to be held by the government to which it is allotted.

Third—That the other two-thirds of such stock be offered to the public in such countries as it has been allotted to for public subscription.

Fourth—That the shares be issued in small denominations so as to place the stock within the reach of small investors, or those with moderate means.

Fifth—If bonds are issued to finance such steamship lines, they be subjected to the same rule.

Sixth—That railroad corporations, or other steamship lines whose interest might be opposed to the building up of such service be not permitted to acquire either stock or bonds of such lines, and that provisions be made against the voting of such stocks or the collection of interest, or dividends, if held by such corporations.

Seventh—That such service be not operated in such a manner as to discourage the independent shipowners from entering the trade.

Chairman Alpine: Due to the need of more complete information concerning this resolution, and in order that the fullest consideration and investigation may be effected, your committee refers the matter to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that that body investigate and take such course as in their judgment may appear to be expedient and proper.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Chairman Alpine: This completes the report of the committee. I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. (Seconded and carried.)

(Signed) JOHN R. ALPINE, Chairman:

J. B. BODE,
JAMES W. KLINE,
BOB WHITE,
THOMAS SWEENEY,
THOMAS R. PREECE,
J. E. CRELLIN,
JAMES P. HOLLAND,
C. E. JAMES,
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS,
JAMES BRUFF,
E. F. KLOTER,
E. L. EDGERTON,
JOHN H. WALKER,
HENRY W. RAISSE, Secretary.

Committee on State Organizations.

Report of Committee on American Federation of Labor Office Building.

Delegate Foley, for the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee upon the American Federation of Labor Office Building has given consideration to the several subjects referred to them having to do with the construction, the opening and the maintenance of the Office Building of the American Federation of Labor at Washington.

Previous conventions having authorized the construction of the office building and plans having been made and confirmed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarding the maintenance of same, makes it unnecessary for your committee to detail herein the progress of the work already per-

formed. It is, however, important that we direct to the attention of this convention the fact that the Office Building of the American Federation of Labor has been completed and presents an effort representing the highest possible standard of efficiency and responsiveness to the requirements of our movement that could be expected. In addition, the construction of an office building for the American labor movement at Washington makes it possible for the economical and effective transaction of the business of the American Federation of Labor and its several departments. The building presents a monument to the American labor movement and further emphasizes its stability and importance as an institution of permanency in the affairs of not only the workers of this country but of the Government itself. The consummation of our efforts through the establishment of a permanent home for the transaction of our business marks an epoch for the evolutionizing of American sentiment in the interest of humanity and a higher standard of citizenship. In confirmation of this statement your committee has but to direct to your attention again the fact that upon the very spot where our office building now stands formerly existed the slave pen. The institution that now stands representing the permanency of our movement in the Capital of the Government of the United States is acting as a beacon light of freedom and the persistent and consistent instrument for the promotion of human rights and opportunities for the working men and women of America.

Your committee most respectfully directs the attention of this convention to the importance of the dedication of your building, which was accepted as an important incident in our public affairs, exemplified by the fact that one of the largest demonstrations responded to the occasion that has ever been known in the history of Washington. The President of the United States was the chief speaker upon the occasion and also represented were several secretaries of governmental departments and prominent representatives of Congress. In addition, the occasion was honored by the presence of representatives of the labor movement of Mexico, and the British Trades Congress extended its felicitations through their specially appointed representative, Messrs. George A. Isaacs and H. Wilson Howse. Your committee desires to extend to the Executive Council and to those who were in direct charge of the dedication ceremonies congratulations upon the splendid manner in which this work was handled and for the very auspicious way in which the building was formally opened.

The convention's attention is directed to the financial report made by the Executive Council through the trustees of the building, which appears on pages 37 to 41 of the general report to this assemblage. We have made a careful investigation of the audit and we find the report correct in detail. Your committee has likewise given consideration to the financial phase of the situation as it has to do not only with the cost of construction and the outlay to date but likewise to the matter of its maintenance and the future operation of the building. We feel free, therefore, to report that in our opinion the arrangements already made by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are fully ample to meet the requirements of this work. This fact is very clearly demonstrated in the report of Secretary Morrison, wherein it is shown that the refund to the loan secured from the defense fund of the American Federation of Labor is double the amount originally contemplated. The previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor authorized that the sum of \$50,000.00 be borrowed from the defense fund with the understanding that \$2,500.00 per annum should be paid back to this fund from the resources established for the construction and operation of the building. It will be noted on page 40 of the report of the Executive Council that these payments of \$2,500.00 have been made in less than the stipulated period, or a total amount of \$5,000.00 has been refunded since the convention of 1915. It is apparent, therefore, to your committee that the financial arrangement is thoroughly practicable, and without unforeseen emergencies our operations from this angle will not require a change so far as it has to do with further demands upon the organizations financially.

The occupants of the office building now constitute the American Federation of Labor proper, the Building Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, the Union Label Trades Department, the Mining Department, the Federal Employees' Union, the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks. The International Association of Machinists have indicated their intention of taking an entire floor in the building within a very short time. It will be observed, therefore, that the splendid facilities provided for in the building give reasonable assurance of complete occupancy within a very short time, all of which will very materially lessen the cost of maintenance and return to the office building fund a substantial income.

It will be observed from the Executive Council's report that trustees have been ap-

pointed by the Council from its membership, they being Messrs. Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and James O'Connell. It is also observed that the Executive Council recommends that the terms of the trustees shall end on the first day of January of each year and that the Executive Council shall elect trustees immediately after the adjournment of the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee believes that this is a most desirable and practical plan, therefore recommends the approval of the Executive Council's recommendation upon this subject with the understanding that the trustees of the building shall at all times be members, through proper affiliation, with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends to this convention that full approval be given to those who have been charged with the responsibility of the work of construction of our office building and to the Executive Council for the very practicable and businesslike manner in which they have handled the many details in connection therewith. We also take this means of expressing appreciation to those represented in the American Federation of Labor for the liberal manner in which they have responded to the requirements of this work, and we likewise appreciate the courtesies extended to us by Government, state and city officials as well as to those sympathizers and friends who have so generously co-operated in the initiation and consummation of this work.

Your committee takes cognizance of the magnificent elk head presented to the American Federation of Labor Building by the Federated Trades Unions of Wyoming, through the State Federation of Labor, and recommends as follows: That state Federations, national and international unions present some suitable token to the end that all may be represented in our national headquarters. Very respectfully submitted,

GEORGE L. BERRY, Chairman;
 GEORGE S. TOWSON,
 GEORGE E. ROBERTS,
 EDMOND RALEIGH,
 J. B. ETCHISON,
 C. F. FOLEY,
 J. A. TAYLOR,
 JOHN SUAREZ,
 JAS. E. WILSON,
 JAS. L. GERSON,
 CHAS. H. MOYER,
 A. P. SOVEY,
 SAM TOBIN,
 HARRY W. FOX,
 C. L. SHAMP, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Kloter obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 163—By Delegates James P. Noonan, Edward F. Kloter and Frank Fisher, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, Owing to the unorganized condition of the various trades working in the numerous shipyards throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the deplorable conditions that exist in these shipyards for the workers of the different crafts therein employed; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the opportune time has arrived to remedy this condition,

which has been a thorn in the side of every man that has the interest of organized labor at heart; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record calling upon the heads of all organizations having men working in shipyards to put forth an effort, by concerted action, to place organizers in the field to try to bring about the desired results that labor for years has tried to attain in the shipyards throughout the United States.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 11 o'clock the rules were suspended and recess was taken to 2 p. m. of the same day.

SEVENTH DAY--Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m. Monday, November 20, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Goldstone, Shanessy, Felder, Dobson, Mueller, Flaherty, Myers (C. E.) Conway, Kuhlmann, Fisher (F.), Feeney, Hannahan, Edgerton, Comerford, Schwarz, Larger, Doyle, Schlesinger, Lawson, Keefe, Flore, Williams, Gould, Graham, Lewis Brazzle, Dorey, Moyer, McCormick, Weber, Carey, Donlin, Cook, O'Keefe, Deviny, Nau, Griffin, Adams (A. E.), Welsh, Sheehan, Bode, Golden, Fitzpatrick, Jarrett, Dowler, Kiser, Newland, Kennedy, Cohen (Jake), Young, O'Dell, Brandle, Boos, Smith (J. T.), Sims, Murray, Connell, Browder, Chase, Melnert, Anderson, Fitzgerald, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Rander, Master, Windell, O'Donnell, Wilcox, Kritzer, Peabody, McLarin, Dane, Murray, Wilber, Coleman, Morris, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne.

President Gompers: The chief officers of the railroad brotherhoods have been in conference with the officers of the American Federation of Labor frequently. The Executive Council at its last meeting in Washington had under advisement the extension of an invitation to the four chiefs to appear before this convention and make addresses if they so desired. The President of the American Federation of Labor extended an invitation to them, and he was advised that he would receive definite information from Washington as soon as possible. I am now in receipt of a telegram which the secretary will read.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Washington, D. C., Nov. 20, 1916.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Baltimore, Md.:

We will reach Baltimore Tuesday morning about 9, and appear before your convention any hour during forenoon.

STONE,
CARTER,
SHEPPARD,
LEE.

Report of Committee on Local and Federated Unions.

Secretary Koveleski reported as follows:

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Henry A. Raines, Federal Watchmen's Union No. 1494; W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773; R. E. Peabody, Federal Employees' Union No. 14374; H. M. McLarin, Federal Employees' Union No. 14632; R. L. Brazzle, Central Labor Council, Seattle; Gertrude McNally, Federal Labor Union No. 12776; R. Taylor, Laborers' Protective Union No. 15037:

WHEREAS, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions are isolated from each other and it is of vital importance that these organizations shall be conversant with the struggles of their fellow-members; and

WHEREAS, The American Federationist, the present medium of communication, has not been covering this information; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to provide a department of news covering the activities of local trade and Federal Labor Unions, either in the American Federationist itself or in a supplementary publication, as it may deem best.

Upon Resolution No. 16 your committee calls attention to the fact that wherever there is a cause of complaint, as stated in the resolution, it is due not to the *American Federationist*, but to the failure of the local trade and Federal labor unions to take advantage of the columns thereof. We urge that all organized labor contribute reports and articles for publication in the *American Federationist*. We recommend that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for such further action as may be deemed in the best interests of the local bodies and the labor movement in general.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Secretary Koveleski: This completes the report of the committee.

(Signed) H. B. PERHAM, Chairman;
 H. S. MARSHALL,
 J. J. BARRY,
 SARAH SHAPIRO,
 JOHN MURRAY,
 NORMAN SPRAGUE,
 ROBERT BRINDELL,
 FRED. A. HELLER,
 R. E. WOODMANSEE,
 JOHN H. LORCH,
 STEWART A. HAYWARD,
 JAMES A. SHORT,
 ROBERT G. FITCHIE,
 CHARLES ANDERSON,
 E. KOVELESKI, Secretary.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Assessments Levied Unprovided By Our Constitution.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 66-67) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the indorsement of the report, and, further, that no assessments be levied except in accordance with the constitution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Massachusetts "Labor-Is-Property" Decision

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 69-71) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the indorsement of the report, and recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to further pursue the investigation of the case, and if there be

any opportunity for a rehearing on appeal, that that procedure be authorized by the convention.

Your committee would further recommend that it be the sense of this convention that it seems to be the settled purpose of interests antagonistic to the freedom of men and women who labor to persuade and then use the judiciary to misconstrue constitutional guaranties, and thereby nullify legislative enactments so as to leave but one remedy, and we, therefore, recommend that any injunctions dealing with the relationship of employer and employe, and based upon the dictum, "Labor Is Property," be wholly and absolutely treated as usurpation and disregarded, let the consequences be what they may. Such a decision as that rendered by the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts has its roots in class interests; it is usurpation and tyranny. Freedom came to man because he believed that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God; as it came so it must be maintained. Kings could be and were disobeyed, and sometimes deposed. In cases of this kind judges must be disobeyed, and should be impeached.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals Endowed vs. United Mine Workers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 73-77) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the adoption of this report; that it be given the most careful consideration by the members of organized labor and friends of freedom everywhere, and, further, that the decision is of the utmost importance, and should be appealed to the Supreme Court, if it is possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Political Action.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 81-85) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the adoption of this report and congratulate the labor movement and the Executive Council upon the progress made, and recommend a further indorsement and use of this form of political action.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Report on Legislation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 85-90) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the adoption of this report, and congratulate the Executive Council upon the clear and concise historical review and statements of legislation enacted and successfully resisted.

It is particularly gratifying to note that nearly all of the matters in the Bill of Grievances, submitted to Congress years ago, have been favorably disposed of and those that have not been finally disposed of have been acted upon by the House of Representatives, and we have reason to believe that before the closing of this Congress the bills growing out of the Bill of Grievances will become law.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Immigration.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (pp. 101-102) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend that the report be adopted and that the convention insist upon the passage of the Immigration Bill, with proper guarantee of establishing and maintaining the right of asylum.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners: I understand the Immigration Bill recently before Congress contains a clause to the effect that the citizens of the United States should be guaranteed the same protection abroad as the countries abroad ask for the protection of their people here; in other words, while the Russian Jew is an outcast in Russia the Immigration law provides that the Russian Jew get the same kind of treatment here that he gets in Russia.

Delegate Furuseth, chairman of the committee: There is no such provision in the Immigration Bill.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Wage Legislation for Printing Trades and Other Federal Employees.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 106-107) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend that the pressmen be included in this report and that it be indorsed with this addition.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Special Committee on Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 109-110) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the adoption of the report, and further that steps be taken by the Executive Council to have the vagrancy laws in the various States collected and published.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Censorship of Moving Pictures.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 114) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the adoption of this report and the emphatic protest against any censorship. If laws sufficient to punish those who may exhibit vicious pictures be not sufficient, then such laws should be enacted.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Sick and Death Benefits for Directly Affiliated Unions.

The committee recommended the adoption of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 145).

The report of the committee was adopted.

Jurisdiction Over Acetylene Welders.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 139-140) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the acceptance of the report, and further recommend that this convention declare that "acetylene welding" is a process, and that "acetylene welder" is a tool, which can no more come under the exclusive jurisdiction of any one trade or calling than can the hammer or the saw.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kline, of the Blacksmiths, opposed the report of the committee. He stated that the report of the Executive Council dealt with an appeal taken from a decision of the Railway Employees' Department to the Executive Council; that in his opinion the Executive Council had failed to finish its work; that since the appeal had been taken several crafts had entered protests, and the Blacksmiths wished to have it referred back to the Executive Council, as at least four organizations that had entered a protest had never had a meeting for the purpose of adjusting those difficulties. He stated further that if the matter could be referred back to the Executive Council a meeting of the different crafts could be held, and a great deal of trouble in regard to the matter might be solved.

In closing Delegate Kline moved as an amendment to the motion that the report

be referred back to the Executive Council so that the crafts that have entered protests may be enabled to get together and try to adjust the matter among themselves. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan stated that the question came to the Executive Council from the Railway Employees' Department, and when the matter was taken up the Council had evidence that the different organizations involved had met and, having failed to agree, came to the Executive Council for assistance. He stated that so far as the Executive Council is concerned the matter had been very thoroughly considered.

The question was discussed by Vice-President Alpine, Delegate Johnston, Machinists; Delegate McPherson, Carriage and Wagon Workers; Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and Delegate Wharton, all of whom opposed the amendment and favored the report of the committee.

In explaining the situation, Delegate Wharton said, in part: In the Railway Employees' Department we have been working under a rule that was at first mutually agreed to by all the trades directly affected, guaranteeing to each trade the right to perform the work they had done in the past under the old methods when the acetylene welder was introduced into the shops. This matter finally came to a point where it was desired by the blacksmiths' organization to have a decision rendered by the Executive Council. In the recent convention of the Railway Employees' Department the action that had been taken by the Executive Council of the Railway Employees' Department was confirmed in protecting each craft in the work its members had formerly done. The question now before the convention came here as a result of an appeal made by the blacksmiths' organization asking that they be given entire jurisdiction over the acetylene welder.

Delegate McGrath, Blacksmiths, in discussing the question, said in part: We are not claiming jurisdiction over the process; we are claiming jurisdiction over the work we formerly did, the work we would have done in the blacksmiths' shop before this process was invented. I think the matter ought to be thoroughly considered before any action is taken to see who has done the work and see who is putting in a claim that is unjust. If this is referred back to the Executive Council we hope that we will be able to bring about a settlement on the issues involved; also to get the matter back to where we can find out whether or not we can make a settlement and comply with

the laws of the American Federation of Labor as we understand them.

Delegate Furuseth, chairman of the committee, opposed the amendment. He stated it was out of the question to give jurisdiction to any one particular craft, as acetylene welding is a process that is used by a great many different classes of workers.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Kline, who spoke in favor of the amendment.

The amendment was lost by a vote of 182 in the negative to 6 in the affirmative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Journeyman Tailors—Jurisdiction Over Dyers, Cleaners and Pressers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 139) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the adoption of the report, the rejection of the appeal, and that the Executive Council be authorized to act in this matter in such a way as shall appear to be for the best interests of all concerned.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Social Insurance.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 144-145) the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the adoption of this report and call special attention to the recommendation therein made.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Building Trades Department—Boilermakers—Machinists.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 139) the committee reported as follows:

The action taken by the Building Trades Department Convention, and the protest made by the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America go to the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor and the existence of the departments organized under its laws. The American Federation of Labor is a voluntary association, and any national and international organization becoming affiliated is guaranteed full autonomy in conducting its own affairs. Departments are maintained through taxation upon the organizations that constitute their membership, and necessarily are voluntarily levied and paid by themselves. While the American Federation of Labor may recommend to any affiliated organization that it affiliate

with a department, it has not, and should not have, any power to compel any union to become affiliated. The organizations constituting the department cannot be deprived of their freedom to accept or reject any organization without destroying the principle of voluntary association that is fundamental in the American Federation of Labor; nor is there any way in which the American Federation of Labor can enforce any order upon a department to accept into its membership any organization which it declines to accept, because the expenses of the department come from the voluntary contributions made by the constituent organizations. If compulsion is applied, it may be met by cessation of such contributions, and the department would necessarily go out of existence.

Your committee is aware that the existing law governing the departments may be, and has been, construed in different and contradictory manner. We believe that this uncertainty should cease, and that the convention should declare:

First: Any organization's affiliation with a department is a matter for the organization in question to decide.

Second: That the acceptance of an applicant into the department, by the organizations constituting its membership, is a voluntary act on its part dependent upon a majority vote.

Third: That the expulsion from the department of any organization affiliated therewith is a matter to be decided by the department, a majority vote to govern.

We can see no other way of preserving the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor and in perpetuating the departments except by adopting these rules, and thus maintaining the voluntary principles. For these reasons we justify the ruling of the Executive Council on this matter and recommend concurrence in its decision.

Secretary Woll: There is one member of the committee who dissented from this report, and he is granted the privilege of presenting a minority report if he so desires.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen, a member of the committee, submitted the following minority report:

As a member of the committee I desire to offer as a minority report that the Bolter Makers' appeal against the decision of the Executive Council be sustained, and that the Building Trades Department be instructed to restore the Bolter Makers to membership in the department.

I offer this as a substitute for the committee's report.

Delegate Franklin, Bolter Makers, spoke in favor of the minority report, and opposed the report of the committee. He stated that in the Philadelphia Convention of the Building Trades Department of 1914 the Bolter Makers were admitted to the department by practically a unanimous vote, and the following year they were unseated in the San Francisco convention, the only reason given for that action was that they were not a building trades organization. He referred briefly to the number of bolter makers employed on buildings being erected, and contended that that portion of the organization was composed of distinctly building tradesmen. Delegate Franklin read sections of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor which he contended were violated by the action of the Building Trades Department in unseating the Bolter Makers. In closing he urged that the minority report be adopted as it is in line with the law and with former decisions of the Executive Council in similar cases, one of which he quoted.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, in defending the report, said, in part: "Your committee has placed this recommendation before you because it believes in what it recommends to this convention without fear or without favor. In formulating our report, in placing our view of the law in this report, we are not governed by rulings made, whether by the President of the American Federation of Labor, its Executive Council, or even conventions. We believe we are a progressive movement, and that it is for this convention in its viewpoint and wisdom to determine what they believe the right and proper rule to be in this instance, and to guide us in the coming year. We not only sustain the Executive Council, but we lay down fundamental rules governing, not only the Building Trades Department, but all of the various departments of the American Federation of Labor. We ask this convention to determine this: Shall those principles, those doctrines that voluntary philosophy we mention in our report be the rule of the Federation and its affiliated organizations in the future?"

Delegate Barnes, Cigar Makers, raised the point of order that the committee's report contains what is tantamount to an amendment to the constitution, as the constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that departments shall be governed

by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and those laws provide that in the recall of a charter a two-thirds vote is required, while the committee recommended that a majority vote only shall be required to annul a charter in the department.

President Gompers: The point raised by Delegate Barnes is one for determination by the convention and not by the Chair. The point of order, therefore, is not well taken.

Delegate Barnes spoke at length in favor of the minority report, and opposed the report of the committee.

Vice-President Alpine opposed the minority report, and favored the report of the committee. In doing so he said, in part: "If this convention wants to preserve the Building Trades Department, you will not take away from that department the right to determine its membership. We want a Building Trades Department composed of building tradesmen; we do not want miscellaneous trades in connection with it. The only way to bring about a successful department is to give us the right to say who shall form our membership. The Boiler Makers are not building tradesmen, and it does not matter that they were admitted in the Philadelphia Convention. The experience of one year proved the belief that was already firmly entrenched in the minds of the building trades mechanics that the Boiler Makers had no place in their midst, and as a result the San Francisco Convention took the action that has brought about the debate on this floor today."

Delegate Hedrick, Painters, opposed the minority report and spoke in favor of the report of the committee. He stated that the question of membership should be left entirely to the delegates that should attend the convention of the Building Trades Department; that for several years past there have been two organizations in the Building Trades Department that should never have been admitted; that at the San Francisco convention these organizations were unseated, and for the first time in the history of the department only strictly building tradesmen were seated. He referred to the fact that at the Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor the delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters introduced a resolution asking that organizations affiliated with the various departments, whose members were not entirely employed upon the class of work represented by the department, should pay per capita tax according to their membership in those

departments. He stated that the law adopted by the American Federation of Labor in the Philadelphia Convention had been followed out by the Building Trades Department, but in the Railway Employees' Department the affiliated organizations agreed to pay full per capita tax upon their entire membership.

Vice-President Duncan opposed the minority report and favored the report of the committee. In discussing the laws of the organization that had been quoted by Delegate Franklin he said, in part: "The law which reads that it shall require a two-thirds vote to revoke a charter applies to the American Federation of Labor and has no reference whatever to the department. It is a provision put in for the discipline of organizations affiliated to the organized labor movement in the event of their having violated the principles of the labor movement. That is not involved in this question. The Building Trades Department makes its own rules. It has been transacting business upon a majority vote. The point involved is not the constitutional point raised by Delegate Franklin. The laws that have been quoted provide that the fundamental laws of the American Federation of Labor shall be respected. That does not mean that everything that is done in this convention must be done in the department. If the system of voting we have in the American Federation of Labor were to apply to the Building Trades Department two organizations would control it."

Delegate Berry spoke at length in favor of the minority report and opposed the report of the committee. He stated that the expulsion of the Boiler Makers from the Building Trades Department had been done contrary to law; that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor provided that the department must conform to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and if there are any laws in the constitution of the department that conflict with those of the American Federation of Labor they must be changed. He stated that he believed the Building Trades Department had erred in expelling the Boiler Makers, and that the Executive Council had erred in its decision in holding that the department was within its rights in expelling the Boiler Makers.

Delegate D'Alesandro opposed the minority report.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers, spoke in favor of the adoption of the minor-

ity report. He spoke at some length of controversies that have arisen between organizations in the Building Trades Department, decisions that had been rendered and appeals taken.

Delegate Furuseth, chairman of the committee, opposed the minority report, and defended the report of the committee. He reviewed briefly the statements made by several of the previous speakers, and explained the position of the committee in making its recommendation.

Delegate Hinzman, Boiler Makers, replied to several statements made by other speakers in regard to matters that had come up in former building trades' conventions, and in answering the objection that the Boiler Makers' members were not building tradesmen, said, in part: "It is true our organization is not, as a whole, a building trades organization, but practically 20 per cent. of our members are employed on buildings. The steamfitter and plumber would have but little to do if it were not for the boiler maker who builds the boiler and places it in the building. The boilers of the modern buildings are not the old tubular type you see on vacant lots, but the up-to-date boilers that are shipped to the building, to be erected section by section, and piece by piece. There are weeks and months of that class of work on many buildings, and if there is a pressure tank that goes on top of the building to supply the water to go through the pipes the plumbers place in the building, it is erected by the boiler makers. I maintain that our work is from the cellar to the roof of a building, and yet we are told we are not building tradesmen."

The speaker stated that the Boiler Makers were unseated in the San Francisco Convention by the department by less than a two-thirds majority, and contended that was not in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor governing departments.

Delegate Weber, Musicians, in the chair.

President Gompers discussed the question at some length. In opening his address he stated that his services had always been given to protect the smallest organization as well as the largest, and referred to the position he had taken during the controversy of the brewery workers with the engineers and firemen, when he opposed the

action of the convention in ordering the brewery workers to do certain things or be expelled. He spoke at length of the voluntary character of the organizations and warned the delegates against taking any action that would restore a policy of endeavoring to compel the affiliated organizations to take certain action. He called attention to the fact that the minority report submitted by Delegate Berry, if adopted, would again place the American Federation of Labor in the position of making an effort to compel organizations to take certain action, to which he objected, and urged that the voluntary character of the Federation be maintained.

President Gompers quoted Article XV of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which contains the general rules for the conduct of the departments, and called attention to the fact that those rules provided that, "Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be a part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions." He emphasized the fact that the section provides that organizations "should be a part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions." He stated that if it is voluntary for an organization to become affiliated with a department it cannot be made compulsory for a department to accept an organization; that it is either mutually compulsory or it is mutually arbitrary.

Delegate Barnes moved that the third recommendation of the committee, providing that expulsion from an international union shall be by majority vote, be amended by striking out the words "majority vote," so that it will conform to the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and that the words "a two-thirds majority" be inserted.

The motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report was lost.

Delegate Franklin asked for a roll call vote on the motion.

The amendment offered by Delegate Barnes was voted on and lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a viva-voce vote.

At 5.45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 a. m. Tuesday, November 21.

EIGHTH DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 21, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Tuesday, November 21, President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees—Kearney, Leary, Nau, Adams (A. E.), Frecl, Griggs, Haggerty, Jarrett, Dowler, Hayward, Felder, Flaherty, Myers (C. E.), Chase, Rodgers, Melnert, Feeney, Schwarz, Gould, Brock, Dorey, Hogan, Lavender, Lynch (J. J.), Cohen (Jake), Willis, Brandle, Boos, Sims, Murray, Connell, Stephens, Betcher, Dane, Henry, Rauder, Lewis, Brazzle, Newland, Kennedy, Lorch, Leonard, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, Murray, Weber, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne, Master.

The Visit to the White House.

Addresses delivered in the East Room of the White House November 18, 1916, on the occasion of the visit of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the President of the United States.

President Gompers.

Mr. President: The ladies and gentlemen who are here are delegates and friends of the American Federation of Labor now holding its thirty-sixth annual convention at Baltimore, Maryland.

Four days ago, without any prearrangement of any kind, a delegate arose and offered a motion in very simple language that on Saturday the convention take a recess, proceed to Washington, call upon you, sir, and pay our individual and collective respects to you as a man and as President of the United States. It would be difficult for me to express the spirit that prompted the adoption of that motion to come here.

The American Federation of Labor is an association of voluntarily organized workers of America. It is a wage-earners' movement. It is a movement for the purpose of trying to bring light into the lives of the workers, primarily, to endeavor to be helpful to them, conscious of the fact that any improvement in the material, moral and social conditions of the workers must itself tend toward the uplift of all the people of our country and make more stable our beloved republic.

Our movement stands for the principles of righteousness, justice and freedom, and is striving to attain the highest ideals of

humanity. We have come to recognize in you, sir, a man who stands for these fundamental principles. We have taken joy into our hearts to be helpful in upholding your hands in the splendid, masterful work which you have undertaken and have accomplished.

Achievement is a great triumph to a man's work, but after all achievement is not the ultimate. It is that which a man would do and honestly tries to do which is the essence of it all, for there are many who try honestly and achieve but little. But every effort put forth is an indication of the man of courage and righteousness and the right spirit.

Believe me, sir, these men and these women come to you in no partisan spirit. There are men and women of different political parties and beliefs in the American Federation of Labor, but there is a unanimity of purpose and spirit. They recognize that they are in communion with you in the great fight you have made for the right.

We come to you not only in the great respect we hold for you, but also in the great confidence we have in you. The congratulations which we tender you we express by the hope that your administration for the coming four years, after the expiration of your present term, may be full with the meat of achievement in the interest of the great masses of our people. To you and your beloved wife and to all who concern you we wish health, success and a long, long life for future usefulness.

Response of President Wilson.

Mr. Gompers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I need not say that, coming to me as you do on such an errand, I am very deeply gratified and very greatly cheered. It would be impossible for me off-hand to say just what thoughts are stirred in me by what Mr. Gompers has said to me as your spokesman, but perhaps the simplest thing I can say is, after all, the meat of the whole matter. What I have tried to do is to get rid of any class division in this country, not only, but of any class conscientiousness and feeling. The worst thing that could happen to America would be that she should be divided into groups and camps in which there were men and women who thought that they were at odds at one another, that

the spirit of America was not expressed except in them, and that possibilities of antagonism were the only things that we had to look forward to.

As Mr. Gompers said, achievement is a comparatively small matter, but the spirit in which things are done is of the essence of the whole thing, and what I am striving for, and what I hope you are striving for, is to blot out all the lines of division in America and create a unity of spirit and of purpose founded upon this, the consciousness that we are all men and women of the same sort, and that if we do not understand each other, we are not true Americans. If we cannot enter into each other's thoughts, if we cannot comprehend each other's interests, if we cannot serve each other's essential welfare, then we have not yet qualified as representatives of the American spirit.

Nothing alarms America so much as rifts, divisions, the drifting apart of elements among her people, and the thing we ought all to strive for is to close up every rift, and the only way to do it, as far as I can see, is to establish justice, not only, but justice with a heart in it, justice with a pulse in it, justice with sympathy in it. Justice can be cold and forbidding or it can be warm and welcome, and the latter is the only kind of justice that Americans ought to desire. I do not believe I am deceiving myself when I say that I think this spirit is growing in America. I pray God it may continue to grow, and all I have to say is to exhort every one whom my voice reaches here or elsewhere to come into this common movement of humanity.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Omaha, Nebraska, Nov. 20, 1916.
Samuel Gompers,

American Federation of Labor:
Congratulations to you and to the convention on stand taken on injunction. Sooner question is settled, better for all.

T. W. McCULLOUGH.
Seattle, Wash., Nov. 16, 1916.

Frank Morrison,
Secretary A. F. of L.:
The International Shingle Weavers' Union of America extends fraternal greetings and best wishes. Exceedingly regret I cannot be with you. May your deliberations result in the greatest good for the greatest number. Shingle weavers on strike since May 1 for restoration of wage scale. We are determined to win. Now for the three million membership.

WM. H. REID, Secretary-Treasurer.

Phoenix, Arizona, Nov. 20, 1916.
President Samuel Gompers,
Care American Federation of Labor Convention, Baltimore, Md.

Governor's election close and may have to contest and recount. In that case have evidence to win against corporations against us and we need money for lawyers, witnesses and proper fight. Governor Hunt was and is labor's friend and labor endorsed and commended his acts. Without humiliation and disgrace organized labor cannot permit the Governor's defeat for the want of funds to conduct a fight against unfair methods and men. Get your Council and miners' delegates together, appoint financial agent to come here and see that money is honestly and properly expended and to represent you. We need ten thousand dollars from you if contest is determined upon in the next ten days. Stand by your friends and prove that organized labor is possessed of both honor and gratitude. Earnestly urging favorable action, and knowing you can find the way to comply, I give greetings to you and your associates.

JOHN McBRIDE.

New York, Nov. 19, 1916.
Convention American Federation of Labor:
Please accept our best wishes and congratulations on your fine work for the American working men and women.

NATIONAL DAILY SLOVAK.

New York, N. Y., Nov. 20, 1916.
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Baltimore, Md.:

Accept our cordial greetings and hope that the result of our deliberations and hard labor during the present legislation in behalf of the working men and women will be crowned with success.

ISADORE SCHOENHOLTZ,
Secretary Executive Board, Ladies' Waist and Dress Makers' Union, Local 25, International Ladies' Garment Workers.

Telegrams inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next convention in Buffalo, N. Y., were received from Mayor Louis P. Fuhrmann, Henry B. Saunders, Commissioner Convention Bureau, and George W. Bork, Secretary of the Central Labor Council. In the telegrams the statement was made that everything possible would be done for the comfort and convenience of the delegates if the convention should be held in Buffalo.

The Secretary also read a telegram from United States Senator Morris Sheppard, sent from Texarkana, Ark., urging the American Federation of Labor to accept the invitation of Fort Worth, Texas, to hold the 1917 convention in that city.

President Gompers: A few days ago I announced to you that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had invited the executive officers of the four railroad brotherhoods to visit this convention; also that I was in receipt of a telegram signed by the four executives of the

brotherhoods stating that they would be here with us this morning. They are here, and in compliance with the invitation and the spirit of the invitation and the spirit that prompted it I shall present to you the men in the order in which they themselves have expressed a preference to appear before this convention.

First I shall present to you Mr. Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Chief Stone's Address.

Mr. President and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor: There is no particular significance in the rotation in which we happen to come to speak to you. I was lucky enough to draw No. 1, so I am the first speaker.

I come to you this morning with a message of welcome and good wishes to you from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. I think it is only fair to you to say I am not the orator of the organization. Twenty-five years in the cab of a locomotive doesn't have a tendency to make a man an orator. We do business with men every day in our work who, if you can express your views in ten words don't want to hear twenty, so what I say to you this morning I am going to try to boil down into as few words as possible. First, I want to say to you that these four executives are fairly happy and fairly well contented, although they have had one hundred injunction suits in the last five days and will have a thousand more before the week is out.

We realize, although we are not with the American Federation of Labor—and I think it is only fair to you to say why. It is due to the jurisdictional questions that would at once arise in our own ranks, and nothing else, because our interests are all in the same direction and we are all working for the same cause—to benefit those we are at least supposed to represent. That, and that alone, is what every labor organization should do, and if it does not do that it is a misnomer; it should not be called a labor organization.

We are trying to elevate and improve the working conditions of the classes of men we represent. We are not so narrow in our views that we do not recognize the fact that the time has long gone by when any one class of labor can hope to succeed unless other classes of labor are succeeding along the same line. We realize that perhaps we have made more history in the labor movement in the last twelve months than we have done in the last several years. We have been very conspicuous in the public eye in the last few months at least, and whether the end is in sight or not none of us know.

You, no doubt, have read in the papers about the eight billion combine that is going to crush organized labor. Sixteen manufacturers' associations have combined under one head, and the newspapers say with flaring headlines, "We represent eight billions dollars." Well, what of it? Suppose they do. That doesn't worry organized labor in the least. Organized labor in some form or other has come to stay and

it is a power that is going to be reckoned with in the coming year. I am not at all alarmed about opposition from the outside. The only thing I have ever feared for organization was that it would go to pieces from internal dissension within its own ranks. I am not at all alarmed about the outside. We are strong enough to take care of that at any time, at any place, at any stage of the game. I think, perhaps, persecution is a good thing. Organized labor, like liberty, thrives under persecution; it makes us forget some of our little petty incidental quarrels and combines us together in one solid, fighting force to take care of wealth on the other side. I think that will be the result of the eight-billion-dollar combine.

I am not at all alarmed about the future welfare of the eight-hour movement; neither am I very much distressed about what this 80 per cent. of unorganized labor is going to do. We all know that 80 per cent. of the labor is unorganized, and we also know why; we know that a great majority of it would be organized tomorrow if they dared and if they were allowed to be organized. We also know their hope for the future lies in organized labor finally coming down to them. They are not strong enough to get it for themselves. So the eight-hour day, or the shorter workday, for all men who toil is coming. This may be the advance movement of it. I don't know. But I am not at all alarmed about the outcome of these injunction suits. This is simply one more proof that combined capital does not recognize any law but itself.

We have tried arbitration. Our organizations are pledged to arbitrate. We have seen arbitration fail. Why? Because, unfortunately, the railroad corporations were both judge and jury, and as one of the interested parties in the arbitration they apply the award and they apply it in their own sweet way. In the arbitrations we have had it did not matter what the award might be. They said it did not mean that; it meant something else; and when we went back to the arbitration board, at endless time and expense, and then went back to apply the arbitration award, they still said it did not mean that. I had an arbitration award handed down in 1912 and, bad as it was, it has not been applied yet. In 1914 I arbitrated for eighty-one days, and yet that award has not been applied.

The newspapers were filled with the fact that the railroad corporations could not give up the God-given right of arbitration. Our railroads talked about that until they were hoarse. They declared it was the principle they were fighting for, the great fundamental principle. They forgot to tell the press and the American people that there were 175 railroads we represented that were willing to arbitrate, where they thought we had power enough to enforce our demands, and there were seventy-five railroads in the group they would not consent to have an arbitration with because they felt they were strong enough to take care of any organization we might have on those particular lines. So it was not the arbitration principle they were fighting for; they were trying to deceive the American people.

We did not ask for the eight-hour law, notwithstanding the statements to the contrary. I think if would have been more satisfactory to our organization if we could have fought it out. But we got the eight-hour law and we know what President Wilson intended we should have; we know what the Congress that drafted the law intended we should have; and we have confidence enough in the man who sits in the White House today to feel that he intended what he said we should have when he talked to our delegates before it was enacted. Had the railroads wanted to be fair in testing the constitutionality of the law they would have selected some one suit and made a test case of it. I think the railroads had the idea that we were going to employ attorneys and use up all the funds we had in these organizations in fighting injunction suits, because somewhere in the neighborhood of three thousand of them will be filed, which would mean employing about 3,000 attorneys.

We are not going to employ attorneys. We are going to be an interested spectator on the side line. We are going to see the railroad corporations of this country fight the Government they live under, and we think the Department of Justice will be amply and sufficiently able to take care of them without our assistance.

We had a conference last Sunday with the Railroad Department of the American Federation of Labor, and there is a better understanding than ever before between that department and ourselves. We realize that our interests are mutual, and on any of the great questions that are of interest to all of us, regardless of what flag or what organization we are under, we are going to stand together. And while I realize that what I am talking today will be on the Associated Press wire this afternoon in a garbled condition in many places, or blue-pencilled to suit the occasion, it will not be the first time. But the time has arrived that organized wealth should understand that organized labor's interests are mutual and that they are going to stand together.

And as a last word to you I want to say that you have no better well-wishers in the world for your success and for the development of your great organization, and the good wishes that go with it are not just perfunctory but from the bottom of the heart of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers that I represent.

I thank you.

President Gompers: I have the pleasure now of presenting to you the acting president of the Order of Railway Conductors, Brother L. E. Sheppard.

L. E. Sheppard's Address.

Brother President and Brothers: I am much in the position of the fellow who went to get married, inasmuch as I come before you instead of the brother whom I hoped could be here to represent the organization I represent. He is taking a leave of absence to recuperate, so that he will be able to carry on the duties of his office. The fellow who wanted to get married had courted one of the daughters of a family for a long time.

She declined to accept his proffer of marriage, and as the next best thing he proposed to the next sister and was accepted. When the time came for the important question to be asked during the marriage ceremony, "Do you take this woman for your wife?" he blurted out, "Yes, but I would have preferred her sister."

I bring to you the fraternal greetings of the Railway Conductors of America. I want you to feel that they are heartfelt and earnest. We realize fully that no class of labor can indefinitely succeed unless other labor profits also. We want to work in harmony with every man who works for a living; we want to do all we can in this great battle for human rights. We perhaps were the last railroad organization to adopt the protective policy. For a long time we were content to be patted on the back and told what good fellows we were, how conservative, how intelligent and how reasonably we conducted our affairs as compared with the average organization, and all the time we were being tied—hog-tied, if you please—and absolutely powerless to do anything.

Our brothers became tired of that, and they joined protective labor's ranks. You have, no doubt, heard time after time about aristocrats of labor—referring to the men in the train and engine service. On my way to the city of Washington I became engaged in conversation with a gentleman in the dining car, and he proceeded, not knowing who I was, to tell me some of his grievances against labor. He deplored the fact that labor was holding up Congress; that labor had the American people by the throat; and he referred to your illustrious President and his efforts in behalf of labor. I said to him: "That is an awful thing from your viewpoint, my dear sir, but I thank God the club is being used for the common people, and not for the benefit of the class you represent."

When I joined a labor organization I pledged myself that I would not strike. I put the handcuffs on right then and there, but I was glad to participate in the effort to remove them when it came to pass, and when I pledged myself to abide by the will of the majority in so far as leaving the railroad service, I felt I had given up some of that individual freedom and liberty we are so proud of as American citizens, and so prone to boast about. I have agreed that when two-thirds of my fellows say we shall leave the service of the company I shall do so. How much better would it be to submit that if by intelligent, co-operative action of this kind we can bring about a state of affairs where we will do, as we did in this last election, not permit sex, nationality, creed, color or anything else to interfere with what we believe to be our duty, almost to a man cast our suffrage in the direction and for the benefit of those who have been our friends in the past?

Therefore, I opine we can go along our several ways, fighting each for our respective class, but all headed in the same direction.

I have done some little fighting, especially in my younger days, the rough-and-tumble and mob fighting. When I was in such a fight I never stopped to consider who the fellow beside me was so long as he was hitting in the same direction as I was. That

should be the attitude of the American laboring men—when you fight, fight in the same direction. When you are engaged in a good cause you are justified in fighting. It may not be in the extreme direction; it may be through the ballot box or some other direction.

I thank God I have lived to see the day when we have some opportunity to get results from Congress; that no longer the employing classes control. Therefore, I respectfully submit that while we proceed along these several ways in this direction perhaps we can do something for the poor fellow who cannot organize. We have a beneficent government, and through these labor organizations we can bring it about that the man who cannot be organized can be helped; that the man who in his individual capacity is helpless may have some government agency or some one to deal for him with his employer. The individual who hasn't money may now go to some government agency and insist on his employer listening to his case and at least morally assist him in looking after his best interests.

I want to thank the members of this Federation for the service they rendered the railroad men in their recent struggles in Congress and elsewhere. We are under many and deep obligations to you. We have seen it in times gone by. A few years ago we saw eleven organizations on the Southern Railroad, most of them members of the American Federation of Labor, working with the railroad brotherhoods, or the railroad brotherhoods working with them, to prevent an infringement of their rights or to hold some of the things they had obtained after years of effort. They worked together; their objects were alike; the thing to be accomplished was beneficial to all and they stood as one man and accomplished the purpose.

For many years we have been taught to believe that we could not possibly talk anything of a political or religious character in labor organizations. For many generations sex, creeds, nationalities and those things kept the world busy in quarrels and the master class reaped the benefit while we were foolish enough to let those things interfere with our welfare. I thank God the labor movement is the one place where all sexes, creeds and nationalities can get together and sink their individualities for the benefit of the common good.

Brother Stone well said the danger comes from within. Let us educate ourselves to be just as strict disciplinarians in following the lead of the men we choose to lead for us as we are in expecting others to follow us. No man can lead who is not a good follower; therefore let it be our purpose to try to bring about absolute understanding, perfect harmony, complete discipline; march on to the common goal and bring about in its true sense what is now said in sneering terms—the aristocracy of labor. There is no greater aristocracy, nor could there be, than a happy and contented people. All they ask is a fair return. If that be aristocracy, God hasten the day!

I believe the eight-hour bill will serve our purpose. I believe it is legal. I am not half so much concerned about the legality of the bill or what Congress has done as I am

about what it can do. I believe Congress can do many things, and let us act so wisely, conservatively and reasonably that Congress will not fear labor is a menace, will not fear we are going to pull the house down on ourselves, and they will go along with us to a reasonable degree.

I thank you in behalf of the organization I represent, bid every one of you godspeed in the work of humanity and trust future years will build up your organizations to a greater and greater extent. I also thank God that among your leaders is one who has been conspicuous, one who has declined to accept the emoluments of the interests, one who has devoted his whole life to the welfare of labor and who has notified us that he intends to continue in it until the end of his years. We do not say this to laud him, but we find the corporations have many ways of doing things. When they cannot beat us with the club or get us out of the way otherwise, they offer the labor leader a consideration to leave the ranks. I thank God that in the ranks of many labor organizations there are men who prefer to serve God, as they see it, by serving their fellowmen, who prefer the good will and respect of the men they serve to all emoluments or riches. Again I thank you.

President Gompers: I now have the great pleasure of presenting to you Brother W. S. Carter, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Firemen and Enginemen.

Mr. W. S. Carter's Address.

Mr. President, Fellow-workers, Members of the American Federation of Labor: I must confess that when I rise to address you this morning I do so with cold feet, not because of embarrassment, but because of a ride of two hours from Washington to Baltimore in an automobile with a hole in the curtain. I am not only cold in the feet, but I am cold all over, for when I took my seat in this convention I found the window near me partially open.

It has been my pleasure and honor to know some of the best respected officers of the American Federation of Labor for many, many years. I was just reminded a few minutes before I entered the hall that your Treasurer, John B. Lennon, and I knew each other in Denver twenty-six years ago. I was then running a locomotive, which proves that John and I are getting old. It was my pleasure to have shared a room at the old Beach Hotel in Galveston, Texas, twenty years ago with your President when he was our honored guest at the convention of our brotherhood. Others of your officers and I have been friends personally. I am proud to say, for many years, and I deem it a great privilege when I am permitted to address a convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Perhaps the members of the old Firemen's Brotherhood have been more progressive than others in some labor matters, to the extent that twenty years ago officers of that brotherhood advocated an affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, following the visit of Samuel Gompers to our convention in Galveston, Texas, in 1886. But in some way, and in a most peculiarly successful way, railroad officials throughout the southern district told our members "if you

affiliate with the American Federation of Labor you will have to sleep with a nigger. The American Federation of Labor will compel you to take the colored people into your organization."

Notwithstanding denials on the part of every one that each organization would possess its own autonomy, the minor railroad officials did not fail to convince our members that it would be suicidal to join the American Federation of Labor, with the result that while there was a majority of the votes cast in favor of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor a vast number of men refused to vote either way, and while we carried in a referendum vote a majority of our lodges we did not carry a majority of our members. In fact, half of our members failed to vote. That shows what well directed publicity can do. When the word is handed down for the petty official to call the fireman and say, "Why, John, you don't want to join the American Federation of Labor. See what it will do for your organization." I have not forgotten that through publicity they not only control the American people, but actually control the minds of working men.

I believe the time will come when all people who work for wages—even though some of them are so egotistical as to call it salaries—will have a class consciousness of labor the same as there is today a class consciousness of the employers of labor. Whether it is because the employers of labor, the master class, have higher educational advantages than the working class, or whether it is that they have more mature judgment because of their business education, the fact remains that they know better how to stand together than do the working people.

The danger that confronts the American labor movement, and for that matter the danger that confronts all working people today, is coercion or subordination of the public press of this land by the master class. There was a day when there was a free press; there was a day when the editor in his sanctum controlled the policy of his paper. That day has long since passed, and the editor is simply a hired man like you and the rest of us. There was a day when a newspaper depended for its existence upon its editorial policy and the subscription list which grew as that editorial policy became popular. That day has long passed, and any newspaper that would depend upon its editorial policy for its support would cease to exist or be in a receiver's hands before the end of thirty days. The coming of the penny paper has done more to place the public press under the domination of the advertising classes than any other one thing.

There was a day when the public who subscribed for a newspaper largely controlled its policy; today the people who pay for the advertising pages control its policy, and must do so if the paper is to exist. Newspapers today would be published at a great financial loss if it were not for the advertising pages. Unfortunately labor has but little to do with advertising. The advertising comes from the master class, and any newspaper that is too independent cannot secure a liberal patronage from advertising. The result is that today the editors of newspapers are not their own masters. Let us see how that is being worked to a great extent.

When we began our eight-hour movement a year ago the railroads undertook one of the greatest publicity campaigns this country has ever witnessed. I said the railroads—I did not mean what you consider a railroad; I did not mean the operating officials of those railroads; but I meant the few men in New York city who direct the financial affairs of all the railroads—began one of the most effective publicity campaigns against these railway brotherhoods of which we have a record. We have positive evidence from the best authority that their plan of action was first laid down by a decision to advertise in three thousand daily papers and fourteen thousand weekly papers. We have that information from one of the leading advertising agencies of the land. Through those three thousand daily newspapers and those fourteen thousand weekly newspapers they published perhaps millions of dollars worth of advertising, every line of which was intended to prejudice the public against these railway brotherhoods.

If the New York end of the railroads, if the Wall street representatives who conducted this campaign paid as much for their advertising space in the three thousand daily papers and the fourteen thousand weekly papers as we did over there in Washington to the few papers that we sought space in, then I am safe in estimating they spent several million dollars in advertising space in the American press for the express purpose of prejudicing the public against us.

It is said the advertising space in a newspaper is free to all. That is not true. The advertising space in a newspaper is only free to those who have the money to pay for it. If they spent as much money for their advertising on that stupendous scale as we spent in Washington on a very minute endeavor to gain public opinion, I am fair in stating they must have spent many millions of dollars. If they did not, then for some reason other than the actual compensation for advertising space they received a rate very much lower than we did.

The result of that publicity campaign was that the first people they converted were the editors of those same papers. Now, I am going to be convinced that the editor, when he got in his easy chair, casually turned the pages and found the big advertisement that had been put in at a cost of several hundred dollars for that issue. I am sure in saying he was convinced, the same as other people who read it were. I am not going to say the business manager gave him a tip before he saw the advertising.

The editorial opinion of these papers before they had this advertising was either neutral or in our favor. After these few millions of dollars were dumped into the coffers of these papers 75 per cent. of them were crowding their editorial pages with criticism and abuse and misrepresentation of these brotherhoods.

We met the railroad managers in New York later. At no time during the meeting was there an unkind word spoken. In fact, when we parted we shook hands like old friends, as we had been; but throughout the press statements were published that we had been there and threatened those managers

that if they did not do so and so we would tie up the railroads of this country on the first of January. We made no such threats. That report was sent out practically to every newspaper in the country. For what purpose? Simply to prejudice the public against labor organizations. The idea sought to be conveyed was that we did not like the law and we were going to tie up the railroads and paralyze industry.

One of my home town papers had an editorial the day I reached home which said that these railway brotherhoods had succeeded in coercing the President and the Congress of the United States, but they could not bluff the railroad managers; and after we had threatened the railroad managers with a strike we had been kicked out of their office. The truth is we left their office with the kindest of feelings, and personally in our wage negotiations we have respect for each other; but in order to prejudice the American people against those railroad brotherhoods that statement was published in every newspaper in this country I read or saw.

So long as the class that controls the money of the country can, by buying the advertising pages of newspapers, control public opinion, there is no free press. And while Congress is dabbling with laws, so-called corrupt practice acts, to prevent money being unduly used in controlling the election, they will have to go farther and prevent money being used in the so-called free press of this country to dictate its political policy. It has got to the point that the President of this land, be he who he may, regardless of his party affiliations, if he does not truckle to that power, usually called Wall street, is crucified by the public press.

The day is going to come—and, mark you, that day is not far distant—when the common people, and I include among those working people and members of trade unions, when Congress will have to deny access to the mails to any newspaper that is suborned by the master class. If it is through advertising pages that they thus purchase public opinion, as expressed through a so-called free press, then no newspaper should be carried through the mails with an advertisement in it, and allow editorial opinion and news items to go to the public untrammelled with the corrupt influence of the advertising manager at the other end of the office.

Now, I am saying all this with the understanding that what I say will be maligned, changed so as to show I am a renegade, and I guess an anarchist. Regardless of what those men who work just like you and the rest of us do for a living, known as the reportorial staff, no matter how honest and sincere they are in their reports, higher up is the man with a blue pencil, and he not only strikes out that which he does not want to publish, but takes the other pencil and puts in that which he would like to say for us in order to destroy us before the American public.

Now let us see if Congress has not to do something to protect the common people and labor, and not only that, but to protect themselves. It is a known fact that some of the Congressmen who were defeated in the last election were defeated because of

certain great financial interests they honestly opposed on Capitol Hill. There was a concentrated attack on them through the papers, so that they were destroyed by their own people. One of the best representatives of labor that ever reached Washington, a man who ably represented labor in Congress, has been defeated by this process. When it was thought that every chance of his winning was secured, when even propositions for speakers representing working people to help him were declined because it was thought not necessary to have them, from evidence I believe is true I learn that the employers of members of one of the greatest organizations affiliated with this American Federation of Labor and now seated in this hall, those employers called their men in from the mine and said: "Who are you going to vote for?" When they said: "We are going to vote for Casey," they were told: "Then you go to Casey tomorrow and get a job." The result was that where there was a chance for Casey to come back there was a 4,000 majority against him through coercion. And you say this is a free country and we have a free ballot!

So long as those who have it use it to corrupt a public press, and so long as those who rank with the employing class prevent a free and fair election by coercive methods, then this country is not a free country. I have hopes, however, that through the American Federation of Labor, perhaps—I know through the great mass of what are known as the common people—there will be a change of program in the not distant future. During these piping days of prosperity when factories are running to their highest capacity and beyond, when everybody is pleased and satisfied, they perhaps can do anything, but there will come a day, my brothers, mark it, when the American people—now, that does not mean working people, members of the American Federation of Labor or any other union—will rise in their wrath and throw off this infernal corrupting yoke that money has placed upon their shoulders in the public press.

I thank you.

President Gompers: I now take pleasure in introducing President W. G. Lee, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Address of W. G. Lee.

Mr. President, Delegates and Friends of the American Federation of Labor: I am handicapped to no small extent because Stone comes out with the twentieth century, and then Sheppard comes along with a train of bouquets, Carter comes along with the fast freight and I am supposed to take the drag. Stone told you we had arranged our dates to speak first, second, third and fourth. Let me tell you where I come in on this. Yesterday in Washington, in the room in which we were working, the question came up as to who should speak first, and every one of us wanted to speak first. It was agreed finally that we would put four numbers in a hat and draw them out. Just then I was called to the telephone. They told me the White House wanted me on the 'phone. When I came back I drew my number from the hat and it was No. 4. I found out later

that all the slips were numbered 4. They had agreed among themselves while I was out of the room. Stone drew the first slip and said, "One," Sheppard drew the second and said, "Two," Carter drew the next and said, "Three," I drew the fourth.

But, seriously speaking, I want to tell you frankly this is the first time, to my knowledge, representatives of the Railway Trainmen have ever appeared before your convention, not because they did not want to, not because they could not have done so, but because it was not the custom. We have been invited time and again by your good President, and we haven't responded as we should. Brother Samuel Gompers came to our convention, in Atlanta, and I have never forgotten his splendid talk at that time. The president of the Hatters' Union also spoke from our platform and he paid a compliment to the railroad men, to this extent, that the railroad men generally were the best patrons of union-label hats that he knew of. Perhaps he said that to every convention of labor he went to. I do know, though, that our men, generally speaking, are patrons of the union label; that has been taught to them and they respect it.

Brother Stone stated one of the reasons why we are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor presumably is because of our suspicion that if we join the American Federation of Labor the question of jurisdiction would come up and there would be a turmoil. Last Sunday we met with the representatives of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, and I am proud that we did so, for I have a better knowledge of the working of that department than I ever had before. I found them as clean-cut, honorable a class of men as I have ever met in a bank or in a business of any kind. I was glad we met with them and heard their side of the story and how they conduct their business. And we were able to tell them, I believe satisfactorily, how we conducted our business. There is a better understanding, and an understanding to this extent, that we are going to hang together in future, because we know if we do not we will hang separately.

Under the laws of our four organizations we could not affiliate with the American Federation of Labor until convention action was taken, even if we wanted to do so today, but there is no law I know of that would prohibit the railroad organizations from co-operating to exactly the same extent until our organizations do meet and that is for the betterment of labor.

We are not bringing our troubles to you. We have had our share of criticism; we are able, we believe, to stand some more. We realize now that the strike of September 4th most certainly would have become effective had not the Congress passed the law they did, had not the Congress passed a law doing what we now believe and what we then believed was what the Chief Executive of the United States handed to us in a little memorandum and also handed to the railroad managers some weeks before the law was passed. Never in our wildest dreams did we think of Congress enacting such a law as they did. We did not ask for it. It was not what we wanted. It was not what the railroads wanted, but as good citizens we

agreed to bow to the law of the country, and try it out.

Did the railroad companies do that? No, sir. Although they were handed the same proposition at the time we were, and we stayed in Washington eleven days waiting for them to accept or reject the President's proposition, they never did it, but they were deceiving the President every day by trying to make him believe they were working on the proposition and hoped soon to be able to hand him a satisfactory answer. While they were deceiving the Chief Executive of this nation they were arranging at home, hiring strike-breakers, ditting up boarding cars and preparing to fight us. When we found that situation existed we asked to be released as the guests of the President and permitted to send our 600 men home. Why? Because they were the captains and lieutenants on those railroads, they must be home to take care of the situation if a strike came on, and we said to the Chief Executive: "Mr. President, we have waited for eleven days for these men to accept or reject the proposition; they have deceived you; they are not preparing to answer you; they are going to fight us. We are your guests; we cannot leave this city until you release us, but if you release us we think the gentlemen at the Willard Hotel will change front suddenly."

We sent our men home, every one of them carrying in his pocket a sealed order to leave the service at a certain hour, and, regardless of what telegrams might come to him over our signature, to disregard them absolutely unless they corresponded word for word with the one in his pocket. None of these hundreds of messages were the same. The original held by me and the carbon sealed in one case would read, "The price of cotton in New York tomorrow will probably advance." That was all there was to it. That meant, "The strike is over, recall the strike order." Why was this done? We had one instance at least where the railroad companies, after a strike had been on for a number of hours, sent to the men over our signatures an order saying the strike was satisfactorily settled and stamped the men back to work. To guard against that we had a code message for every one of them, and if there was a traitor in our organization, and we know we have them in our organization, because if history is true Christ could not get twelve men without one Judas, so we looked for one in twelve, but if there was a leak among our 600 men and a traitor gave up that message it would mean for only one division on the railroad and it would not affect the others.

We said to the President of the United States, "We will accept your proposition," which meant the basic eight-hour workday, which meant waiving time and a half until we had tried it out and knew just what the effect of the eight-hour day would be. Later, when the companies did not give that, when they did not accept this proposition, the law was enacted, and we still believe it gives us the basic eight-hour day.

When those suits were instituted against us, as they have been instituted, and as they will be, we, as good citizens, believed that Congress and the President of the

United States, regardless of whether we liked the law or not, had a right to pass it, and we said to the railroad managers, "If your legal department has greater influence and power than the Chief Executive of this nation and Congress, then we will be interested in watching the result." These suits are not against us, they are against the government under which you live, and you members of organized labor I know are good citizens to the extent of being willing to stand by and assist the Government in carrying out a law, and if it is wrong we will repeal it or amend it in the proper way.

But the railroad corporations are not only not willing to abide by the law, but they are unwilling to recognize the Government; they are willing to say they are greater than the Government; that they will disregard a law, and at the same time say we four are anarchists, and it is too bad there isn't a law to lock us up. For what? For doing not one-half these gentlemen of finance are doing.

During the campaign a great many things were said and done, a great many untruthful stories were circulated, and while much younger than any of these fellows that speak of twenty-five years ago, I don't claim to be old like Stone and Sheppard. When I get to be as old as they are I will perhaps talk differently, but at present I am almost an anarchist, to the extent that I am ready to declare to the world we are going to work for the universal eight-hour day or better for every class of labor on earth, and if we cannot get it peacefully we will fight for it.

Now we are confronted with another proposition. Part of the President's program, as you probably read it, as it was told to us in August and again later. Is that there must be some method provided that will not permit the commerce of this country to be tied up. What right has Congress in that direction? Has it the right to pass a compulsory arbitration law that will say to you or me or anyone outside of penitentiary walls, "You must work when you don't want to?" No. I don't believe Congress will pass a compulsory arbitration law. We will fight it as long as we have breath to fight anything.

And, again, we find that if it is not a compulsory arbitration law it is the Lemieux Act, or something worse, the Canadian Act. That law applies to transportation employees particularly. I think the Lemieux Act in Canada has been invoked by every railroad in Canada against some one or all of our organizations. It is absolutely unworkable, absolutely useless as it is, because under the law now existing, although there is a proposal to change it before Parliament now, it means a compulsory investigation before a strike can go on. If anything of that kind has happened, then there must be some method whereby both parties will hold in statu quo absolutely the situation while the investigation is on. Labor must do that, and does it. Does capital?

Let us take a certain coal-mine strike in Eastern Canada under that law, where the companies built fences around their mines, where the miners were compelled to work during the ninety days and dig coal while the company was preparing to defeat them, building high board fences, putting up

shacks, barbed wire, etc. Is that fair? Not quite, and I don't believe the public will stand for any such law. But I think we are facing some kind of law in this country, and that should bring us closer together than any other one thing, to guard against arbitration that is not acceptable to us.

During the campaign I was much interested in some of the stories that went around. One was the story of a fellow who said to the colored brother:

"Sambo, for whom are you going to vote for President?"

"Ah dunno, sah," replied Sambo.

"Who is going to be elected?"

"Ah dunno, sah."

"Do you know who is running for President, Sambo?"

"Yas, sah! I think Mr. Roosevelt is on the aggressive ticket, Mr. Hughes is runnin' for us, cullud folks, but I kaint kinder recollect who is a-runnin' for yo white people."

Mr. Roosevelt was on the "aggressive" ticket, all right, and was out over this country hammering for Charles Evasive. He was hammering also our good friend, who has been our friend and is your friend now, and I believe is the friend of the masses. Although I never before voted the Democratic ticket in my life, I hope to live it down now. When the President, after three days' and three nights' investigation, having before him ourselves and the railroad representatives, decided by giving out that he believed in the basic eight-hour day, a universal eight-hour day for all men who work—my partisan politics was gone. And when they say Woodrow Wilson is a weakling, that he did not do this or did not do that, in my opinion it took more courage to write across the front pages of all the papers in this country that the Chief Executive stood for the universal eight-hour day than it would have taken to write across the front pages that we were at war with Mexico.

So, my good friends, three of these chief executives have been life-time Republicans. One, our good friend Carter, has the best of it, for he voted the Democratic ticket all his life, but he was from Texas. You would expect that. And now our principal object as laboring men is, in my opinion, to assist the President of the United States and our friends in both branches of Congress to make good what they promised. I believe they will do it if we assist them.

There is the other interest, the other side, that dumps its millions into the campaign fund to defeat such men as Casey, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; and Lewis, from this state; men I am very sorry to see leave the halls of Congress in Washington, men who have been our friends always, the friends of the masses. But the interests dumped their money in there and attempted to beat them. However, you and I can be proud that we showed them we could elect a President, without New York, Illinois or Indiana, something that was never before done, and something that Wall street would have "gone broke on" that could not be done.

Now the story was that Teddy and Charley met just before election. They had both been speaking a great deal and Charley observed:

"Theodore, I believe I am losing my voice." And Teddy declared heartedly:

"Dee-lighted, Charley! It is the only thing that will save you!"

So, if I don't quit, perhaps I will lose my voice.

But I want to say in all seriousness to you that these four organizations, these four brotherhoods of the railway employes, whether they have justly or unjustly been criticised because they have held aloof from other organizations, as our good friend Scott Nearing is quoted as saying in New York the other night before 4,000 people, "These brotherhoods have been used by their employers to crush other organizations of labor, and all of a sudden they get chesty, swell their breasts out, and now they are up against it, and they are going to get what other organized labor gets." Well, whether that is so or not, we are nearer today, in my opinion, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor than ever we dreamed of before.

I have had my troubles. I have been for twenty-two years an officer of the brotherhood. You have seen my picture in the papers. It has not always been presented. I have sometimes been represented like some of the cartoons in this campaign, but I have never yet had a controversy I was not willing to submit to Samuel Gompers and let him decide it, never yet. I hold letters from President Samuel Gompers written within two months complimenting the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen for the position it took with its members in the New York strike. When some of our members were working and wanted an excuse to work as scabs I told our lodges to expel every one of them if a majority of the men on those roads had voted for a strike. Our position has not been changed a bit in twenty years, not a particle, and it will not change in the future; we will do just what we have done. We have said to our members, "Perform your regular and usual work; do not take the place of any man on strike, and do only such work during the strike of engineers, or firemen or conductors that you were doing before, nothing more, nothing less. That is the situation and the position of these four brotherhoods.

Now, some day, perhaps, we can come to you in a different way, but I want to bring to you the fraternal greetings of something over 142,000 members in good standing of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. I know a large percentage of that membership will be pleased to know their representative came here, met with you and received the kindly reception given to us today. I know it will bring us closer together, and it is absolutely necessary in the future in order to organize some of these classes, these railroads, where they will not permit men to organize, where they will not permit us who are organized to assist to organize the other railroad men, such as the shopmen, the carmen and these other crafts. We can do it, and I am here to say to you I will go the limit, morally and financially, to help do it. We will not strike, we will not break contracts to do it, but we will use our efforts in other ways to make the railroads treat these men better.

You know there is a saying that you can lock the door against a thief, but not against a liar. While Carter gave you a wonderful illustration of the methods of the newspapers of this country, all of which is correct, I want to say this to the reporters and the workers, the fellows who write the stuff, that I do not believe for a minute the average reporter wants to distort facts, but the fellow above, the fellow who is owned and controlled, wants that kind of stuff, and he will make it out of the reporter's story or pencil it and take it out. I don't blame the reporter; I blame the fellow who sits in the managing editor's chair. He is the fellow whom I hold to be responsible for the debauchery of the press.

President Gompers' Response.

As President of the American Federation of Labor, I should, before these four brothers leave us, express what I believe is in the minds of the delegates and which I desire to interpret.

You are right welcome with us, Mr. Stone, Mr. Carter, Mr. Lee and Mr. Shepard, right welcome. We wish you were here absolutely as the delegates to this convention are here. And it is a great comfort to know and to have heard you say that the time is not far distant when four railroad brotherhoods will be a part of the American Federation of Labor.

Let me assure you that self-government is guaranteed to every organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and no species of compulsion is tolerated in our Federation. If we cannot succeed in prevailing upon an organization to do the thing which, in our judgment, it ought to do; if we cannot do that by the expression of our judgment, then we cannot enforce that judgment by any decree or action on our part. It is the essence of voluntary action that has made this Federation the great protestant against wrong, and a powerful influence for the attainment of right. The jurisdiction question is the one in which we try to be helpful in bringing organizations, each claiming jurisdiction over the same class of workers, to come to a voluntary conclusion to govern themselves. But compulsion—No!

Now, I recall with a great deal of pleasure the occasions when I have had the opportunity to speak to the conventions of some of the railroad brotherhoods; in fact, I think all of them; one of them several times—the Firemen and Enginemen. I was always well received, and my reception I take it was not simply to me personally, but because of the fact that I appeared before the convention as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, and of its spirit as well as its achievements. One of the things that I recall with a great deal of pleasure was my appearance before the convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers at Harrisburg about three years ago. It was about that time that the newspapers discovered that this mild-mannered man, Warren S. Stone, did really possess backbone, for several of the Wall street papers just gave him a good rubbing down, and at the convention I congratulated the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers upon the fact that the newspapers had at last discovered President Stone. I took oc-

casion to admonish the delegates that sometimes it is necessary for the working people, the organizations of labor particularly, to show that they have both teeth and claws—not all the time, but only when necessary.

Now, without attempting at this time to discuss the Adamson Law—the eight-hour law—it is exceedingly peculiar that those who antagonize the law predicate their action upon the statement that it is not an eight-hour law. Since when have these railroad magnates, or their lawyers, been the advocates of an eight-hour work-day?

Men of the railroad brotherhoods, just this one remark to you: We expect that the railroad brotherhoods will, on the first of January, inaugurate the eight-hour work-day, and I think I can truly say to you that whatever may arise, whatever betide, you have the undivided support of every man and every woman in the organized labor movement as represented in the American Federation of Labor. When the money power of the United States failed in trying to corrupt the electorate of the United States and to mislead them, when their well-laid plans were frustrated by the citizenship of the United States, they showed their colors and a number of them gave to the public the declaration that they were going to resist every effort put forth by organized labor; that they would fight us industrially, politically and legislatively—I need not say that judicially they already have done so—that they represent eight billions of dollars; that there were 15,000 employers; that they employed about seven million working people, and that they were going to use every instrumentality within their power in order to balk defeat or undo the work of the American labor movement.

Now, that is their right so long as they own the money; so long as they hold that position, they have a right to oppose our movement, notwithstanding the fact that our movement stands for manhood, for womanhood, for childhood, as against their billions of dollars. I say to you it is their lawful right to make the fight against us, and all I can say in answer is: "You men of wealth, be careful how far you go, for there is a limit to human endurance. You throw down the gauntlet and we will accept the challenge!" And when it comes we will quote from the greatest bard the world ever had—"Lay on, Macduff, and damned be he who first cries, 'Hold! Enough!'"

Men, you executives of the railroad brotherhoods, you may count upon the men of labor in this land of ours. You will find that we will ring true and stand true.

Delegate Woll: To show our gratification at the presence of these chief officers of the railroad brotherhoods; to give expression to the hope held forth that they will soon be with us as members of the American Federation of Labor; to show our pleasure in their addresses here this morning, I move that we manifest our feelings by a rising vote of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by a unanimous rising vote.

Delegate Gorenstein (Max): As a delegate of the International Ladies' Garment

Workers' Union, I desire to speak in regard to action that was taken here yesterday on the question of immigration. At our convention in Philadelphia the latter part of last month, with 200 delegates representing 100,000 workers, our convention went on record in regard to the immigration question. Yesterday a part of our delegation was not present and the others overlooked the matter, and the report of the Committee on Report of Executive Council on this question was passed by without any discussion. Our delegation now desires to go on record opposed to that recommendation, and I would ask the President to allow those delegates who are present who feel as we do to vote as we do.

President Gompers: The delegates have that right. All that is necessary is for the delegates to hand in their names to the Secretary stating that they desire to be recorded in opposition to any particular subject. That right is accorded to them.

Later Delegate Gorenstein submitted the following:

The delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Benjamin Schlesinger, A. Rosenberg, Sarah Shapiro, J. Heller, M. Gorenstein, desire to be recorded as having voted against the recommendation of the Committee on Report of Executive Council relating to immigration. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is opposed to the literacy test and to restriction of immigration.

Delegate Sam Lebowitz, Mineral Water Workers' Local, 12674, New York city, also was recorded as voting negatively on the immigration proposition.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Vice-President Alpine presiding.

Hatters' Case.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 77-78) the committee reported as follows:

That we accept the report of the Executive Council; regret that the enemies of labor saw fit to interfere with the voluntary contribution so much needed to save the homes of the Danbury hatters, and request that those who have not yet contributed the one hour's wages requested by the San Francisco Convention be urged to do so as soon as possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of the Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There have been organized within the last year about 15 organizations of Government employees, known as Federal Employees' Unions, the largest of which is located in Washington, D. C.; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction which has been granted to these Federal Employees' Unions by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consists of the right to membership of all Government employees who are not exclusively eligible to existing national or international unions; and

WHEREAS, This action of the Executive Council was taken in accordance with a resolution of the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor as follows

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been instrumental in securing legislation that has permitted the civil service employees of the Government to organize; and

"WHEREAS, There are about 275,000 such employees now practically unorganized; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this thirty-third convention of the American Federation of Labor believes this to be an opportune time to institute a vigorous campaign to organize said civil service employees; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the Secretary is hereby directed to communicate with the various local organizers on this subject and send them a copy of this resolution.

"The committee recommended that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council. The recommendation of the committee was adopted."

WHEREAS, It is evident that the action of the Seattle Convention upon this subject intended the organization of the civil service employees of the United States into distinctive organizations from any other organization of employees in private establishments, even though the work were of a similar character; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the United States are dependent upon Congress and the heads of departments for all changes in conditions of work, salaries, wages, hours, etc., and have a common interest in such matters without regard to the particular line of work upon which such employees are engaged; and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of employees of the United States who are eligible to various trade unions, but on account of the fact that their salaries, wages, hours and conditions of work are fixed by legislative enactment, rather than by agreement with their employer, they do not belong to nor do they desire to join their various craft unions; and

WHEREAS, This condition is due to the fact that, unless a large number of some particular craft are affected by adverse legislation or by proposed advantageous legislation, a national or international union ordinarily does not and may not take an active interest in the legislation; and

WHEREAS, There are thousands of Gov-

ernment employees who are working in localities and places separate and distinct from other workers of their various crafts and who do not feel or believe that it would be of any advantage to them to belong to their craft union; and

WHEREAS, The organization of the Federal Employees' Unions provides a means whereby these workers may be brought into the ranks of organized labor, so that their membership in such organization will insure to them at least a constant effort by their organization to secure benefits for them, inasmuch as all of the members of such organizations are striving for the attainment of the same purposes and by the same means; and

WHEREAS, It is not practicable for the various national and international unions to put forth their best efforts in behalf of these isolated craftsmen who are eligible to these national or international unions, because of the numerous other problems and conditions with which they are confronted, and which affect a very much greater number of their craft; and

WHEREAS, In Washington, D. C., there has been occasioned some bitterness and dislike for trade unionism, because of the fact that these craftsmen, eligible to the various national and international unions, have not been permitted to join the Federal Employees' Union; and

WHEREAS, It would tend to very materially strengthen the movement for the organization of Government employees and would not, to any appreciable extent, weaken or interfere with the membership of national or international unions if a definite line of jurisdiction were established for the unions of Federal employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the jurisdiction of the various Federal Employees' Unions shall be limited to those persons in the employ of the United States or of the District of Columbia who are not exclusively eligible to existing national or international unions, or who are eligible to such national or international unions, but whose employment is not of a nature that the national or international union is able or willing to do as much for them as is apparent that the Federal Employees' Unions will accomplish, and that a definite line of jurisdiction for the Federal Employees' Unions be established to provide that all Government employees shall be eligible thereto except those exclusively eligible to existing national or international unions who are employed in groups of more than ten of any one craft.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, A. Rosenberg, Sarah Shapiro, Max Gorenstein and Morris Deitch, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The immigration bill (H. R. 10384) passed by the House of Representatives March 30, 1916, provides that certain

restrictions against immigration shall not apply to persons convicted of or advocating the commission of "offenses purely political"; and

WHEREAS, The Committee on Immigration of the United States Senate has added as an amendment to the above provision the words "unless such offense is a felony" (Senate bill, May 18, 1916, p. 10, line 7); and

WHEREAS, This amendment, if enacted into law, would deprive of the right of asylum champions of liberty in countries suffering from political oppression in which resistance to tyranny is classed as a felony; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in the city of Baltimore, this 15th day of November, 1916, protests against the amendment of the Senate Committee on Immigration as un-American and running counter to the time-honored policy of this nation to extend the right of political asylum to political refugees of all the world, as so eloquently stated by President Wilson in his message of January 28th, 1915, vetoing a similar bill; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is herewith instructed to bring the matter to the attention of the Senate.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Raymond Wilcox of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12846:

WHEREAS, The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12846 has long used upon the correspondence and other work of its members a trade imprint, being the initials and the American Federation of Labor number, for the purpose of advertising the existence of a union of office workers—the same having been an effective means of enlisting inquiry as to the meaning of this device and affording an opportunity of boosting the union in reply to said inquiry; and

WHEREAS, In our trade there is no union label, and by the nature of the trade there can be no label in the usual and accepted sense of the term; and

WHEREAS, On many of the communications from International Unions in this city and elsewhere this trade imprint is used; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and other affiliated international organizations of labor having offices in organized cities make it a practice to require on their communications this trade imprint, made up of the initials and American Federation of Labor number, of the office workers organizations in their respective cities, for the purpose of stimulating interest in organization among office workers.

Your committee recommends the reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Later Delegate Wilcox, Bookkeepers' Union No. 12846, desired to be recorded as voting in opposition to the report of the committee by instruction of his organization.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Frank L. Homan, Bisbee, Arizona, Trades Assembly:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its thirty-sixth annual convention takes cognizance of the gravity of the situation in Bisbee, Arizona, brought about by the attempt of one William Truax to void the purpose of the statute that forbids the issuance of an injunction in a labor dispute; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take early action in this matter and help defeat the avowed intention of the said William Truax by devising ways and means to resist his plea for an injunction upon the grounds that a lease is a property right and that picketing his restaurant constitutes a menace to a property right; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor expedite action in their consideration of this affair as much as possible, by reason of the contempt proceedings, being based upon his plea of interference with a property right, going forward in court this month.

Your committee recommends reference to the Executive Council with the further recommendation that it give such advice and assistance as it consistently can.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 25—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The unceasing efforts of the American Federation of Labor are dedicated not alone to the organized wage-earners of America, but also to the realization of the hopes and ambitions of all men and women who toil, in the mines and in the workshops, in the fields and in the homes, and to the protection and proper guardianship of the health, morals and opportunities of the coming generations; and

WHEREAS, One of the great problems which demands the attention of humanitarians in every civilized country is reflected in the commendable efforts made by some of our international unions to establish old-age pensions for members who, because of infirmities and advancing years, are unable to keep pace with the relentless demands of industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to present to the thirty-seventh annual convention of this body a review of the old-age pension systems of Great Britain and Germany, together with such other information on this subject as may be helpful in determining the action necessary and desirable in framing suitable legislation looking to the establishment of a universal old-age pension system by the Government of the United States of America.

Your committee recognizes that, owing to conditions existing in Europe, it will be practically impossible for the Executive Council to comply with the instructions contained in this resolution, and therefore recommend its reference to the Executive Council for such action as it shall be able to take.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates W. M. Pollock of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773; Mabel H. Hudson, of Office Employees' Association No. 12755; F. W. Ely, of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 13188, and Raymond Wilcox, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Assistants' Union No. 12646:

WHEREAS, Unorganized news writers are a menace to the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union has been given jurisdiction over news writers, and at the Rochester Convention was instructed to proceed to organize this class of workers, but has made no attempt to comply with such instruction; and

WHEREAS, News writers are necessarily either stenographers or typists, or both; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby transfers jurisdiction over this class of workers to the unions of office workers wherever such organizations have been formed and chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommend nonconcurrency in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Pollock, explained that the work in question comes under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union, and although a former convention had instructed that efforts be made to organize this class of work, nothing has been done.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Wilcox desired to be recorded as voting in the negative by instruction of his organization.

Resolutions Nos. 23 and 39, dealing with the same subject matter, were considered together and covered in one recommendation of the committee. The resolutions follow:

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate R. P. Brindell of the New York Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, At the St. Louis convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the city of St. Louis, Mo., during November, 1910, a resolution was adopted with the voluntary consent of The Actors International Union of America, withdrawing the charter

held by the said Actors International Union of America for the purpose of amalgamating the White Rats of America, an independent organization of vaudeville performers, with the affiliated Actors International Union. At the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council was instructed by resolution to investigate charges made against the amalgamated organization known as the White Rats Actors' Union of America for violation of the agreement of amalgamation entered into with the consent of the Executive Council who had been party to the merging of these two associations; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council pursuant to this resolution have held many conferences with the object of bringing about a harmonious understanding between the Vaudeville Actors of this country, all of which have been unsuccessful; and

WHEREAS, During the interval other theatrical organizations consisting of theatrical artists have made application to the American Federation of Labor for direct affiliation, which applications have been protested by the White Rats Actors' Union of America, now holding exclusive charter rights from the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its conventions are reluctant to withdraw charters granted to organizations representing the various crafts and callings unless it shall be necessary to further organize the calling represented by the affiliated association, thereby consolidating like interests and making possible the best form of organization to guarantee a permanent and powerful National or International Trades Union; and

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union has during the past seven years been directly associated with all of the details of the amalgamation of the Actors' Union and the White Rats, the differences between the two associations since that time, the applications of the Actors' Equity Association and the Actors' Society, the Motion Picture Artists, and Extras, also the Cabaret and Club Entertainers, and as the New York Central Federated Union is located in the headquarters of all of the various branches of theatrical industry, the City of New York, offer the following for adoption as the only real solution; be it

RESOLVED, That the charter now held in the name of the White Rats Actors' Union of America be withdrawn, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed by this convention to call a convention on or before January 1, 1917, and invite the different branches of the theatrical profession to send delegates for the purpose of organizing an international union of actors covering all branches of the profession; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, or such representative as he may designate, take charge of such convention and render such assistance as may be necessary to form a new organization of all branches that will be really representative of the theatrical profession.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate James William Fitzpatrick and Harry Mountford, White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council and various other committees of bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have held many conferences with the White Rats Actors' Union of America and certain unaffiliated organizations, with a view to the union of all sections; and

WHEREAS, Several plans were suggested by President Gompers, each of which the White Rats Actors' Union of America was willing to accept; and

WHEREAS, These plans proved unacceptable to the said organization unaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor; be it

RESOLVED, That with the thanks of the American Federation of Labor and the White Rats Actors' Union of America, the Executive Council be discharged from further action in the premises in this matter; and that in the future the unaffiliated organizations be referred to the International Unions of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, the holders of the International charter, in conformity with the practice and constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee held extensive hearings on Resolutions Nos. 23 and 39, and recommends nonconcurrence in both. We further recommend, that the Executive Council continue its good offices through the White Rats Actors' Union for the improvement of conditions for all actors.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Mabel H. Hudson, Office Employees' Association No. 12735:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has rendered a decision in favor of the International Typographical Union, and against the Office Employees' Association in the matter of jurisdiction over stencil cutters and addressograph workers; and

WHEREAS, The nature of the work performed by such stencil cutters and addressograph workers is that of typists and general office workers; and

WHEREAS, No apparent effort has been made by the International Typographical Union to organize such workers, while on the other hand the Office Employees' Association has been successful in organizing a number of such workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby transfers jurisdiction over stencil cutters and addressograph workers to the office workers unions, wherever such have been chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrence in this resolution and concurrence in the decision of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Later Delegate Wilcox desired to be recorded as voting against the report of the committee by instruction of his organization.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773:

WHEREAS, Modern business methods should as far as possible be utilized for the benefit of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council investigate the feasibility of installing a uniform system of accounts, files, purchasing of supplies, etc., for the American Federation of Labor which, with the co-operation of the various affiliated national and international organizations, shall be used in all organizations.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate W. B. Nichols, of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees:

WHEREAS, There has been created in the United States Government the portfolio of Secretary of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The function of such department is to mediate and promote good feeling between employers and employees, to the end that such harmony may prevail as is possible between such contending interests; and

WHEREAS, The greater function of the department is to secure for the laboring classes those advantages that accrue to organized forces that conform to law and order in the prosecution of such advantages; and

WHEREAS, Recent actions on the part of representatives of the Department of Labor in aiding and abetting certain defeated officers of a so-called trade union in defeating what would have undoubtedly been accomplished by the legitimate organization in securing for a well-deserving class of employees a schedule of rules and rates; and

WHEREAS, It is a recognized fact that seceding factions are actuated by purposes far removed from the best interests of any men they represent, because of the fact that in seceding those parties have proved the case of their own infamy; and

WHEREAS, Any recognition, not to mention assistance, given to such officers by the Department of Labor defeats the purpose of the men themselves, who, through ignorance, have identified themselves with such discredited organization, and the department itself by so doing defeats the purpose of the office, namely, mediation, because mediation is out of the question when such a condition faces the mediator; and

WHEREAS, Such a situation has been created and the men's purpose defeated by reason of the Department of Labor, through its representative, taking sides with such

organization because of said department being appealed to by those so-called trades unionists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled at this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, disapprove of any recognition, aid or countenance being given by the said Department of Labor to any such seceding faction from any legitimate bodies authorized and affiliated to the regular trades union movement in the country, as by so doing they defeat the usefulness of the department and defeat the men's purpose; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to communicate with the officers of other state federations throughout the country, with a view to securing its co-operation in this attempt to have such condition adjusted in the interest of such legitimate bodies representing the laboring class of the United States.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrency in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 84—By the Delegates from International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Circular No. 265, issued by the Department of Commerce, and dealing with the enforcement of the language clause of the Seamen's Act, is so worded that it stands in the way of any proper enforcement of the Act; and

WHEREAS, There can be no real equalization of the operating expenses of foreign and American vessels without the proper enforcement of this clause; and

WHEREAS, The American cannot get to sea if men without the knowledge are permitted to continue to sail in violation of this law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully protest against Circular No. 265, and urge that it be so revised that it will be in harmony with the letter, spirit and purpose of the law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be submitted to the Secretary of Commerce and the President of the United States.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 82—By W. M. Pollock of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773:

WHEREAS, In the latter part of February, 1918, Congressman W. P. Borland, of Missouri, proposed an amendment to the Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation Bill in the House proposing to increase the hours of government clerks from seven to eight per day, upon which our organization, which then included in its membership a number of government clerks, immediately became active and secured many applications for membership among government clerks; and

WHEREAS, At a massmeeting held March 3, 1918, held under the auspices of

the Central Labor Union of Washington, in accordance with a motion introduced by our delegate, Secretary Morrison, over the verbal protest of members of our organization, effected a temporary organization of government clerks; and

WHEREAS, The constitution of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773, grants, under the approval of the American Federation of Labor, jurisdiction over "office workers generally" to that association; and

WHEREAS, Stenographers, statisticians, clerks and office workers of all classes employed in the government service now hold and have for several years held membership in this association, with the full knowledge and consent of the officers of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Due to a protest of our organization the American Federation of Labor could not issue a charter to the proposed organization of government clerks, our protest being based on the fact that two provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor were being violated, namely, Section 11, Article IX, which says "that no charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national, international, trade or Federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions," and Section 4, Article XIV, which says that "the American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation for local unions or Federal unions from a vicinity where a chartered central labor union exists to that body for investigation and approval; and

WHEREAS, Over our further protest the Executive Council permitted the organization of government clerks to amalgamate with Federal Labor Union No. 14632, composed of about eight members in the Treasury Department under an agreement whereby six of the eight members were to be guaranteed offices in the consolidated organization before the 5,000 members of the temporary organization would be allowed to join the eight, both organizations thus assisting by a plain subterfuge an attempt to violate the jurisdictional right of a sister organization, when the original application on behalf of the 5,000 could not be granted under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council refused to sustain the protest of the stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association on the ground that the Seattle Convention, 1913, had adopted a resolution looking toward the organization of government clerks; and

WHEREAS, The said organization voted to take an appeal from the said ruling of the Executive Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that the Seattle convention did not mean that in following out the provisions of said resolution that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor should be

violated in any particular or that the jurisdiction of any organization affiliated with it should be trespassed upon; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention recognizes the jurisdiction of the said organization over stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, bookkeepers' assistants and office workers generally in the government service in the territory mentioned in its constitution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to transfer forthwith to the said organization such members of Federal Labor Union No. 14632 as are eligible thereto.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrency in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Pollock, who opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, made a brief statement in support of the recommendation.

Delegate Wilcox, Bookkeepers' Union 12846, desired to be recorded as opposing the recommendation of the committee by instructions of his organization.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates Raymond Wilcox, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12846; F. W. Ely, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Accountants' Union No. 13188; Mabel H. Hudson, of the Office Employees' Association No. 12755, and W. M. Pollock, of Stenographers, Typewriters and Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773:

WHEREAS, There are now sixteen local unions of office workers in New York, Chicago, Washington, San Francisco, Kansas City, Boston, Indianapolis and other cities, including in their membership nearly two thousand members; and

WHEREAS, The need of organization among office workers is as great as in any other calling, and many of the office workers are coming to a realization of the fact that no short-cut road will bring them to better wages and conditions; and

WHEREAS, Nearly all of the above named local unions have expressed themselves in favor of forming a national union for office workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby directed to organize and grant a charter to an International Office Workers' Union to include all office workers.

Your committee recommends reference to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate Mabel H.

Hudson, of Office Employees' Association No. 12755:

WHEREAS, By a recent decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor the Office Employees' Association No. 12755, of Chicago, was ordered to cancel the membership of Messrs. Max Dezettel and Adolph Germer, and that unless this ruling be complied with in thirty days the charter of the Office Employees' Association No. 12755 will stand revoked; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Max Dezettel is not and has never been a member of said association, and the ruling cannot, therefore, at this time be put into effect in his case; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Dezettel carries a traveling card issued to him as a member in good standing by the Omaha local of office employees, and which card he wishes to deposit with the Office Employees' Association No. 12755; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Adolph Germer is now employed actively at office work and properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Office Employees' Association; and

WHEREAS, The only question of the eligibility of Mr. Germer was based on the fact that he held membership in the United Mine Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, There is no law prohibiting the holding of membership in two unions, but, on the contrary, the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Section 11, Article 9, specifically provides that "should any of the members of such national, international, trade or federal union work at any other vocation, trade or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the decision of the Executive Council be and is hereby annulled.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be nonconcurrent in and that the decision rendered in the case be complied with; and that the decision having been complied with, the Max Dezettel case then be considered by the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegate Mabel Hudson, Chicago, who opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

The question was further discussed by Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee.

Delegates Arnold, Painters; Barnes, Cigar-makers, and Kiser, Cathrell and Biggs opposed the recommendation of the committee.

A statement was made by President Gompers in which he explained the position of the President and the Executive Council

in making the ruling referred to in the resolution.

Upon motion of Delegate Furuseth debate was closed.

Delegate Pollock requested a roll call. The request was not supported by a suffi-

cient number of delegates to require the calling of the roll on the question.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

At 1 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

EIGHTH DAY—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2.30 p. m. Tuesday, November 21st, President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees—Hayward, Cohen (Jake), Flore, D'Andrea, Gould, Brock, Dorey, Lavender, McCormick, Prudhomme, Felder, McPherson, Flaherty, Myers (C. E.), Jarrett, Kuhlmann, Meyer (A.), Noonan, Feeney, Schwarz, Browder, Chase, Meinert, Wieber, Coleman, Liebowitz, Morris, Peters, DeSautis, Byrne, Master, Kennedy, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, Peabody, McLarin, Dane, Zaranko, Young, O'Dell, Willis, Brandle, Boos, Smith, Sims, Murray, Connell, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Bradley, Rander, Graham, Lewis, Niven, Nau, Adams (A. E.), Burk, Sweeney, Fursman, Agethen, Curtis, James, Dowler.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate I. N. Cathrall of the Pittston (Pa.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the past patriotism has been considered and taught in our public schools as expression of devotion and valor on bloody battle-fields through deeds of daring and awful sacrifice in the bestial frenzy of international strife; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the demonstration of patriotism is not limited to fighting for our country in time of need, but that it is evidenced through the expression by word and deed in everyday life or our love for those ideals which were cherished by our forefathers, which were handed to us as our patrimony, and upon which the very life of our nation depends; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the study of patriotism in its broadest sense would result in the inculcation in the children of the nation of a true love for those ideals, the love of liberty in its widest meanings; the liberty to speak, to think, and to do; and that it would result in a realization of the true character of the interdependence of men, women and children, and thereby foster a love of duty, not only to our fatherland, but to our neighbor and fellow-contestant in the peaceful battle for existence, a love of service not only to the mythical entity,

our country, but of service to every man, woman and child forming part of that entity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in thirty-sixth annual convention assembled, go on record as favoring the introduction in the curriculum of the public schools of the United States of a course of study in "true patriotism;" and further, be it

RESOLVED, That a committee be appointed to consider ways and means for carrying out the ideas herein expressed, and that the same committee be instructed to report at the next annual convention.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution on the ground of indefiniteness.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Cathrell opposed the recommendation of the committee and explained at some length the motives for introducing the resolution.

Delegate Brown (Mass.) and Kiser (Illinois) opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution, or a similar resolution advocating the teaching of patriotism to the rising generation.

Delegate Furuseth supported the position of the committee.

Delegate McNulty (Ignatius) opposed the report of the committee.

Delegate Woll supported the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of Cigarmakers' International Union:

WHEREAS, Public sentiment is now crystallizing industrial, social and health insurance, and just what concrete form this sentiment will take depends largely upon, first, the intelligent, and, second, the determined declaration and attitude of organized labor's forces; and

WHEREAS, We declare that, regardless of the form the insurance may finally take,

and declaring against compulsory insurance of any kind, we are unalterably opposed to private insurance companies for profit, which should be eliminated from any kind of industrial, social or health insurance; and

WHEREAS, It is claimed that in Massachusetts in 1915 the working men and women paid to four insurance companies, operated for profit, more than \$12,000,000 for industrial insurance, and that these companies return to the policy-holders only a very little more than \$4,000,000; and

WHEREAS, The great waste due to overhead charges and personal profits actually amounts to more than is paid to the beneficiaries insured by private concerns; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in thirty-sixth annual convention assembled, declares against private insurance, or insurance for profit, as it may apply to industrial, social or health insurance.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 97.—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The present rules governing the organization of Federal and local labor unions present a handicap to the average community and the system of reports are confusing to the uninitiated mind; and

WHEREAS, Locals of this character are generally composed of members without previous experience in the union movement and, as such, must have the movement simplified to gain their interest and adherence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor the plan of forming these locals directly under the supervision of local central labor councils, where these exist, and under the direction of the state federation of labor where local councils are not existent, as subordinate locals during their period of organization, and holding these organizations responsible for their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor within a reasonable period of time; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the restrictions governing the membership of such Federal labor unions be left to the judgment of the central body, if such there be in that community, or the State Federation of Labor, believing that they will always strive to use mature judgment in their decisions and will work for the best interests of the movement.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrency in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 64.—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is advisable that a more systematic method should be adopted for the direction of our legal activities; and

WHEREAS, Past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have indorsed the creation of a legal department, which would be under the direction of the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby are instructed to establish a legal department not later than January 1, 1917, or as soon thereafter as possible, which shall have at its head a competent attorney and such other assistants as are necessary, and which shall serve the American Federation of Labor as a central bureau for all legal matters affecting the interests of labor. And that the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to levy an assessment not to exceed two cents per capita upon the membership of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of creating a fund from which the expenses of a legal department will be met. The Executive Council to give this subject immediate consideration.

Your committee recommends reference to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Frey: I rise for the purpose of opposing the committee's report, but before discussing the subject I would like to introduce an amendment by adding the words "or as soon thereafter as possible" after the date given in the resolution.

The committee accepted the amendment.

The question was discussed by Delegates Furuseth, chairman of the committee; Frey, Molders; Woll, secretary of the committee; Walker, United Mine Workers; McCloskey, and Treasurer Lennon.

Delegate Proebstle, Brewery Workers, moved as an amendment that the words "the Executive Council give this subject immediate consideration" be added to the resolution.

The amendment was accepted by the committee.

The question was further discussed by Delegates Proebstle; Wilson, Pattern Makers; Tobin, Teamsters, and Furuseth, chairman of the committee; Vice-President Duncan; Delegates Cannon, Western Federation of Miners; Griffin, Seamen; Brown (Mass.), and Secretary Morrison.

Delegate Frey moved as a substitute that the Committee on Law be instructed to bring in a report creating the necessary fund for establishing a legal bureau under the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded, and after a brief discussion by delegates that had already spoken, the substitute was adopted.

President Gompers: The Chair desires to suggest that the subject matter of the resolution and the report of the committee be referred to the Committee on Law. If that course is deemed wise by the convention, it will be so referred. Hearing no objection, it is so referred.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates John Williams, John J. Sullivan, Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and Louis Leonard, Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly:

WHEREAS, The Committee on Industrial Relations have been the most powerful factor of modern times in bringing to light the many causes of industrial unrest; and

WHEREAS, By their thorough investigation and fearless publication of facts have brought about improved working conditions for thousands of toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor favors the enactment of a law making the Industrial Relations Committee a permanent body supported by the Government with headquarters at Washington, D. C.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be requested to draft a bill embodying the intent of this resolution, said bill to be presented to Congress at a time which, in the judgment of the Executive Council, seems advisable.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrency in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Williams, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, discussed the report of the committee and spoke at length in favor of the resolution.

The question was also discussed by Delegate Furuseth, chairman of the committee, and Treasurer Lennon.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, of Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The motion picture business of this country has grown to such an extent that today it not only serves as an agency for recreation but has become a public agency for education, for dissemination of current information, comparable in many respects to the daily press and the public forum. They have a determining influence in directing and educating public thought and opinion; and

WHEREAS, Motion pictures supplement the spoken and written word by a powerful appeal to the mind through the eye, the event or the thought to be conveyed is thereby visualized; and

WHEREAS, Motion pictures must be protected by the same guarantees of freedom that have been bestowed upon oral utterance, and upon the press. It is fundamental for the protection of free institutions that free-

dom of speech, and discussion should be assured, for only when there exists most complete freedom to express thought or to criticize is there established a guarantee that political and other representative agents shall not violate the rights and authority that they do not rightfully possess; and

WHEREAS, Freedom of speech is inseparable from free institutions and the genius of a free people. This freedom must be protected against abuse by holding the individual responsible for his utterances when the same are based on fact. Legal restriction in advance of presentation limits research, investigation and inquiry for broader and deeper truths; and

WHEREAS, That of late efforts have been made to establish State or Federal boards of censorship to review motion pictures, it being the purpose of those who propose such censorship to present to the public only such things as they may be permitted legally to see, thereby putting very dangerous authority in the hands of a few; enabling the board of review to restrict and determine the very fountain heads of information; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the city of Baltimore, register its unrelenting opposition to any scheme or system which denies freedom of speech, press, or the showing of motion pictures, when they are based on facts; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being in opposition to government censorship of expression of opinion in any form, and that we endorse again the declaration that freedom of expression of opinion, freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press, and motion pictures are the palladium of free institution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council investigate and report to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor some practical plan by which we can get labor's side of and all questions before the general public through the motion pictures of the country.

Having favorably acted upon a similar resolution by the Executive Council, your committee deems further action unnecessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate D. P. Haggerty, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There has been for a long time a United States hospital ship on duty on the Atlantic coast for the care and cure of sick or injured fishermen; and

WHEREAS, The number of deep sea cod fishers and other fishermen in Alaskan waters is large and they calling an unusually dangerous one because of the nature of those seas; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Government of the United States of America should be urged to install and maintain in Behring Sea a Government hospital ship for the care and cure of

all sick or injured fishermen in that vicinity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor use all possible efforts to secure the installation of a hospital ship as herein proposed.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be concurred in.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 138—Presented by D. P. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The urgent need of a Government hospital in the Bristol Bay region of Alaska is greatly felt by everyone engaged in the Alaskan fishing industry, and especially by the Alaska Fishermen's Union, many of whose members have suffered great hardships in past seasons through lack of proper medical attention at the canneries and fishing grounds; and

WHEREAS, It is a matter of vital importance to upwards of ten thousand men who are engaged in the fishing industry in Alaska that such a hospital be established as soon as possible and that immediate steps be taken to secure the proper presentation of this matter to the Congress of the United States at its coming session; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Legislative Committee use its best efforts to secure the establishment of such hospital.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be concurred in.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 142—By delegate of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Secretary of War has communicated with public school authorities in various parts of this country inquiring if they were willing to introduce military training of the boys in the schools, and stating that the War Department would provide instructors and rifles and ammunition; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is utterly opposed to militarism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention protests against the action of the Secretary of War, and hereby instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to request President Wilson to prevent any further attempt to militarize the public schools.

The committee recommended nonconcurrency in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegates Arnold, Painters, and Bloor, Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Furuseth, chairman of the com-

mittee, spoke briefly in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners, spoke at length in opposition to the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

At 6 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 a. m. Wednesday, November 22nd.

Appendix to Executive Council's Report.

Baltimore, Md., November 17, 1916.

To the Executive Council

of the American Federation of Labor.

Colleagues:

The undersigned, labor representation committee selected by you with the authority of the American Federation of Labor, beg leave to report that we have endeavored to give the best services possible for the protection and in furtherance of the rights, interests and welfare of the working people of our country.

On pages 81-85 of the Executive Council's report, under the caption "Political Action," the Executive Council as a whole covers the subject of the appearance of the Labor Representation Committee with those members of the Executive Council who could give their time to attend the conventions of the three national political party conventions, the identical demands presented to each party convention and the actions of the conventions thereon. There need be but one comment, and that upon the declaration of the Republican party convention, when it pledged that party "to the faithful enforcement of all federal laws passed for the protection of labor."

It will be observed that there was neither direct nor indirect declaration that either the Seamen's law or the labor provisions of the Clayton anti-trust law would not be repealed if the candidates of that party for the Presidency and Congress were returned to power. Indeed, during the campaign the newspapers supporting the standard-bearer of that party published the statement that he had declared that if elected the constructive legislation enacted in the past three years would be repealed.

Reference should be made to the report upon constructive legislation appearing in your report to the Baltimore convention, under the caption "Report on Legislation," pages 85-100.

Recognizing all that was involved affecting the workers and the masses of the people in the Presidential campaign, you directed that every honorable effort should Honorable Woodrow Wilson to the Presi-

dency of the United States. We have endeavored to carry out your directions as well as the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

In response to the inquiries received as to the attitude of the Presidential candidates on matters of interest to labor, the following letter was adopted by your Labor Representation Committee and printed for distribution:

Washington, D. C., August 28, 1916.

Mr. H. O. McClurg, Secretary,
Labor's Volunteer Co-operative Citizen-
ship and Educational Committee. P. O.
Box 479, Birmingham, Alabama.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your favors of July 17 and July 26 addressed to Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, have been turned over to us for reply. In your favor of July 17 you ask:

"Will you kindly give us the labor record of the candidates who are offering for the Presidency of the United States. Our committee investigates the record of all men who offer for public office in which labor is interested. These records are all compiled and then given to the membership of organized labor without comment whatever, allowing the members to select according to the record that the various candidates have made themselves."

Replying to the above query and statement, we feel it is due you and the members of your organization to say that in our opinion you have taken the correct attitude, and if you maintain your service on a rigid non-partisan basis, such as you describe, you will find that the influence of your organization will always prove helpful to the best interests of all the people.

The legislative record of the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, Democratic nominee for President in regard to labor measures that have come before him for action during his incumbency in the office of President, since March 4, 1913, is as follows:

President Wilson's Record

One of the first acts of the President—on March 4, 1913—was to appoint a member in good standing of the trade union movement, Honorable William B. Wilson, a member and former Secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, Secretary of the Department of Labor, thereby making him a member of the President's Cabinet. This is the first instance in the history of the United States where the President of the United States selected a bona fide good standing member of the organized labor movement to become a member of his Cabinet.

At the request of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor President Wilson appointed, on September 10, 1913, representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods as members of the Industrial Relations Commission, Mr. James O'Connell, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and Mr. Austin B.

Garretson, Grand Chief Conductor of the Order of Railroad Conductors.

On October 15, 1914—President Wilson approved the law which takes the organizations of Labor and the Farmers' organizations from the purview of the Antitrust Act; limits the use and prevents the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes; defines and restricts punishment for alleged contempt of injunction writs and provides jury trial in contempt cases.

On June 23, 1913—The law prohibiting the Department of Justice from using anti-trust appropriation funds to prosecute Labor and Farmers' organizations under the Antitrust Act, was approved.

On August 1, 1914—The same was again approved.

On March 3, 1915—The same was approved.

On March 4, 1915—The President approved the Seamen's law, which abolishes involuntary servitude, provides better treatment of seamen and improves the life-saving provisions on vessels at sea.

On July 15, 1913—The old conciliation, mediation and arbitration act was repealed, and the new law enacted with permanent officials appointed to administer it in behalf of railroad employes engaged in operating service.

On February 24, 1914—The Eight-hour law was enacted for women and child workers of the District of Columbia. (Decided constitutional March 13, 1915, by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.)

On October 20, 1914—The Eight-hour provision was approved for employes under the Alaska Coal Land Act.

On March 12, 1914—The law providing for public construction of the Alaska railroad.

On May 8, 1914—Industrial Education provided, with appropriations for farmers and rural residents under the Agricultural Extension Act.

On March 4, 1915—the Taylor System, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in the United States arsenals prohibited.

On March 3, 1915—Taylor System, stop-watch and speeding-up methods in the United States Navy Yards, gun factories and torpedo stations prohibited.

On March 9, 1914—Piecework was prohibited in the Post Office Department, Washington, D. C.

On March 3, 1915—Public construction of battleships, transports and other vessels in U. S. Navy Yards extended. Repairs to vessels of the Navy to be made in governmental instead of private yards. Steadier work assured to employes of government navy yards.

On March 3, 1915—Licensed officers, such as masters, mates and pilots, guaranteed right to quit, and protected when reporting defects of their vessels to government inspectors.

On March 3, 1915—Bureau of Mines Act extended and strengthened. Ten new experiment stations and seven new safety stations provided.

On May 28, 1913—Senatorial investigation of industrial dispute in the coal fields of West Virginia, whereby peace was restored; the eight-hour day secured; check weighmen provided, and 10 per cent increase

in wages gained; right of organization guaranteed and other improved working conditions included.

On March 9, 1914—Compensation for Injuries Act extended to postoffice employees.

On March 4, 1915—Postoffice employees—Annual promotion maintained, notwithstanding the Postmaster General's efforts to substitute biennial for annual promotions.

On March 4, 1915—Eight-hour law for post office clerks and carriers retained, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to change radically.

On March 4, 1915—Letter carriers' salaries restored, notwithstanding the effort of the Postmaster General to reduce the pay of letter carriers, known as collectors, from \$1,200 to \$1,000 per year.

On March 4, 1915—Locomotive boiler inspection act extended to cover locomotive engines and tenders.

On March 4, 1915—Leave of absence with pay to employees of Government Printing Office extended from 28 to 30 days per year.

On January 23, 1914—Special Congressional investigation of industrial disputes in the Colorado coal fields and the Michigan copper region, wherein all of the complaints and charges made by the men of labor against the mining companies and the alliance of these companies with the political and military powers of the states were officially verified and substantiated.

On March 3, 1915—An additional annual appropriation of \$240,000 for the years 1914-15 was provided for the pay roll of the metal trades mechanics employed at the Washington (D. C.) Navy Yard. This was equivalent to a 7.81 per cent increase in wages.

On December 17, 1914—The statutory enactment of an income tax in conformity with the recent United States constitutional amendment.

On July 16, 1914—An additional appropriation of \$139,000 for the work of the Children's Bureau.

On July 16, 1914—More adequate appropriations for the Department of Labor to carry on its work.

On June 15, 1914—Prevented a reduction in wages and installation and collection of rents for employees on the Panama Canal Zone.

Sixty-fourth Congress.

On May 4, 1916—The President approved the amendment to the Hours of Service Act (the sixteen-hour law for railroad men), containing a minimum and maximum penalty for violation of same by railroad companies.

On May 10, 1916—The President approved the Legislative Appropriations Bill after the objectionable Borland Amendment, which was for the purpose of lengthening the workday of Government employees without extra compensation and without arranging for overtime rates, had been stricken from the bill.

On July 1, 1916—The President approved the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill which carries with it the Anti-Taylor System proviso.

On July 6, 1916—President Wilson approved the Fortifications Bill, which carries with it the important provision which

prohibits the use of the inhuman Taylor System in government workshops.

On July 17, 1916—An act to provide capital for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create Government depositories and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes.

On July 28, 1916—The Postoffice Appropriation bill was approved. This bill contains provisions improving the conditions of letter carriers, clerks and other post-office employees.

There are several other important labor measures upon the calendars of both Houses, which, if passed, it is confidently expected he will also approve.

On July 4, 1916, on the occasion of the dedication of the American Federation of Labor Office Building in Washington, D. C., President Wilson delivered an inspiring address, from which I quote in part, as follows:

"No man ought to suffer injustice in America. No man ought in America to fail to see the deep dictates of humanity.

"Mr. Gompers was referring just now to the sixth section of the Clayton Anti-trust law, the section in which the obvious is stated, namely, that a man's labor is not a commodity, but a part of his life, and that, therefore, the courts must not treat it as if it were a commodity, but must treat it as if it were a part of his life. I am sorry that there were any judges in the United States who had to be told that. It is so obvious that it seems to me that that section of the Clayton Act were a return to the primer of human liberty; but if judges have to have the primer opened before them, I am willing to open it."

Students of history may search wide and deep, they may spend many years of keen research and nowhere in the pages of American history will they find a clearer and more definite pronouncement in behalf of real human liberty than the above expression by President Woodrow Wilson on July 4, 1916.

Justice Hughes' Record.

You also ask for the record of the Honorable Charles Evans Hughes, Republican nominee for President, as to labor measures, and particularly as to the Danbury Hatters' Case.

The Danbury Hatters' Case has a historical place in labor's struggle for freedom. It was in the course of the trial of this case that the workers of our country finally succeeded in securing a declaration from the highest court of the land as to the application of anti-trust legislation to associations of wage-earners.

The decision of the court in this case involved a principle of fundamental importance to workers. It was the same principle involved in the abuse of the writ of injunction which, under the perversion by judges, who had no understanding of industrial conditions and the labor of human beings, had been transformed into an

agency at the service of employers who wished to restrict the industrial freedom of their employes and to prevent their using legitimate methods of securing their demands and promoting their welfare.

The theory upon which courts have held that anti-trust legislation applied to associations of wage-earners and that injunctions could be used to regulate industrial relations, which are personal relations, was the assumption that the labor of a human being was an article or a commodity and, therefore, property. This assumption recognizes no distinction between the creative labor power of a human being which is inseparable from his living body and the articles which he produces.

In 1908 the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision in the *Hatters' case* when the initial appeal was made.

In 1914 the United States Supreme Court delivered their final decision in the case and sustained the contentions of the lawyers of the Anti-Boycott Association which instigated suit against the hatters in the name of the D. E. Loewe Company, hat manufacturers of Danbury, Conn.

The court sustained the position that the Sherman anti-trust law applied to the personal attributes and normal activities of human beings. They held to the theory that there was no distinction between the labor power of human beings on the one hand and articles or commodities on the other—articles or commodities which men sought to control and manipulate through trusts. This decision threatened the very existence of voluntary associated effort—the effort of the organized workers to carry out the normal purposes for which they were organized—that is, to improve standards of life and work, wages, hours and conditions of employment. Such activities of the workers were, by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, regarded as liable to all the civil and criminal penalties under the anti-trust laws of the United States. In other words, the Sherman Anti-trust law, enacted to curb the stupidity and machinations of the combinations of wealthy owners, was to be applied to the voluntary organization of the workers instituted for beneficent purposes and the welfare of human beings.

The decision in this case, which is known as *Loewe vs. Lamlor*, declared that the damages in the case were \$80,000, which, under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-trust Act, were tripled, and, together with the costs of the case and the interest, made a total sum of over \$300,000, which the Danbury hatters must pay D. E. Loewe & Co.

Mr. Charles Evans Hughes was a Justice of the United States Supreme Court at the time this decision was rendered, and he concurred in the decision.

The last decision in this case, although it is brief, reaffirms all that the court declared in its 1908 opinion.

There is another opinion of the United States Supreme Court, written by Justice Hughes, which throws light upon his attitude upon this principle, which is of fundamental importance to the workers of the country. It is his opinion in the case of *Truax vs. Raich*, a case which involved the

constitutionality of the Arizona Anti-alien law. Under that law all employers of Arizona who employed more than five workers were forbidden to employ less than 80 per cent who were qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States. In that decision Justice Hughes took the position that the injunctive process applied to personal relations.

Justice Hughes on that occasion and in that decision made more definite his endorsement of the theory that injunctions apply to personal relations.

Mr. Hughes has taken an unequivocal position. He indorses the abuse of the writ of injunctions against which wage-earners have vigorously protested, and which they have tried to correct by remedial legislation in order that they might enjoy the rights and opportunities of free citizens.

The above is accurately the information for which you asked, and we take it that it will be of importance to you, as well as to the working people and liberty-loving citizens all over the country, in enabling them to understand the mental attitude and the action of both President Woodrow Wilson and Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, who are now candidates for the Presidency of the United States.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

JAS. O'CONNELL, Vice-President.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary.

Labor Representation Committee, American Federation of Labor.

Later, we issued a circular letter, of which the following is a copy:

Washington, D. C., October 14, 1916.
To the Officers of all Organized Labor:

Greeting:

Never at any time within the last fifty years have the workers had more at stake in any political campaign than in the one that is to be decided in the election November 7th.

During the present administration and particularly in this campaign there has been developed a clear-cut issue between the workers—the producers—and those who manipulate the products of the labor of others—the exploiters.

The issue is represented in the campaign by the conflicting interests represented by Labor and Wall Street. Labor represents the masses of the nation, their rights as human beings, the possibilities and the ideals of human development. Wall Street represents the powers of greed and exploitation that have mercilessly used human beings in order to pile up vast unearned fortunes and to carry out their purposes of restricting the rights and opportunities for men to work and enjoy the products of their toil.

During the present administration the organized labor movement has been able to secure recognition for the rights of human beings and opportunity for all to participate in the affairs of the nation in a degree that has never before been accomplished.

The dignity of human life and the value of the co-operation of those whose work is necessary to the processes of industry and commerce have been given an important place in considering all problems that concern the nation. This recognition has taken

the form of legislation necessary to protect the interests of wage-earners and in the ideals of humanity that have guided and directed national policies both at home and in our relations with other nations.

Though half of the world has been involved in a terrific conflict, and it seemed at times as though our nation must be drawn into the vortex of human slaughter, yet the Chief Executive of our land has been able to manage the affairs of the nation and the interests of our citizens so that without the horrors of war he has established and maintained protection of human life and human rights in the somewhat vague domain of international law. Without involving this nation in war, he has secured for us all of the protection and all of the benefits that would have accrued from a successful international war, and by diplomatic correspondence has achieved the victory of embodying concepts of humanity in international activity, at least in so far as America is concerned.

What has been true in the case of the European war is true also in the case with the relations between our country and Mexico. Mexico had been engaged in a convulsive effort to secure freedom and to shake off the despotic control of personal rule and spoliation to benefit those who have been granted special privileges. In their vague, uncertain efforts to free themselves the people of Mexico may have made mistakes. Have the people of the United States always been free from error? Mexico is trying to work out its ideals of rights and justice.

The interests that have been seeking to plunge our country into war, not only with European countries but also with Mexico, are the interests that are represented by the most selfish and most conscienceless element of Wall street. These elements have not stopped with an effort to use existing mistakes and wrongs as an excuse for war and have not hesitated to endeavor to create situations that brought the nation to the very brink of war. It was only by the determined resistance of the citizens who understood that an element of reasonableness was injected into the situation and action prevented until the true facts could be discovered and the will of the masses of the citizens could prevent the evil purposes and designs.

So far as the internal affairs of our country are concerned, the organized labor movement, as the authorized representative of the wage-earners, has demanded for them the right of participation in all the affairs of the nation, and has secured recognition of that demand to a degree never before realized. Men from among those who do the nation's work have occupied high places in the councils of the nation, and have had a hearing and an influence when matters were under consideration that affected the interests and the welfare of the masses.

During the past four years there has been enacted by Congress and signed by President Wilson humanitarian protective legislation unprecedented in amount and scope. Legislative enactment has secured to wage-earners fundamental rights necessary for the very existence of the organizations of labor without which wage-earners would have nothing of freedom and no real oppor-

tunity for self-betterment. Not only have labor organizations been given the right to exist, but the activities necessary to make those organizations effective have been declared legitimate and not contrary to any law of the United States.

The American seamen, the last group of workers who could under law be compelled to perform compulsory service, have been made free men and given the right to quit their ships when in safe harbors.

After many years of effort a Child Labor Law has been secured, due directly to the influence and intervention of President Wilson. The law is fundamental, for it protects the children—the future citizens of the country—and secures for them an opportunity to develop into manhood and womanhood without being stunted and dwarfed in mind and body by work unsuited to their development and strength.

Due to the initiative of President Wilson, the Congress extended the United States Eight-hour law to include the workmen engaged in the operation of the railroad train service of the country and a great national strike was thus averted.

It is impossible to give the full list of remedial and protective legislation that carries its beneficent influences into the homes of millions of America's workers. We can only refer to that change in the spirit of the nation that is of more consequence than statutory enactment, with broader appreciation of the rights of humanity and the value of the human relationships necessary in the co-ordination which is the basis for industry and commerce. It is as if the national thought and the national spirit had been humanized and had become more sensitive not only to injustice but to the rights and opportunities that ought to be accorded to all human beings. The issue is clear-cut.

On November 7th—Election Day—a decision will be made which will determine the future development of our country and the spirit of our national life for years to come.

As representatives of the organized labor movement, which is the militant protective organization of all the workers and which stands primarily for human rights, we urge that the issues be considered at a regular or special meeting held by your organization.

The meeting should be a general one, and, if necessary, called specially for the purpose of seeing that those who have so much at stake should go to the polls to protect their interests.

There is no doubt that the interests of Wall Street and their satellites all over the country are and will continue their activity to retain the special privileges and power that they have secretively and corruptly stolen from the people.

While property must be protected and respected, man—men, women and children, human beings—must have the first consideration.

Wage-earners can not afford to lose their rights and opportunities through negligence and inaction.

Meet, discuss the great issues to be decided on Election Day, November 7th, and then go to the polls, cast your vote as your

conscience directs for labor, justice, freedom and humanity.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, A. F. of L.

JAMES O'CONNELL,

Vice-President, A. F. of L.

FRANK MORRISON,

Secretary, A. F. of L.

Labor Representation Committee, American Federation of Labor.

Thereafter we issued the following circular letter:

Labor! Be on Guard!

Washington, D. C., November 4, 1918.

From all directions comes the information that Wall Street coffers have been opened like a flood-gate in the effort to publish misinformation and to mislead and corrupt the electorate, wherever possible. Misleading page advertisements have already appeared in the newspapers. Slush funds are concentrated in many cities and industrial towns. Bribes of money and of office have been freely offered, but, thus far, in only a few instances accepted.

The rank and file of labor generally are standing true. It is intimated that some canard, some false, malicious statements, will be broadly published within a day or two preceding the coming Tuesday, election day, when there will be little or no time for successful correction or refutation before the evil and damage shall have been accomplished. The men in the labor movement who have proven true all their lives will not now, for partisan advantage or for any other purpose, prove untrue to their fellow-workers and to their own consciences. Men of labor and citizens generally are warned against the attempt to mislead them and confuse their minds or improperly to influence their actions. Workers are urged to safeguard their own interests and to cast their votes on election day, Tuesday next, November 7th, so that their rights, interests, and their freedom may be secured and maintained, and that there will be no necessity for expressions of regret or self-stultification after the election has been completed. The advice to workers is:

Let organized labor's slogan live in its deeds.

Stand faithfully by labor's friends.

Oppose and defeat labor's enemies, whether they be

Candidates for President,

Candidates for Congress, or

Candidates for other offices,

Executive, Legislative or Judicial.

On Tuesday, November 7, the people of the United States elected Woodrow Wilson

President and Thomas R. Marshall Vice-President of the United States. Attention is called to the fact that during the campaign and on the evening of election day, as well as the day following, exultation was manifested in the most marked degrees by all the vested interests, the standpatters and reactionaries, in the expectation and the belief that President Wilson had been defeated, and later these elements only reluctantly acknowledged that their work and hopes had been fruitless. It is appropriate to also call attention to the virulence and the activity manifested by corporate wealth in an organized campaign to antagonize and make war upon the American Federation of Labor.

The workers, the common people of the United States, in this controversy generally were alert to the situation and proved true. The efforts of entrenched wealth and power were almost to a man on the other side. The showing they made was primarily due to sinister influences and control of the largest part of the means of communication and information, thus attempting to blind the citizenship as to the fundamental interests involved.

We have faithfully, conscientiously and to the best of our ability and the means at our command endeavored to be of service and to hold to the declaration that we will stand by our friends and administer a stinging rebuke to men or parties who are either indifferent, negligent, or hostile, and, wherever opportunity affords, secure the election of intelligent, honest, earnest trade unionists, with clear, unblemished, paid-up union cards in their possession.

We acknowledge with appreciation and gratitude the co-operation we have received from the Executive Council and from the officers and the membership of all labor throughout the country.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

FRANK MORRISON,

JAS. O'CONNELL,

Labor Representation Committee.

NINTH DAY--Wednesday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 22, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 22d, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Boos, Sims, Ogletree, Henry, Stephens, Betcher, Rander, Cooney, Graham, Lewis, Brazzle, Harlin, Newland, Kennedy, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, Peabody, McLarin, Ernst, Dane, Liebowitz, Wieber, Morris, DeSautis, Peters, Post, Byrne, Master, Hollis, Browder, Chase, Meinert, Felder, Reeves, Flaherty, Myers (C. E.), Kuhlmann, Gould, Brock, Dorey, Hogan, Milton, Young, Carey, Taylor (C. O.), Jarrett, Dowler, Cohen (Jake).

Delegate Greene, secretary of the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates to the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials reports that we have the credentials of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters for Delegate Edward I. Hannah and recommends that he be seated with 15 votes.

Your committee has received communications in regard to changes in delegations and recommends that the alternate delegates be seated as follows:

Norfolk, Va., Central Labor Union—W. A. Davis.

Commercial Telegraphers' Union—J. W. Freeman.

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS HARRISON, Chairman;
JAMES T. MORIARTY,
M. F. GREENE, Secretary,
Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted. Secretary Morrison read letters from Hon. Wyndham R. Mayo, Mayor of Norfolk, Va.; John A. Lesner, president Board of Trade and Business Men's Association, Norfolk, Va., and Charles H. Consolvo, president Monticello Realty Company, Norfolk. All the letters contained urgent invitations to the American Federation of Labor to hold the 1918 convention in Norfolk.

Delegate Taylor, Laborers' Protective Union, Washington, D. C., asked unanimous consent to present a resolution to be considered in connection with Resolution No. 7. No objection being offered, the following was submitted:

Resolution No. 164—By Delegate Richard Taylor, Laborers' Union No. 15037, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The cost of living has advanced about 250 per cent. in the last 15 years, the laborers in the United States service have had no increase in wages for 40 years.

We, the members of the Laborers' Protective Union No. 15037 of Washington, D. C., affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, do earnestly request that this convention will instruct its Legislative Committee to do all in its power to have the Noland Bill, H. R. No. 11876 passed at the coming session of Congress.

Done by order of the Laborers' Protective Union No. 15037 of Washington, D. C.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Report of Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, read Resolution 142 and the recommendation of the committee.

The chairman announced that Resolution No. 142 and the report of the committee thereon were before the convention at the time of adjournment and asked if other delegates desired to discuss it.

Delegate M. S. Hayes, International Typographical Union, opposed the recommendation of the committee, which was to non-concur, and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Shapiro, International Ladies' Garment Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution. She stated that she desired to make a plea for the women not directly represented in the convention, the mothers and sisters of trades unionists, and stated further that those women in New York were bitterly opposed to military training in the schools.

Delegate Furuseth, chairman of the committee, declared that the committee brought in an unfavorable report because the resolution did not deal with militarism at all, but merely asked the Executive Council to protest to the President of the United States against the effort of the Secretary of War to introduce military training in the schools.

At the close of his discussion Chairman Furuseth submitted the following as a substitute for the resolution:

WHEREAS, There is manifest tendency to depart from the fundamental American idea of a small standing army and the right of all citizens to possess weapons; and

WHEREAS, We agree with the fathers that a population deprived of weapons and of the opportunity of learning their use, while standing mercenary armies are increased, cannot long preserve free institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are opposed to any increase in the standing army; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand from Government, national and state, that the Constitution's provision which guarantees the right to have arms shall be respected and all laws against possessing arms shall be repealed.

The substitute was seconded by Secretary Woll.

Chairman Furuseth spoke briefly in advocacy of the substitute.

Delegate Gorenstein raised a point of order on the substitute, stating it was not in order, as it had absolutely nothing to do with the original resolution. The point of order was declared not well taken.

Delegate Proebstle, Brewery Workers, opposed the substitute offered by Delegate Furuseth and the recommendation of the committee. His argument was an emphatic protest against introducing militarism in the public schools.

Vice-President Duncan discussed the question, and in doing so referred to a similar resolution that was voted down in the San Francisco Convention almost without discussion. He regretted that that action had been taken and urged that greater deliberation be accorded the subject in the present convention. The substitute of Delegate Furuseth, he said, did not deal with the main question as set forth by the resolution and suggested that it be offered as a separate motion after a vote had been taken on the adoption or rejection of the resolution. Vice-President Duncan during the discussion opposed strenuously any effort to introduce militarism into the schools or into the country.

Delegate Seidel, Decatur, Ill., opposed the recommendation of the committee and the substitute offered by Delegate Furuseth. He urged that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate Ramsay, Telegraphers, also opposed the substitute and the recommendation of the committee and in an address of some length voiced his opposition to the intro-

duction of military training in the public schools and his objection to the fostering of the military spirit in the country.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, in a brief discussion stated that the adoption of the resolution would not adequately express objection to the spirit of militarism, and moved that a special committee be appointed to devise and report to the convention a comprehensive idea and ideal of organized labor upon the subject of militarism, and act upon the question in that way.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Griffin, Seamen.

Delegate Barnes, Cigarmakers, opposed all pending motions and advocated strongly the adoption of the original resolution.

Delegate Scharrenberg, Seamen, opposed the appointment of a special committee, and also opposed the substitute offered by Delegate Furuseth and the recommendation of the committee. He advocated strongly the adoption of the original resolution and in a discussion of some length strongly opposed teaching the children militarism in the schools.

Delegate Conboy, Textile Workers, opposed all the pending motions and advocated the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Frey, Molders, spoke in favor of the motion providing for a special committee to present the subject in a proper manner before the convention.

On motion of Treasurer Lennon debate was closed.

The motion to refer the subject to a special committee was lost by a vote of 185 in the negative to 84 in the affirmative.

The substitute offered by Chairman Furuseth was lost on a viva-voce vote.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee to nonconcur in the resolution was lost.

The resolution, No. 142, was then adopted.

Delegate Hill, Little Rock, Ark., moved that a committee be appointed to draw up a resolution dealing with all the phases of militarism, as expressed during the discussion, not treated of in the resolution adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Later President Gompers appointed the following committee: William Green, John P. Frey, Charles L. Baine, Matthew Woll, Andrew A. Hill, John Murray, Paul Scharrenberg.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is an established fact that available finances are an absolute necessity in the conduct of a successful strike or for the protection of workers' property where these workers have been held liable for damages through the exercise of the right to strike and boycott; and

WHEREAS, The need of a fund to meet these and other urgent needs which the present revenue of the American Federation of Labor is inadequate to meet, appears vital to the future success of our movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Baltimore, that we submit to the various international unions affiliated with this body a referendum for an assessment of one dollar each year on their membership; that in the event such a referendum returns the assessment as adopted that the officers of the American Federation of Labor levy such assessment on all directly affiliated local and Federal unions these moneys to be made payable to a special defense fund of the American Federation of Labor and disbursed under the direction of its officers and according to their judgment as strike-relief or special defense purposes among affiliated unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this referendum be submitted at the earliest period possible that the fund may become a reality and available.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be nonconcurrent in.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

Delegate Fox spoke briefly in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

Secretary Woll referred to the action taken at a previous session looking toward increasing the per capita tax, and stated that many of the organizations would object strongly to the assessment, which could not be considered unless the convention ignored the fundamental law which prohibits such an assessment.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate D. P. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The protection of our fishermen should be of as much importance to the Government of the United States as the protection of any other class of laborers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that all laws of the United States applicable to steam vessels of the merchant marine of one hundred tons burden or over,

and made for the health, safety or protection of life, or from personal injury of the crew of said vessels, should be made applicable to all fishing vessels of the United States of one hundred tons burden or more, including Federal inspection of said fishing vessels, exempting, however, therefrom the physical examination as set forth in section 13, of the Act of March 4, 1915; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Federation instruct its Legislative Committee to use its utmost efforts in securing changes of the navigation laws of the United States of America as herein proposed.

Your committee recommends reference to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate M. J. McGuire, of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders:

WHEREAS, The best interests of organized labor in general demand such a move, in view of the present unorganized condition of the employes in the shipyards of the United States;

THEREFORE, We, delegates to the Thirty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now assembled, hereby resolve to grant a charter to a shipyard federation, to be known as such, and to include the strictly shipyard trades and occupations, such as: Shipfitters, anglesmiths, riveters, chippers and caulkers (iron), acetylene burners and welders, drillers, holders-on, slingers and erectors, bolters, helpers—all under the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrent in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate McGuire discussed the question and gave a brief recital of the formation and activities of a dual organization of shipfitters, formerly affiliated with the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders. He stated that it had offered to come back into the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers provided some delegate would introduce a resolution in the convention of the American Federation of Labor relating to this difficulty; that at the time the promise was made to introduce such a resolution the boiler makers did not know what the nature of it would be, but in order to carry out their promise had introduced the resolution reported on. He stated that the resolution had been introduced in the Metal Trades Department and voted down unanimously; that the representative of the dual organization had appeared before the Adjustment Committee in the Metal Trades Department convention and before the Adjustment Committee of the American Federation of Labor convention and had made a full statement

of his case in both instances. In closing, Delegate McGuire moved that the representative of the dual organization, Mr. Nelson, be given the privilege of the floor for fifteen minutes. The motion was seconded.

The question was discussed briefly by Vice-President O'Connell, Vice-President Duncan, Delegates Franklin and Larger.

The motion to grant the privilege of the floor to Mr. Nelson was lost.

The question was further discussed by Delegates Cathrall and Woll.

Delegate Franklin, Boiler Makers, in discussing the question, stated that all the classes of work enumerated in the resolution are part of the trade of iron and steel shipbuilding, part of the construction of the hull of a ship, and no one part of the men could perform their work without the assistance of the other men. He stated that for all the years iron and steel shipbuilding had been carried on in all parts of the world where there were organizations the men had belonged to one organization. He gave a brief recital of the development of the work over which his organization has had jurisdiction since 1880, when the organization was first formed. In closing he stated it was absolutely impossible to separate the men who work in the industry and divide them into groups.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 162—By Delegates T. V. O'Connor, Paul A. Vaccarelli, Thomas Harrison and John T. Joy, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Longshoremen working for the United States Government direct on United States transports and Government-owned vessels generally are not properly protected in case of accident resulting in injury or death; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, be requested to present this subject matter to the proper governmental authorities for the purpose of securing just, fair and immediate compensation in case of accidents resulting in injury or death for all men engaged in loading or discharging vessels and all dock work owned, operated or controlled by the United States Government; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that no satisfactory results can be obtained by proper presentation as above specified, the Executive Council be instructed to draft a bill covering compensation for men engaged in the aforementioned work and use every effort to have such bill enacted into law by the United States Congress at an early date in order to relieve this serious defect as soon as possible.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with favorable recommendation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Woll of the committee concluded the report by reading the following, submitted by the committee:

Reviewing and reflecting upon the history of the American trade union movement, its struggles, achievements and accomplishments as related in the report of the Executive Council, no impartial observer or unbiased student can doubt for one moment the efficacy of our movement and the high and lofty character of its aims and purposes, hopes and aspirations.

The history of the organized labor struggle reveals that in its inception the trade union movement was looked upon as too insignificant for attention and omitted entirely from serious consideration. As the movement gained in strength, power and influence, when the workers' movement of our country compelled public recognition, it was treated with contempt and uncompromising hostility, regarded as a social enemy and an obstacle to our economic and industrial progress. All this has changed. Trade unions are today acknowledged essential to the interests of the men and women of labor and justified as an invaluable institution to human progress and for the advancement of a higher and a greater civilization.

The efficacy of trade unionism is conclusively proven by the rapidity with which its principles are spreading among the workers and the eagerness with which its good will and support is sought by those inspired by the high motives of improving the lot of mankind and advancing the doctrines of true brotherhood. New adherents and additional supporters are being attracted to the trade union movement each succeeding day and with each recurring year. Today the American Federation of Labor embraces within its membership approximately 2,000,000 and a quarter million members.

What greater inspiration could be asked for? What greater source of hope and encouragement can we find for continued and persistent efforts in the cause of labor? The prospects of the future of the workers of America are higher than ever. Few realize that no previous time was more eventful in the life of our economic and industrial society than the age in which we are living. Great economic and social forces are sweeping over our country and of which we are but half conscious. Such is the era in which we are living; such is the influence and power of our great American labor movement.

Underlying all the activities is evidenced, silently, yet with certainty, the ever thoughtful observer, the careful and clear thinking student and the sympathetic but courageous heart and mind of our President, Samuel Gompers. We unhesitatingly commend him for his unquestioned devotion to our cause and for his unqualified and unreserved contribution of his great ability to our movement.

We, too, commend Secretary Morrison for his unquestioned loyalty and for unlimited devotion to our cause. Pains-taking in the

particular work delegated to his care, accurate in the manifold duties of his office, and imbued with a spirit of loyalty, unblemished and untarnished, we congratulate him upon the efficient response to our cause and movement. And so we also heartily commend for your thanks, approval and appreciation the work of your Treasurer and that of your vice-presidents, constituting the Executive Council, in all matters having been considered and acted upon by them during the past year and as reported to this convention. Indeed, the organized workers themselves are deserving of congratulation for the prudence and foresight so splendidly portrayed by their fealty and loyalty to the human and civilizing principles of our cause and of our movement.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Woll: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

ANDREW FURUSETH, Chairman;
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
OWEN MILLER,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
T. V. O'CONNOR,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
FRANK X. NOSCHANG,
W. A. CAMPBELL,
WM. P. CLARKE,
DANIEL A. POST,
THOMAS S. KEARNEY,
HOMER D. CALL,
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary.

Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Secretary Woll: I move that the report of the committee as a whole be approved of. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION.

Brewery Workers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee approves the action of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Laundry Workers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 123) the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends the indorsement of the agreement entered into and congratulates the bodies in interest upon reaching this satisfactory adjustment.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Postoffice Clerks.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 123-124) the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that this subject matter be referred to the Executive Council, to be considered after the result of the referendum vote, now being taken by the organizations in interest, is reported to the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

United Brotherhood of Leather Workers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 124) the committee reported as follows:

Your committee finds that no conference, as required by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, has been held by the representatives of these two organizations prior to the assembling of this convention, and we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to arrange a conference between the organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cap Makers—Hat Makers—Straw Hat Workers.

We were directed by the last convention to continue our efforts to adjust the jurisdictional dispute between these several organizations.

With that purpose in view conferences were held, and finally, at our July meeting, the several organizations were accorded a hearing. Having given the subject our best thought and judgment we decided:

That the making of all felt, panama, and straw hats for men and women comes under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America, and that the finishing and trimming of such hats, through agreement between the United Hatters of North America and the Hat Finishers and Trimmers' Union, comes under the jurisdiction of the Finishers' Union, and that all cloth hat and cap making comes under the jurisdiction of Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.

In addition your attention is called to the fact that this organization has assumed a title, with extended jurisdiction, from the "United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America," to "Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers," this being done in violation of Article 9, section 11, of the constitution. This matter is referred to this convention for consideration and action.

Your committee recommends the approval by this convention of the action of the Executive Council (p. 139) and instructs the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America immediately to discontinue the use

of the words "Millinery Workers" in connection with their title.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Zaritsky, Hat and Cap Makers, opposed the recommendation of the committee. He explained at length the controversy that existed between the organization he represented and the United Hatters of North America in regard to the work in question. He asserted that the work referred to in the report was an entirely different branch of work from that performed by the United Hatters; that it was part of the needle trades and belonged to the Cloth Hat and Cap Workers' organization. He

spoke in detail of the disputes that had arisen between the organization he represented and the United Hatters and quoted a decision of the Executive Council, made in 1903, which favored the contention of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers when they requested jurisdiction over ladies' straw hat makers. He gave a brief account of the work done by the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers in organizing the workers in the industry referred to, increasing their wages and bettering their conditions generally.

At 12.30 the convention was adjourned under the rules, to reconvene at 2 p. m. of the same day.

NINTH DAY---Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Wednesday, November 22, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Heinzman, McPherson, Bode, Flaherty, Meyers (C. E.), Feeney, Healy, Kuhlmann, Brennan, Marshall, Gould, Dorey, Weber, Miller, Carbon, Nau, Adams, (A. E.), Hudson, De Sautis, Williams, Agthe, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, Stremiau, James, Taylor (C. O.), Jarrett, Dowler, Hilton, Kiser, Cohen (Jake), Alexander (Lee), Boos, Young, O'Dell, Brandie, Sims, Connell, Stevens, Betcher, Henry, Rander, Cooney, Graham, Lewis, Newland, Kennedy, Windle, Voll, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kitzner, Peabody, McLarin, Dare, Murray, Wieber, Liebowitz, Morris, Peters, Byrne, Master, Browder, Chase, Meinert, Felder.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Discussion was continued on the report of the committee on the subject of the dispute between the several organizations of hat and cap makers.

Delegate Schlesinger, International Ladies' Garment Workers: I move that the Executive Council be instructed to make a thorough investigation in the case and that then action be taken. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lawlor, United Hatters, opposed the motion to refer to the Executive Council, as the Council had already had an extensive hearing of the matter and decided the jurisdiction question belongs to the United Hatters of North America and not to the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. Delegate Lawlor explained the classes of work done in the different factories and shops and exhibited samples of different hats made by the organization he represented. He explained in detail the different varieties of hats and

caps, the process of making, finishing and trimming.

Delegate Gorenstein, International Ladies' Garment Workers, spoke in favor of the motion to refer and opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Greene, United Hatters, opposed the motion to refer and supported the recommendation of the committee.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, stated that the committee had gone into the case as thoroughly as it was possible for them to do so in the convention, and in discussing the dispute between the two organizations said in part: There is a very great distinction between the felt hat makers, the straw hat makers and the cloth hat and cap makers. The United Hatters have jurisdiction under their charter rights over all felt hat making and over straw hat making; the other organization has jurisdiction over cloth hat and cap making. That is a clean-cut distinction, but it appears from investigations that have been made by the Executive Council for nearly two years, investigations that have been made by representatives of the American Federation of Labor in the shops and by hearings before our committee that the one organization has assumed a jurisdiction not permitted to it by the American Federation of Labor, and that it has assumed a title, or added to their title "millinery workers" without permission of the American Federation of Labor. This committee approves of the recommendation made by the Executive Council. If the Council investigated for a year it could find no other situation than

that the United Hatters of North America have jurisdiction over felt and straw hat makers and that the other organization has jurisdiction over cloth hat and cap makers.

Delegate Mallinda Scott, Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union, opposed the motion to refer and favored the recommendation of the committee. She gave a detailed account of the work of the members of her organization and spoke briefly of the work done by members of the United Hatters and the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.

Delegate Frayne opposed the motion to refer the matter for further investigation. He spoke of the information he had been able to acquire on the subject while dealing with the matter as an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and expressed the belief that further delay in reaching a final settlement of the matter would only result in further disruption of the trades which are now fighting to maintain that which it has taken years of labor to build up.

Delegate Bloor, Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, spoke of the amount of work that had been done by the organization she represented in organizing locals in the branch of the trade in dispute, the improvements in wages that had been secured, and urged that before final action would be taken a further investigation be made to determine whether or not they would sacrifice what they had gained.

Treasurer Lennon opposed the motion to refer to the Executive Council and urged the adoption of the report of the committee.

Upon motion debate was closed.

The motion to refer to the Executive Council was lost.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Robert P. Brindell, of the New York Central Federated Union:

WHEREAS, The men employed in pile driving, dock pin and wharf building in and around the city of New York have maintained, for more than twenty years prior to 1910, organizations of that craft, independent of and unaffiliated with any national or international organization; and

WHEREAS, On July 7, 1910, the American Federation of Labor granted a Federal union charter to the pile drivers and dock pin and wharf builders employed by the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America later claimed that the men composing the independent dock builders' organization, as well as those holding membership in the Federal Labor Union of Pile Drivers and Dock Builders employed by the City of New York were doing carpenters' work, and therefore

should become part of the United Carpenters and Joiners of America. Those claims were presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and a demand made that inasmuch as organizations of dock builders were connected with the Central Federated Union of New York, and also one chartered by the American Federation of Labor, they should connect themselves with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and failing to do so the charter of the Federal Union of Pile Drivers and Dock Builders should be revoked, and the independent union of Pile Drivers and Dock Builders should be unseated by the Central Federated Union of New York; and

WHEREAS, After a thorough investigation and conferences held by representatives of all organizations in interest it was decided by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that all dock builders and pile drivers in New York City and vicinity should become part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; and

WHEREAS, In compliance with this decision, on February 18, 1915, the independent Union of Dock Builders and Pile Drivers became Local Union No. 1456 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; and

WHEREAS, For failure to comply with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the charter of the Federal Union of Municipal Dock Builders was revoked by the American Federation of Labor on June 15, 1915, and in obedience to the laws of the American Federation of Labor the Central Federated Union of New York City unseated their delegates; and

WHEREAS, Up to June 15, 1915, no claim was ever made by the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, either to the American Federation of Labor or to the Central Federated Union of New York, for jurisdiction over the men composing the membership of either of those organizations, and the granting of jurisdiction over dock building and pile driving to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was not protested by that organization, and no effort was ever made by representatives of that organization to organize the men employed in this industry into unions of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers prior to the above named date; and

WHEREAS, The organization of Pile Drivers and Dock Builders which had become a part of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at that time had declared a strike against the contracting dock builders of New York for the purpose of securing an increase of wages for their members, and during this conflict the officers of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers did on July 10, 1915, grant a charter to men who were employed by the contractors to fill the place of the men who went on strike, and in the name of this newly chartered organization, which was known as Local No. 177 of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, they entered

into an agreement with the Contracting Dock Builders' Association, and the said agreement was entirely at variance with the demands for better conditions, and wholly in the interests of the employers; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor requested the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to revoke the charter granted to this body of men, which they refused to do. Their action in granting the above charter was considered at the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the committee appointed to consider the matter reported the following, which was adopted:

"That the President of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to appoint a committee of three to make a thorough investigation of the status of the Dock Builders in New York City relative to the chartering of a local by an affiliated organization while the said charter had been revoked by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and we further recommend that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be requested to suspend the charter granted by them in New York City, known as Local No. 177, pending the proposed investigation;" and

WHEREAS, In compliance with the above resolution a committee of three was appointed, one of whom was named by the President of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, one by the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the other named by President Samuel Gompers; and

WHEREAS, The findings of this committee sustain all of the statements hereinabove mentioned and sustain the statement made in the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the San Francisco Convention, and, by its unanimous vote, declares that the granting of the charter by the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to the men now composing Local No. 177 of their body was unwarranted, and the continuance of the holding of the same inexcusable, if not worthy of severe condemnation, and further declare that the agreement entered into by this Local No. 177 with the contractors whose men were on strike should never have been signed by a trades union man, and certainly never should have been underwritten by an international union. They recommend that the charter of Local No. 177 of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be revoked; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the findings of this special committee be approved and its recommendations adopted, and that the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be endorsed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby instruct the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to revoke the charter granted to the men composing Local Union No. 177 of their organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That if the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron

Workers fails to revoke the said charter on or before January 1, 1917, that the charter of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is hereby declared revoked, to take effect on January 2, 1917, and the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to notify all central bodies, building trades councils and state federations affiliated with and chartered by the American Federation of Labor to unseat the representatives or delegates of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and not to again seat the delegates or representatives of that association until they are officially notified by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has complied with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee approves of this resolution, with the substitution of "April 1, 1917," instead of "January 1, 1917," and the substitution of April 2, 1917, instead of January 2, 1917.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee. He discussed briefly the evolution that has taken place in bridge building and the material used in bridges in the past twenty-five years. He contended that the members of the organization be represented have a right to do all the work in connection with the bridges, both for their own safety and for the proper construction of the bridges. He spoke at length of the situation that has existed in New York in regard to the work of dock building, wharf building, pile driving and other classes of work, and explained the disputes that had arisen between the different organizations. During his discussion of the subject he quoted from records of the conventions of the Building Trades Department, and read letters and other documents in support of his contention.

Delegate Duffy, Brotherhood of Carpenters, supported the recommendation of the committee. He referred to disputes that had existed for years between the carpenters and the iron workers, and explained in detail the trouble that had arisen in New York which resulted in the introduction of the resolution under discussion. He cited former rulings of both the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department, discussed the classes of work in dispute, the different local organizations concerned and the steps that had been taken to bring about an adjustment of the matter.

Delegate Brindell spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee. In discussing the question he described the work

that had been done in New York by the different organizations, the disputes that had arisen, the make-up of the various organizations concerned, wages and conditions secured, and quoted contracts and various documents in support of his contention.

Treasurer Lennon moved the following as an amendment to the report of the committee: That the words "revoke their charter" be stricken out and that in lieu thereof there be inserted "that if they do not comply by the first of April the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers shall stand suspended from this organization, from the departments and from central bodies until such time as they do comply." (Seconded).

The amendment was discussed by Treasurer Lennon and Delegate Mountford.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, discussed the question briefly.

President Gompers made a statement as to the manner in which the committee that investigated the situation in New York had been secured, one member having been selected from a list of three submitted by President McClory of the Iron Workers, one selected from a list of three presented by President Hutcheson of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and one selected by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Morrin, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, opposed the amendment offered by Delegate Lennon and discussed the question at length.

Delegate Hutcheson, Brotherhood of Carpenters, spoke at some length of the investigation that had been carried on by the committee selected under instructions of the San Francisco Convention, the report of the committee that investigated the situation in New York had submitted, and the failure of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to accept it, although it was the unanimous report of the committee. He stated that he favored the resolution as submitted, but would accept the amendment as offered by Treasurer Lennon.

The question was further discussed by Delegates Ferguson, Baltimore; Fitzpatrick, White Rats Actors' Association, and James Wilson.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: I want to ask the carpenters if they claim jurisdiction over the pile-driving feature of this question? It appears that dock building and pile driving are in dispute, which are two separate questions.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I believe I made it very clear in my remarks

that if there was any jurisdictional dispute involved in this as pertaining to pile drivers we were ready to meet the iron workers at any time and endeavor to adjust it, as we have adjusted many problems that are harder than that.

Delegate Mitchell, United Mine Workers: I want to ask the carpenters if they understand this resolution gives them jurisdiction over pile drivers; that is, if they understand the report of the committee conveys to them jurisdiction over pile drivers?

Delegate Hutcheson: I don't know that it would be proper for me to interpret that at this time, but I will say this: That in so far as dock and pier work is concerned, it was conceded by the representatives of the iron workers as well as the contractors at the time of the hearing that it would be a very impractical proposition to separate pile driving from the dock, pier and wharf building.

Delegate Mitchell: I want to ask the committee if it understands that the adoption of its report would give the carpenters jurisdiction over the pile drivers?

Vice-President O'Connell: The committee is of the opinion that the adoption of the resolution that was introduced by the delegate from the New Work Central Federated Union would not in the fullest sense give the carpenters jurisdiction over pile driving, that there is contained in the resolution and contained in the hearing some things that will indicate there has not been a clear understanding as to just what is pile driving from either side of this controversy. Piles are now being put in of all kinds of material, concrete, iron, steel and wood. This contention has been going on for a considerable length of time, conferences have been held, special committees appointed to go to New York and make personal investigations, visit the work in contention, and the committee was of the opinion that there was one way by which this matter might be either definitely adjusted, in so far as the question of revocation of charter is concerned, and that was to let the convention vote directly as to whether or not a charter should or should not be revoked. In the San Francisco Convention I stated that I hoped it would be the last occasion I would be a party to a report that would present to the American Federation of Labor any matter that contained the revocation of a charter, and at this convention I considered long before I had decided for myself at least that the question would be put up to the

convention on the revocation of a charter. I had in mind just what Delegate Lennon has made as an amendment to the report—the suspension of the charter—but there was such a feeling expressed by all parties who came before us that I felt it was only fair to all sides that it ought to be definitely settled by putting the revocation squarely up to the convention. If the convention decides no revocation should take place, then it will be necessary to bring the power of the American Federation of Labor to bring these two parties together and make them agree on something and take the contention away from our organization.

Vice-President Duncan suggested that the question might be divided, have the convention decide on the question of the dock builders and send the question of pile driving to a conference.

Delegate Hutcheson: Replying to Delegate Mitchell's question in regard to pile driving, in my opinion the question before this convention is the adoption of the report of the committee as included in the resolution. If this convention adopts the recommendation of the committee the matter of jurisdiction of pile driving will not be decided, but will be held in abeyance pending a conference of both organizations.

Delegate McClory: Does the suspension of a charter of an affiliated organization require the same vote as the revocation of a charter?

President Gompers: The constitution provides specifically that for the revocation of a charter it shall require a two-thirds vote.

Delegate Furuseth: Then a suspension requires a two-thirds vote also, does it not?

President Gompers: It does not.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee: I desire to explain further for the committee. There seems to be an impression that the committee's report in recommending the approval of the resolution tends to decide the jurisdiction question between these two organizations. Such is not the case. The whole question revolves around the local union in New York City, the local that was once chartered direct by the American Federation of Labor. This local union was suspended from the American Federation of Labor and had its charter revoked. The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers issued a charter to this suspended local union of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council in session

wired to the officers of the Structural Iron Workers in convention asking them to withdraw the charter they had granted to a local union, affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, which had been suspended, I think, for violation of some union rule. The iron workers did not comply with that request, but made some request that the matter be investigated. The charter has not been revoked and this resolution requires the iron workers to withdraw the charter of that local union in New York. Failing to do so it asks that the international union's charter be taken away from it. The whole question revolves around the local union in New York and does not enter into the question of jurisdiction between the two organizations and does not mention where the other organizations shall go. It has no reference to that whatever; it is purely instructions to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to withdraw the charter of that local in New York.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Delegate Morrin: Do I understand the ruling of the Chair to mean that it does not require a two-thirds majority vote to suspend a charter?

President Gompers: The Chair will call the attention of the delegate to the constitutional provision. There are but two provisions in the constitution requiring a two-thirds vote, one to revoke a charter and the other to amend the constitution.

Delegate Furuseth: Will the suspended union have representation in the American Federation of Labor?

President Gompers: It will not so long as it is suspended.

A roll call vote on the substitute offered by Delegate Lennon resulted as follows:

Ayes—Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Felder, Foley, Blacksmiths' delegation (32 votes), Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Lovely, Martindale, McCarthy, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Ryan, Adames, Thompson, Nolte, Hutcheson, Duffy, Woodbury, Hensell, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross, MacPherson, Perkins, Gompers, Mueller, Campbell, Bright, Myers, Meyer, Feeney, Snellings, Hannahan, Edgerton, Comerford, Woll, Schwarz, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Miller (A. W.), Rickert, Larger, Altman, Doyle, Daley, Hayes (D. A.), Steelman, Lawson, Christman, Hatters' delegation (29 votes), D'Alessandro, Etchison, D'Andrea, Dwyer, Fiore, Sullivan (J. L.), Raleigh, Koveleski, Farrell, McSorley, Taggart, Joy, O'Connell (Jas.), Irwin, Lavender, United Mine Workers' delegation: Valentine, Frey, McCormick, Torpey, Prudhomme, Hedrick, Skemp, Lynch, Guerlin, McKeon, Arnold, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Hannah.

Bergstrom, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, De lny, Berry, Hardy, Scheid, Nau, Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath, Fleming, Shay, Canavan, Dolliver, Suarez, Welsh, Sweeney, Lennon, Biggs, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, Wilson (J. E.), Perham, Alexander (H. G.), Ramsay, Bode, Golden, Conboy, Walker, Hall, Williams (T. J.), Evans, Curtis, Scott, Hayes (M. S.), Morrison, Dennett, Stevenson (Hugh), Hatch, Strem-lau, Fitchie, Brown (F. B.), Sprague, Hunt, Patterson, Post, Hohler, Rich, Fox, Lucey, Ferguson, Homan, Jennings, Brown (E. Gerry), Hayward, Kennedy, McAndrews, (Andrew), O'Dell, Alden, Hill, Ogletree, Gagnon, Brindell, Davis, Harrison, Bauldauf, Bradley, Lewis, Leonard, Lemke, Lorch, Higgins, Wilcox, Walters, Scott (Melinda), Bohm, Hollis, Pollock, Ely, representing 14,399 votes.

Nays—Mullaney, Myrup, Schneider (R. C.), Reeves, Blacksmiths' delegation (65 votes), Franklin, Hinzman, McGuire, MacGowan, McClory, Tobin (Sam), Morrin, Bowen, Dobson, Preece, Shaughnessy, Jones, Boyer, Barnes, Kuhlmann, McNulty, Noonan, Kloter, Fisher (Frank), Schlesinger, Shapiro, Deitch, Heller, Gorenstein, Rosenberg, Duncan, Russell, Alexander (Henry), Zaritsky, Bloor, Hatters' delegation (28 votes), Mar-schl, Williams (John), Sullivan (John J.), Bryan, Bock, O'Connor (J. M.), Johnston, Van Lear, Wharton, Taylor, Nichols, Hogan, Call, Lane, Hynes, Redding, Moriarity, Frayne, Moyer, Reardon, Cannon, Linde-mann, McGivern, Donlin, Cook, O'Keefe, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Menge, Chadwick, Sultor, Hurley, Furuseth, Flynn, Scharren-

berg, Griffin, Funder, Burk, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, McCluskey, Haggerty, Mitch, Crellin, Osborne, Seidel, Smith (J. T.), Greg-son, Ossmann, O'Shea, Heller, O'Connell (J. A.), Grimbolt, Leonard, Curry, representing 4,968 votes.

Not Voting—Sovey, Bruff, Conroy, But-terworth, Flaherty, Freeman, Baker, Con-way, Koch, Scoby, Clarke, Roberts, Ken-nedy, Hatters' delegation (28 votes), Mar-shall, Keefe, Gould, Brock, O'Connor (T. V.), Vaccarelli, Harrison, Dorey, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Carbon, Gavlak, Adams (A. E.), Freel, Sumner, Griggs, Short, Burt, Sheehan, Fursman, Freeman, Agethen, Cone, Taylor (C. O.), James, Donoghue, Cozzolino, Holland, Jarrett, Ralsse, Iglesias, Dowler, Hilton, Shearer, Bennett, Kiser, Pauley, Cohen, Harlin, Hahn, McDonald (J. A.), Alexander (Lee), Young, Ballard, Willis, Brandle, Boos, Breslin, Sims, Murray, Connell, Hilfers, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Draper, Cathral, Rander, Cooney, Graham, Wilkinson, Braz-zie, Niven, Woodmansee, Harlin, Newland, Kennedy, Windell, Voll, O'Donnell, Kritzer, McAndrews (J. J.), Peabody, McLarin, Ernst, McNally, Dane, Zaranko, Raines, Murray (M. A.), Wieber, Cohen (James), Coleman, Taylor, McNulty (Ignatius), Liebo-witz, Morris, Hudson, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Rincker, Browder, Chase, Meinert, Rodgers, Gosling, Whitefield, Stevenson (T. W.), representing 1,781 votes.

At 6:30 p. m. the convention was ad-journed to 9:30 a. m. Thursday, November 23rd.

TENTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 23, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 23rd, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees — Flaherty, Kuhlmann, Deviny, Marshall, Bode, J. W. Freeman, Carl Freeman, James, Jarrett, Dowler, Hilton, Kiser, Cohen (Jake), Alexander (Lee), Young, Willis, Brandle, Boos, Sims, Connell, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Rander, Graham, Leonard, Brazzle, Newland, Kennedy, Leonard, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, Wieber, Liebowitz, Morris, De Sautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Browder, Chase, Melnert.

The chairman stated that at the time of adjournment the report of the Committee on Adjustment on Resolution No. 13 was pending; that the resolution had been amended by striking out the words "revoke their charter" and substituting "that if they do not comply by the first of April the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers shall stand suspended from this organization from the departments and from central bodies until such time as they do comply," and that the vote would be on the report of the committee as amended.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted by a *vive-voce* vote.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the Committee on Adjustment, made a brief statement in which he corrected a statement made at the previous session during the discussion on the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' question.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, secretary of the committee, continued the report, as follows:

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates of the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor invited the Marine Engineers to become affiliated; and

WHEREAS, The application was made by the Engineers and the affiliation was prevented by the Machinists' claim that all repair work in port must be done by members of the Machinists' Union; and

WHEREAS, The affiliation of the Engineers upon such terms is impossible because the Machinists' claim is in direct conflict with the provisions of the maritime law under which the Engineers are compelled to perform any such work assigned them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the crew of any vessel shall have absolute jurisdiction over and the first right to perform any work on the vessel, or for the vessel, when such is within reach of the tackle.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council and that the President of the American Federation of Labor call a conference of the representatives of all organizations in interest, within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to bringing about, if possible, a mutual understanding, whereby a charter of affiliation may be granted to the Marine Engineers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, opposed the recommendation of the committee, and in doing so said in part: This American Federation of Labor invited the Marine Engineers to affiliate. After four years of fighting inside the ranks of the Marine Engineers the matter was sent to a referendum vote. The referendum vote carried. The application was made, and promptly all the obstructions that could be put against the granting of a clear charter were put into operation. The engineers and the boiler-makers thought they would be hurt, the machinists thought it was the time to make conditions that suited them, and the result was a charter it was impossible for the Marine Engineers to accept. The condition put up to the Marine Engineers by the machinists is that the machinists shall do all the work in harbor. The Marine Engineers cannot agree to any such thing, because if we undertook to carry it out any engineer who would do so would promptly lose his license under the law. If you want the Marine Engineers to be members of the American Federation of Labor vote down the report and accept the resolution; if you don't want them to be members, vote in favor of the report.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists, opposed the resolution. He asserted that the Marine Engineers, when in port, do all classes of work, including steam fitting; that they not only do the work on the ship they have charge of, but when they are waiting for

positions and a ship comes in they are sent from the office of their organization to do all the extra work on the boat; they not only do it on one boat but on all the ships, and even go into the machine shop and steam-fitting shop without joining the organizations of those crafts.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, in discussing the question related the efforts that had been made to procure the affiliation of the Marine Engineers, and in closing said: The representatives of the organizations that are objecting to an unlimited charter being granted do so because the members of this organization have been doing things that are not in accordance with the wishes of the affiliated organizations, and they feel by having a conference these things can be straightened up, and when a charter is granted they will be in here without hindrance or a jurisdiction contest of any kind. I do not think the reference to the Executive Council will stand in the way of their affiliation, but will make it possible for them to come in here with clean hands.

Vice-President Alpine announced that he wished to be recorded as being in favor of the committee's report and in opposition to the resolution, and, further, to be recorded as one of the interested parties when this subject will be taken up for final disposition or adjudication, if the committee's report is accepted by the convention.

Delegate Joy, Longshoremens, announced that he wished to be recorded as opposed to the resolution and in favor of adopting the committee's report. He also gave a brief account of the work done by the Longshoremens, and stated that if the stevedoring work should be given to the seamen there would be nothing left for the members of his organization to do.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, favored the report of the committee and opposed the resolution. He referred to the fact that the executive board of the Machinists had met with the executive board of the Marine Engineers, and the latter had asserted that they would be greatly benefited if they could be relieved of many of the arduous duties that are enforced upon them when the vessels are in port. He stated further that the conference with the Engineers was a most cordial one and the relations between the Marine Engineers and the Machinists are most pleasant.

Delegate Griffin, Seamen, opposed the recommendation of the committee and spoke

at length in support of the resolution. He described the various classes of work performed by the seamen while at sea and also the work performed by them when in port. He stated that the arduous duties of the seamen were performed while at sea, where they had to work long hours; that if there were any easy tasks they were those they had to perform while the vessels were in port, and it was this latter class of work that other organizations were seeking to take from them. He objected vigorously to that being done.

Delegate McGuire, Boiler Makers, in discussing the question, said that the marine engineers of San Francisco had an agreement with the organization he represented which provided that any marine engineer doing work in that port that belongs to the boiler makers will be fined. He contended that while the marine engineers do not now do any of the boiler makers' work in that port, they will do so if the resolution is adopted, and the men he represents will be idle.

Delegate Flynn, Seamen, denied the statement made by a previous speaker that the engineers worked longer hours and for less wages than did the machinists and other crafts when doing similar work. He denied that the seamen were doing work that properly came under the jurisdiction of other crafts, claimed that they had done only work which has belonged to the seamen since steamships have been built and propelled by machinery, and that they proposed to do that work in the future.

The question was discussed further by Delegate Taylor, Machinists, who cited a case in Seattle where machinists had been working eight hours a day and marine engineers worked nine hours a day when they came into port.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates J. W. Kline, J. F. McGrath and Wm. F. Kramer, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union has failed to comply with the decision of the American Federation of Labor conventions held at Seattle, Wash., 1913, Philadelphia, Pa., 1914, and concurred in by the convention held at San Francisco, Cal., 1915, wherein said conventions ordered the Carriage and Wagon Workers to discontinue the word "Automobile" in the title of their organization; and

WHEREAS, the failure on the part of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union to comply with the mandates and decisions of

the conventions of the American Federation of Labor has caused considerable discontent and injury to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that all central bodies and state branches of the American Federation of Labor unseat as delegates the representatives of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union in every district in the country, and that no support or recognition be given them until such time as Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union complies with and carries out to the fullest extent the decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate MacPherson, Carriage and Wagon Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the rejection of the resolution. He contended that the organization he represented had not assumed jurisdiction over the portion of the work in automobile factories claimed by the carriage and wagon workers; that it was given them by the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Rochester. He gave a brief history of the evolution of the trade of carriage and wagon building, and stated that in the earlier days the blacksmith was a greater factor in the trade than at the present day. He described the work done in automobile factories by the various crafts engaged, and stated that the blacksmiths had no more right to press their claim for work done by members of his organization than had other crafts engaged.

At the close of his discussion Delegate MacPherson offered the following as an amendment to the report of the committee:

RESOLVED, That the working rights of the men engaged in the automobile industry may be fostered and conserved by forming joint councils such as now exist in the building trades; these councils to be formed in every city where automobiles are manufactured, to be called joint councils of the automobile industry, and where new unions of automobile builders are about to be formed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all crafts interested act in conjunction, and in case of strikes render assistance, financially and otherwise, so that instead of strife peace may prevail and that this immense industry be brought under the power and influence of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this amendment be submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and a report

be made not later than three months after January 1, 1917.

In discussing the question, Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee, said, in part: In three conventions the Carriage and Wagon Workers have been instructed to strike from their title the words "automobile workers." Delegate MacPherson asserted that at one convention held four years ago they were authorized to use the words "automobile workers." Automobile workers, in the sense to which he then applied it, meant that the wagon workers had the right to go into an automobile factory and build the coupe, or closed carriage, in connection with an automobile and had no reference to carriage and wagon workers assuming entire jurisdiction over the automobile plants. When it appeared to the other organizations that the carriage and wagon workers were organizing all the trades in automobile plants or accepting into their membership other craftsmen, those organizations insisted that the words "automobile workers" should be stricken from their title. Other trades have organized men in the automobile factories. In San Francisco last year the Committee on Adjustment reported concurrence in a resolution offered by the blacksmiths and set April 1st as the date when the carriage and wagon workers should take out of their title the words "automobile workers." At the request of Delegate MacPherson the date was changed to June 1st, but his organization has paid no further attention to the orders of the convention.

Delegate Kline, Blacksmiths, stated that he had no objection to Delegate MacPherson organizing all the men that properly come under the jurisdiction of his organization; that the resolution did not deal with any jurisdiction matter, but simply asks that the carriage and wagon workers be disciplined if they do not obey the rulings of the convention.

Delegate Myrup asked if the recommendation of the committee was not a violation of Section 8, Article XI, of the constitution, because of the fact that the committee recommended the unseating of local unions in central bodies without a revocation or suspension of charter.

President Gompers stated that the section referred to dealt with the relations between central bodies and international unions and had no relation to the action of the American Federation of Labor in convention.

The amendment offered by Delegate MacPherson was lost.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate MacPherson: I ask for a roll call.

President Gompers: The delegate has lost his opportunity to request a roll call.

Fraternal Presentations.

President Gompers, in behalf of the delegates, presented to Fraternal Delegate Harry Gosling, of the British Trades Union Congress, a ring set with a ruby, a diamond and a sapphire; to Fraternal Delegate Whitefield, of the British Trades Union Congress, a handsome watch, bearing his monogram and suitably inscribed on the inner side of the case, and to Fraternal Delegate Stevenson, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, a ring set with a ruby, a diamond and a sapphire.

In making the presentation President Gompers assured the fraternal delegates of the regard and esteem in which they were held by the delegates and officers of the American Federation of Labor, and spoke briefly of the value of the interchange of fraternal delegates between the countries.

The fraternal delegates responded with deep feeling, expressing their appreciation of the kindness and courtesy that had been shown them since coming to Baltimore and to the United States.

To Mrs. Harry Gosling, on behalf of the delegates, President Gompers presented a handsome lavalliere.

In behalf of his wife, Fraternal Delegate Gosling thanked the delegates for the handsome gift.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Delegate Golden, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates J. W. Kilne, J. F. McGrath, and William F. Kramer, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen have embodied in their constitution an eligible list of workmen claimed by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen according to their constitution claim blacksmiths and helpers, which fact is an injustice to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, and an encroachment on the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to eliminate the words blacksmiths

and helpers from their constitution, and further instruct the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to circularize their organization to the effect that blacksmiths and helpers are not eligible to membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates J. W. Kilne, J. F. McGrath and William F. Kramer, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union has failed to comply with the decisions of the American Federation of Labor convention held at Philadelphia, Pa., 1914, and concurred in by the convention held at San Francisco, Cal., 1915, wherein said conventions ordered the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union to turn over to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers all blacksmiths, tool sharpeners, drill sharpeners and helpers who then and are now holding membership in the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The failure on the part of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' Union to comply with the mandates and decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor has caused considerable discontent and injury to the membership of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct all central bodies and state branches affiliated to unseat as delegates the representatives of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' Union in every district in the country, and that no support or recognition be given to the said Tunnel and Subway Constructors' Union until such time as they comply and carry out to the fullest extent the decision of the Philadelphia and the San Francisco conventions of the American Federation of Labor—namely, that the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' Union turn over all blacksmiths, tool sharpeners, drill sharpeners and helpers now holding membership in the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' Union to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, and in the future to discontinue to admit into their membership any blacksmiths, tool sharpeners, drill sharpeners and helpers.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Curtis, Tunnel and Subway Constructors, opposed the resolution and recommendation of the committee. In speaking of the craft he represented he said, in part: If we have a man in our organization that is qualified to do blacksmith's work we turn him over to the blacksmiths' organization, but we want to keep the men of our own craft together; we do not want to separate them. There are a number of

organizations seated here whose men are doing tool sharpening, who are doing the same class of work for the mechanics that we are. We sharpen and dress the tools. If you separate us it will destroy our organization. We have one of the best contracts any man ever signed covering the rock drillers and tool sharpeners. On a number of occasions the blacksmiths have worked with our men, but they could not fill the bill. The tool sharpeners have made a speciality of this work, and they are not familiar with any other work.

Delegate Lane, Butcher Workmen, stated that before central and state bodies are asked to unseat the delegates of the organization in question action should be taken in the convention of the Federation to unseat the parent body.

Delegate Kline, Blacksmiths, spoke briefly in favor of the resolution and the recommendation of the committee. He urged that the rulings of the conventions be carried out.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners, spoke at length in opposition to the resolution and the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate D'Alessandro, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, spoke in support of the recommendation of the committee.

The question was further discussed briefly by Vice-President O'Connell and President Gompers.

Delegate Curtis requested a roll call on the motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee. A sufficient number of delegates supported the request and a roll call was ordered.

Roll call on report of Committee on Adjustment on Resolution No. 36:

Ayes—Shanessy, Kline, Kramer, McGrath (J. F.), Franklin, Hinzman, McGuire, MacGowan, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Lovely, Martindale, McCarthy, Perkins, Gompers, Mueller, Barnes, Campbell, Doyle, Hayes (D. A.), Steelman, Lawson, Clarke, Roberts, Kennedy, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Dwyer, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Raleigh, Farrell, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Bryan, Machinists' delegation (202 votes); Lavender, Call, Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Frayne, Valentine, Frey, McCormick, Torpey, Prudhomme, Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Hedrick, Skemp, Lynch, Guerin, McKeon, Wilson (James), Gernon, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Menge, Chadwick, Printing Pressmen's delegation (73 votes); Burt, Sheehan, Perham, Alexander (H. G.), Ramsay, Bode, Golden, Conboy, Walker, Hall, Fitchie, Holland, Iglesias, Hohler, Lucey, Ferguson, Smith (J. T.), Bradley, Walters, McNally, representing 5,112 votes.

Nays—Mullaney, Myrup, Schneider (R. C.), Goldstone, Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Felder, Foley, Bruff, Conroy, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, McClory, Tobin (Sam), Morrin, Bowen, Dobson, Preece, Shaughnessy, Jones, Ryan, Adames, Thompson, Nolte, Hutcheson, Duffy, Woodbury, Hemsell, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross, MacPherson, Freeman, Scooby, McNulty (F. J.), Noonan, Kloter, Fisher (Frank), Feeney, Snellings, Hannahan, Edgerton, Comerford, Woll, Schwarz, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Miller (A. W.), Rickert, Larger, Altman, Daley, Schlesinger, Shapiro, Deitch, Heller, Gorenstein, Rosenberg, Christman, Duncan, Russell, Alexander (Henry), Zaritsky, Bloor, Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), McCue, Marshall, Keefe, Koveleski, McSorley, Taggart, Bock, O'Connor (J. M.), O'Connor (T. V.), Vaccarella, Harrison, Joy, Machinists' delegation (807 votes); Irwin, Dorey, Nichols, Hogan, Lane, United Mine Workers' delegation; Moyer, Beardon, Cannon, Lindemann, Weber, Carbon, Arnold, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Hannah, Bergstrom, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, Printing Pressmen's delegation (217 votes), Sultor, Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath (J. T.), Hurley, Gavlak, Furness, Flynn, Scharrenberg, Griffin, Fleming, Shay, Canavan, Dolliver, Suarez, Welsh, Freel, Sumner, Griggs, Short, Funder, Burk, Sweeney, Lennon, Biggs, Fursman, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, Wilson (J. E.), Williams (T. J.), Evans, Curtis, Hayes (M. S.), Morrison, Dennett, Stevenson (Hugh), Hatch, McCluskey, Hagerty, Mitch, Crellin, Donoghue, Ralaise, Hilton, Fox, Bennett, Jennings, Brown (E. Gerry), Hayward, Pauley, Kennedy (T. F.), McAndrews (Andrew), Harlin, Hahn, Seidel, Alden, Gregson, Ogletree, Gagnon, Brindell, Harrison, Bauldauf, Heller, Lewis, Grimblot, Lorch, Windell, Higgins, Wilcox, Curry, Zaranko, Bohm, Pollock, representing 15,093 votes.

Not Voting—Reeves, Sovey, Butterworth, Boyer, Flaherty, Bright, Myers, Baker, Conway, Koch, Kuhlmann, Meyer (Andries), Gould, Brock, McGivern, Donlin, Cook, O'Keefe, Deviny, Adams (A. E.), Freeman (J. W.), Azethen, Scott (Marsden), Stremmler, Mountford, Fitzpatrick, Cone, Brown (F. B.), Sprague, Hunt, Taylor (C. O.), James, Patterson, Cozzolino, Jarrett, Osborne, Post, Rich, Dowler, Shearer, Homan, Kiser, Cohen (Jake), McDonald (J. A.), Alexander (Lee), Young, Ballard, O'Dell, Willis, Brandie, Roos, Breslin, Sims, Hill, Murray (John), Ossman, Connell, Hilfers, O'Shea, Davis, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Draper, Cathraill, Rander, Cooney, Graham, Wilkinson, O'Connell (J. A.), Leonard, Brazzie, Niven, Woodmansee, Newland, Kennedy (J. H.), Lemke, Leonard, Voll, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, McAndrews (J. J.), Peabody, McLarin, Ernst, Dane, Raines, Scott (M.), Murray (M. A.), Wieher, Coen (James), Coleman, Taylor, McNulty (Ignatius), Liebowitz, Morris, Hudson, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Rincker, Hollis, Ely, Browder, Chase, Melnert, Rodgers, Gosling, Whitefield, Stevenson, representing 942 votes.

At 1 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

TENTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m., Thursday, November 23, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Reeves, Flaherty, Myers, Freeman, Baker, Conway, Koch, Meyer, Fisher (F.), Schwarz, Gould, Dorey, Frey, Nau, Mahon, Adams (A. E.), Canavan, Freel, Agethen, James, Jarrett, Dowler, Hilton, Kiser, Cohen (Jake), Alexander (Lee), Young, Brandle, Sims, Ogletree, Hilfers, O'Shea, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Rander, Cooney, Graham, Lewis, Newland, Kennedy, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Wilcox, Kritzer, Peabody, Ernst, Murray, Wieber, Liebowitz, Morris, DeSautels, Peters, Byrne, Master, Browder, Chase, Meinert.

Delegate Miller, Musicians: I arise to a question of privilege. The delegates are aware that there are but two morning papers published in Baltimore. One is on the unfair list; the other, the *Baltimore American* we can buy. We all know that the *Baltimore American* is of that class* that Mr. Carter so eloquently described Tuesday morning. There is an editorial in the *Baltimore American* of this morning that attacks President Gompers and makes a number of statements that are purely slander. In addition it makes a very odious comparison between Mr. Gompers and Mr. Schwab. The only comparison between the two that I know of is that Mr. Schwab is trying to pile up as many dollars as he can from the labor of thousands of human beings and Mr. Gompers is trying to compel him to employ those human beings under fair conditions and at fair wages. I think President Gompers ought to answer this attack, and I ask him to do so.

President Gompers: This morning about half an hour after the opening of the convention I was asked by one of the delegates whether I had read the editorial appearing in this morning's *Baltimore American*. I told him I had not. He handed me his copy of the paper and I read it. Within half an hour at least ten delegates asked me the same question. I had intended at some time during this convention to ask your indulgence that I might take cognizance of the article, and inasmuch as it has been brought up at this time, I have no hesitancy in making such comment on it as the editorial merits. First, I shall ask

that Secretary Morrison read the editorial so that all the delegates may have in mind what it contains.

An Attack and a Reply.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

An Industrial Contrast.

Schwab and Gompers are as far apart as the antipodes. Yet these are the men who represent the alternatives of tomorrow. Mr. Gompers represents labor. His remarkably intemperate speech before the Federation of Labor indicates that he is leading labor into the wild orgie of unrest and class opposition that marks the breakdown of the solidity and sanity of labor protective principles and the opening of the chapter of labor's predatory demands. The line between law and lust is made a thin one, and the organization that has stood for law is now defying law and lusting for the spoils which have been the lure of the red fraternity from the beginning. Mr. Gompers may not be altogether responsible, but as head of the organization he is in fact responsible for the manner in which the forces of labor shall enter the door precipitately thrown open by President Wilson and labeled as the door to the eight-hour paradise for the working man.

Mr. Gompers cries out to the men of wealth not to go too far, that there is a limit. And yet all the railroad managers to whom this threat is directed are proposing to do is to give the Adamson law the test of the courts. When the judiciary ceases to be a security for capital as well as for labor it has ceased to have any usefulness, and the nation that finds in this one of the main props for its support has disclosed that democracy and justice are a failure. A supporter of Mr. Gompers cried out that workmen will fight for the eight-hour law. By this he meant fight in the rabid meaning of the term. Literal revolution! Were Mr. Wilson gifted with the genius for declarative action that was manifested by President Jackson, he would avail of the first opportunity to say that nullification of American law by private organizations will be put down by the full force of the government.

These fumlings and vaporings of labor are signs of moral weakness in those who make them. This is a government of law and not of revolution. It is a government of justice through the courts and not justice through labor organizations. It is a government of opportunity for all and not of special privileges for any. Mr. Gompers may raise the red flag, but as surely as the stars their courses fought against Sisera will be marked the decline and fall of his labor organization should he attempt actually to arraign the Federation of Labor in opposition to the decisions of the courts and seek by force to overthrow those decisions. In contrast with Mr. Gompers, who comes here to preach a

doctrine of unexampled violence, is to be placed Mr. Schwab, who came to Baltimore to make declaration of intent to provide industries for the city that will afford employment to 20,000 persons. The one is an iconoclast and class provoker, the other a constructive genius and a consolidator of the interests of all in the measure of participation in the fruits of enterprise. If the Federation is to swing to outright Socialism let it raise the red flag, supplant the Star-Spangled Banner with the Marsellaise and declare for revolution. In that moment would the forces of labor desert the standard of Gompers and leave him and his radical following marooned with the intemperate and impractical socialistic adherents.

There is good in proper labor organization; practical socialism in some directions has merit. Capital is far from seeking to disparage anything that looks to the good of society. But labor tyranny and socialistic revolution are evil to the core. The great mass of sane Americans, whether of the working forces or otherwise, are ranged with the men of constructive effort and enterprise; men like Mr. Schwab, who honor labor for its worth and contributions, but who honor more the society that affords the environment of privilege for the worker and the creator of enterprise alike. Mr. Gompers has amazed his friends by his intemperance, especially in view of the lack of serious complaint by labor forces.

President Gompers' Reply.

President Gompers: It is more than likely we should not directly complain of expressions of this character against the *Baltimore American* exclusively, for it is not the only sinner. Our very valued *New York Times* only yesterday had an editorial attack upon the American Federation of Labor, its officers and its members, dealing particularly with the labor provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust law. It undertook to say that in law and in fact the declaration that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce is unfounded; that, as a matter of fact, the labor of a human being is a commodity and is an article of commerce.

Well, I am happy that the American labor movement is in accord with the declaration of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, when, on the 4th of July last, in his address made at the dedication of the Office Building of the American Federation of Labor, he said substantially, It is regrettable that in this time and age it is necessary to write into the law a fundamental principle of human rights, the declaration that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. But he said, "If it is necessary to open the primer of human liberty to the judges of our country and to the courts of our country, I am willing."

And there are other sinners in the form of newspaper publications all too numerous to mention.

The fact that a chair fell over just now and arrested your attention brings to my mind another sinning on the part of the *Baltimore American*. On Tuesday when I delivered my remarks in behalf of the American Federation of Labor to the Railroad Brotherhoods, that newspaper published a statement, false in its very essence, that after I concluded I collapsed physically and in every other way and it was necessary for Secretary Morrison to assist me from the platform. That statement has been telegraphed over all the country, when you know, as every delegate and every newspaper man here knows who was present, that within a very few minutes after that address I took part in the discussion of the subject regarding the office workers' union of Chicago.

But to this industrial contrast described in the editorial just read. First let me say that neither you nor I came to Baltimore, nor during our stay in Baltimore could indulge ourselves, or could permit any one else to indulge us in a banquet costing \$40 for each one in attendance. Forty dollars a plate!

Mr. Schwab is one of the most congenial gentlemen it could be the good fortune of any one to meet. But there you stop. Mr. Schwab, the president of the Bethlehem Iron and Steel Company, was indicted by the Federal Bureau of Labor, with a political partisan of his own at its head, for being one of the worst task masters for his workers that existed in all our country. The indictment showed that in addition to paying low wages, the Bethlehem steel plant, of which Mr. Schwab is the president, operated twenty-four hours a day, in two shifts of twelve hours each, for seven days in the week and every day and week of the year.

Mr. Schwab's particular purpose in going to Washington was to interview Charles S. Neill, the Commissioner of Labor, under whose direction the investigation was made and the report was then pending. Every instrumentality that money and power could bring into play was used by Mr. Charles Schwab in an effort to suppress that report. The publication of the report of the Bureau of Labor dealing with this wonderful, courageous, able and sacred gentleman, Mr. Charles Schwab, was due to

the American Federation of Labor—and I am glad to have had part in it.

It is good that the head writer, or the editorial writer, gave the editorial the caption he did, "An Industrial Contrast." I hope that so long as I may live and Mr. Schwab shall pursue his present industrial course in dealing with the working people, that the contrast shall be more accentuated with every day.

Mr. Schwab came to this city and was banqueted. Whether the banquet was provided by the money he had extorted from his underpaid and overworked employes, or whether some of the elite of Baltimore who expected to participate and to bask in the sunlight of Mr. Schwab when he establishes his plant in Baltimore, I do not know, but frequently baits of this character are held out for both sides.

Mr. Schwab has intimated his intention to establish an industrial plant in Baltimore, and he says that he will employ about 20,000 working people in the plant.

I wonder whether General Agnus, the proprietor of the *Baltimore American*, or the editor who wrote the editorial, imagines that Mr. Schwab has any reservations. Was there the hope or thought that he is coming to Baltimore to establish his plant for philanthropic purposes or because it is Baltimore? If Mr. Schwab establishes his plant in Baltimore it will be because he will find some industrial and financial advantage in it—not for Baltimore itself nor for the working people themselves.

But, indeed, we are less concerned with Mr. Schwab in this instance. He is not the offender; the *Baltimore American* is. In these conventions we ask not to be favored, but to be given a square deal by the newspapers of the cities in which we meet. We have a right to that. Courtesy and fair dealing demands it. To indulge in an attack of the character of that editorial does no credit to the owner or the editor.

Let us look at this question from a broad viewpoint. Did you ever in your whole lives hear the word "predatory" applied to the demands of the workers for a better life and more adequate returns for the service they give? The whole meaning of the word predatory stands as a forbidding characteristic to apply to the men, the women and the children who work, and who have so little in return for the work they give. The term "predatory" has never been applied to any other than the exploiters and the tyrants

who have been willing to do anything for labor except to get off its back.

You saw the statement in last evening's papers, confirmed in this morning's papers, that a Federal Judge in Kansas has decided the Adamson Eight-hour law unconstitutional. I shall not undertake to discuss the Adamson law, but the newspapers carried the statement that Judge Hooke decided the law unconstitutional in order that the higher courts might finally determine its constitutionality.

If it was the intention of Judge Hooke to give the opportunity for the test as to the constitutionality of the law, why did he not declare it constitutional and make the other fellow test its unconstitutionality? Why did he not place the burden of proof of its unconstitutionality upon the railroad managers who want to evade and avoid it, instead of upon the Government to affirm the constitutionality of the law? I call your attention to the industrial contrast manifested in the mental attitude of the old-time judiciary, some of whom still holding office, appointed under the old regime, regard labor as a commodity and article of commerce.

I doubt that the *Baltimore American* believes at all with the slogan that has given life and meaning to the development of the principle among the Anglo-Saxons of these and bygone days, that disobedience to tyranny is obedience to God.

The men who framed the Declaration of Independence declared the right of the people then and thereafter to overturn the government that becomes subversive to the interest of the people. Our overturning of any government is the government of the day. Government can be brought in conformity with the ideals of the people by the constitutional rights and methods guaranteed to us as American citizens—the right to form a judgment, the right to express our judgment by speech, by press publication, by assemblage and by our votes.

Of course, the *Baltimore American* is dissatisfied with this American Federation of Labor; it is dissatisfied with the conduct of the President of the American Federation of Labor. You will remember that only in this morning's papers you read the congratulations of the candidate of the *Baltimore American* to the man behind whom we stood in the recent campaign to elect a President of the United States.

There is no use of force in that which we undertake to do. We recommend to our fellow-workers that when they wish to ob-

tain justice and a fair consideration to the just demands they make upon employers and upon society that they fold their arms, they commit no crime, make no attack upon life or property, but that the workers fold their arms and withhold the labor power which is their own.

The remarks that I made in response to the railroad brotherhood executives were not directed primarily or essentially at the railroad presidents. I called attention to the fact that since the 7th of November a combination of corporations and employers of labor, owning about eight billions of dollars, had declared that they were going to inaugurate a campaign to eliminate from the statute books the legislation in the interests of the working people, the masses of our people—legislation that we had helped to secure. The combination declared that they would oppose our industrial, our political and our legislative efforts in the interests of the people, and that they were going to put their billions of dollars against the manhood, the womanhood and the childhood of this country. I declared it to be my judgment, I interpreted it to be the judgment of the men and women of this convention, I interpreted it to be the purpose of the great masses of labor represented or unrepresented here, that if these men who control billions throw down that gauntlet we will accept the challenge.

It is not we who make the attack. We are going to act on the defensive, where we can, whenever it may be politic to act on the defensive. But if the fight is to be made to take from the men, women and children of our time the advantages which we have secured, then these employers and corporations had better look out. We are not going to be forced back. The men and the women of labor are not going to be forced back! We will resist, and resist to the utmost.

(The delegates stood for several seconds and applauded vigorously.)

The *Baltimore American* says that I have joined the Socialists and that I have raised the red flag. If the *Baltimore American* wants to have proof of the falsity of its statement, I ask it to write to the executive officer of the Socialist party or to any delegate of this convention who calls himself a Socialist. It happens that more than forty-two years ago, as soon as I was permitted to take upon myself the duty and the obligation of citizenship, I swore allegiance to the flag and the institutions of the Republic of the United States, and I am willing to compare

my patriotism and the faithfulness with which that obligation has been kept with the patriotism of the editor or the owners of the *Baltimore American*.

The sum total of our offense, and my own included, is the fact that we have stood true, we have rung true. We know our rights as sovereign citizens of this country, and there is no power or influence which can swerve us or shunt us off the track. We are going along mindful of our obligations and duties and assertive of the rights which are guaranteed to us under the Constitution and implied in the institutions of this Republic. We are going along, you cannot fool us very much and you cannot frighten us at all.

My compliments to the *Baltimore American*. I have made my answer to the attempt to besmirch my standing and the character of the work I have endeavored to do.

I trust that the time will come, if ever I prove false in word, or thought, or act, to the fundamental principles of the labor movement, that I may be treated as a traitor to the cause of justice and humanity. But so long as sanity shall be my great treasure, so long as I have a heart that will not break, so long as I have power to express the thoughts that are in me, an attack of this character matters not. Such attacks are not going to sever us from our movement, nor are they going to sway us from our course.

The cause of labor is onward and forward, and you Pharisees who stand in the way and try to drive us into the mire and the miasma of misery and despair; beware ere it is too late!

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

President Gompers: At the adjournment of this morning's session a motion to concur in the report of the committee in the case of the Tunnel and Subway Workers was defeated, and the subject matter of the resolution as proposed is now before this convention. What is the pleasure of the convention?

The motion to concur in Resolution 36 was defeated by 15,093 nays to 5,112 ayes.

Report of Committee on Adjournment

Delegate Golden, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate W. M. Welsh, International Brotherhood Steam Shovel and Dredgemen:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has been granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor in accordance with Section

2. Article 9, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdictional claims set forth in the application for said charter covers the following: Steam shovels, dredges, clam shells, drag lines, orange peels, in fact all machinery engaged in excavating or any machine that may in future be put in use on excavation, irrespective of motor power used, in the United States and foreign countries; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has disputed the jurisdiction rights of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers is waging a jurisdictional fight against the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, thereby working great hardships on the members of both organizations; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has refused to negotiate a working agreement with the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, insisting on an amalgamation of these two unions; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen is opposed to an amalgamation on the grounds that the interests of its members will not be conserved by an amalgamation; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has exhausted every effort to bring about a working agreement with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers refused to consider the following agreement proposed by the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen on March 17, 1916, to wit:

"With a view to promote harmony between the members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

"To assist each other in obtaining better wages and conditions.

"To effect a more thorough organization of the men engaged in their respective trades and to ascertain the degree of kindred relationship between these trades, it is hereby agreed:

"First—That all hostility shall cease.

"Second—It is further agreed that members of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen will assist in every way possible to get members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers employed on all construction work throughout the country.

"Third—Further, the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen agrees to render their assistance in organizing the unorganized men working at the trade over which the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have jurisdiction.

"Fourth—It is further agreed that local unions of steam shovel men now in affiliation with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers shall be handled by district representatives of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen in whose districts these locals are found.

"Fifth—It is further agreed that the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen shall have jurisdiction over all men working on steam shovels, dredges and drag lines regardless of motive power.

"Sixth—In the event that this agreement is accepted the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen agrees to pay the per capita tax on all engineers belonging to the brotherhood working under the jurisdiction of the Building Trades.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has been absolutely opposed to an amalgamation with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and is now opposed to an amalgamation; and

WHEREAS, This opposition is based on the firm conviction that an amalgamation between these two organizations would result in the disruption of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, and the destruction of the present conditions that the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen has brought about for its members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the charter rights of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen be protected; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers be restrained from infringing on the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

Your committee offers the following as a substitute for the resolution:

The Executive Council is hereby instructed to use its best efforts in the direction of bringing about an amalgamation of the two organizations.

It is the opinion of the committee that the work of the members of these two organizations is so closely identified that an amalgamation seems to be the only logical solution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Welsh, Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, discussed the question at length. He opposed the recommendation of the committee and urged the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Hannahan, Steam and Operating Engineers, spoke in opposition to the resolution. He referred to the fact that the organization he represents had strenuously objected to the granting of a charter to the steam shovel and dredgemen, and that events following the issuing of that charter

had justified the protest. He stated in closing the discussion that while he did not care to oppose the attempt to bring about a mutual adjustment of the affair, the steam engineers had felt after the efforts that were made and the decisions of the San Francisco Convention that the charter of the steam shovel and dredgemen would be revoked in the Baltimore convention, although they did not ask that that be done, and they would accept the committee's report.

Delegate O'Connor, Longshoremen, said that the organization he represented was much interested in the controversy, and moved as an amendment to the committee's report that if there is any conference to be held looking toward the amalgamation of the dredgemen with any organization the Longshoremen be allowed to take part in that conference, and, further, to amend by adding that, pending those conferences, the Engineers be instructed to recognize the charter rights of the steam shovel and dredgemen. (Seconded.)

Chairman Duncan stated that it would not require a motion to have the Longshoremen take part in any conference on the subject; that as an interested party it would be their duty to participate in such a conference. He asked if Delegate O'Connor still wished that to remain part of his amendment.

Delegate O'Connor: Not after your statement, but I desire to amend by providing that the rights of the steam shovel and dredgemen be respected by the Engineers pending those conferences.

Delegate Snellings, Steam and Operating Engineers, spoke in opposition to the resolution.

The amendment offered by Delegate O'Connor was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate F. A. Scooby, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The river front and dock coopers of the port of Greater New York and vicinity have a chartered local, affiliated with the Coopers' International Union, that is threatened with extinction by the several Longshoremen's local unions in New York City, for no other reason than the Coopers refuse to sever their connection with the Coopers' International Union and become members of the International Longshoremen's Association; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association illegally and unconstitutionally have recently issued two charters to coopers who are engaged in the trade of

coopering on the waterfront of Greater New York, said charters being classified and officially registered as International Longshoremen's Association Coopers, which is against the charter rights of the Coopers' International Union as guaranteed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Central Federated Union of Greater New York has by a unanimous resolution condemned the action of the International Longshoremen's Association for issuing these charters which transgress upon the rights of coopers to belong to an organization of their own trade; and

WHEREAS, The efforts of general organizer Frayne, and a committee appointed by the Central Federated Union of New York, as well as the attention of the American Federation of Labor officials, have failed to adjust the grievance or put a stop to the discharge of coopers employed on these docks who are members of the Coopers' International Union, under threat made to the management that a general strike of the International Longshoremen's Association will result if all coopers don't join that organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declares that the rights of coopers performing strictly coopers' work, and the right of jurisdiction of the Coopers' International Union in the premises is hereby recognized; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Longshoremen's Association is hereby ordered to revoke said charters and cease further transgressions on the rights of the Coopers' International Union.

Secretary Golden announced that the resolution had been withdrawn and the following agreement substituted:

It is hereby agreed that the International Longshoremen's Association will order the cancellation of charters known as the Riverfront Coopers, now affiliated with the International Longshoremen's Association and issued by that body some time ago, and will relinquish their hold on all work pertaining to bona fide cooperage, and men of that craft will be instructed by the International Longshoremen's Association. Its officers and district bodies that said coopers will affiliate with the Coopers' International Union of America.

It is further agreed and understood that no charter will be issued by the International Longshoremen's Association which will read or intend to take over any of the coopers now working under the jurisdiction of the Coopers' International Union of America.

It is further understood and agreed that the remaining members, who are now known as the Riverfront Coopers of the International Longshoremen's Association, that do not affiliate with the Coopers' International Union of America, either because they are not eligible or for any other reason, that the International Longshoremen's Association shall issue a charter to those men known by a name not conflicting with the Coopers' International Union of America, and will be known as Local No. — of the International Longshoremen's Association, and whatever

name that they may choose to cover the particular work that they might be engaged in.

And it is further understood and agreed, that the Coopers' International Union of America's representative at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in Baltimore, will withdraw Resolution No. 50, and explain to that body that this has been honorably and amicably adjusted. All conditions not herein mentioned to remain as heretofore.

T. V. O'CONNOR,

For the International Longshoremen's Association.

ANDREW C. HUGHES,

International President,
For the Coopers' International Union of America.

In the presence of:

JOHN F. RILEY, L. A. D. C.

JOHN O'NEIL.

The committee recommended the endorsement of the agreement.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Charles MacGowan, M. J. McGuire, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor in the year 1882, recognizing claims of jurisdiction over boiler makers, iron shipbuilders, their helpers and apprentices; and

WHEREAS, The Western Federation of Miners was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor in the year 1910, recognizing jurisdiction over men employed in mines, mills and smelters; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction claimed by the Western Federation of Miners overlaps the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America; and

WHEREAS, The overlapping of those claims is seriously interfering with the right of men of our craft to negotiate wages and conditions of employment, as well as compelling them to pay dues in two organizations; and

WHEREAS, The autonomy of an international union is seriously interfered with, which has had exclusive jurisdiction over all men indicated by its title, and so recognized by the American Federation of Labor for more than thirty-four years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Western Federation of Miners to relinquish their claims of jurisdiction over boiler makers, iron shipbuilders, their helpers and apprentices employed in and around mines, mills and smelters where local unions of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders

and Helpers of America are established; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Western Federation of Miners be instructed to release such boiler makers, their helpers and apprentices immediately as are now paying dues to their organization from the further payment of dues to the Western Federation of Miners and thereby permit such boiler makers, their helpers and apprentices to retain their membership in the organization of their own trade without interference.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council, and that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference of both organizations at interest within ninety days from the adjournment of this convention with a view of bringing about an adjustment of this dispute.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Charles MacGowan and M. J. McGuire, of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists at their last convention held in this city extended their jurisdiction over work which has been recognized as the work of our trade for many years, and so chartered by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The classification of work as published in the Machinists' Journal in the September issue, 1918, wherein claim is made to all iron and steel, whether structural, angle, T, boiler or galvanized, and to all steam, gas, gasoline, oil, air and water-tight work. In addition claim is made to all metal pattern making, all riveting, caulking, cutting, chipping, patching, fitting, shaping, drilling and laying out; and

WHEREAS, On the same page of the September issue of their journal, with the classification of work, is printed in bold-faced type a notice to all machinists who are loyal to their trade to henceforth diligently and aggressively help in the enforcement of their claims of jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, If the machinists are successful in enforcing their claims of jurisdiction there will be but little or no use for boiler makers and ship builders in this country, and we might just as well turn over to them our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as disapproving the action of any national or international union whereby their jurisdiction is extended and infringes upon the rights of other national or international unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to notify the International Association of Machinists that their jurisdictional claims infringe upon the rights of other affiliated national and international

unions and to refrain from enforcing such claims.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange a conference between all organizations in interest within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to bringing about an adjustment of all matters in dispute.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate James H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America covers upholsterers employed on all classes of upholstery work; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America is endeavoring to obtain jurisdiction over upholsterers employed in railway shops and has, in several instances, endeavored to persuade members of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America to relinquish their membership and apply for membership in the organization of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, and they were notified unless they did so they would not be permitted to continue working in the shops in question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America to refrain from accepting as members upholsterers employed as such, and to cease interfering with members of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America who are employed in railway shops.

Your committee finds that no conference, as required by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, has been held by the representatives of these organizations prior to the assembling of this convention, and we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized to arrange a conference between the organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates John J. Hynes, Hugh Frayne, James T. Moriarty and Thomas Redding, of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Association:

WHEREAS, On account of evolution in the manufacture of steel ranges and kitchen equipments, made of sheet metal, a serious dispute has existed in St. Louis, Mo., for several months between the Stove Mounters' International Union and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance;

WHEREAS, This dispute is liable to develop into a general dispute affecting several cities;

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be re-

quested to arrange a conference with the representatives of the two organizations within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention for the purpose of bringing about an amicable adjustment.

Your committee approves of this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate James H. Hatch of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America includes jurisdiction over carpet upholsterers whose work consists of carpet laying, cutting and measuring; linoleum laying, cutting and measuring, and the laying, cutting and measuring of other fabrics, tacked or cemented to finished floors; and

WHEREAS, Local unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America are interfering with and endeavoring to obtain control over work covered by the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to refrain from doing work covered by the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America and from interfering with members of said organization while employed on the work in question.

Your committee finds that no conference has been held by the representatives of these organizations prior to the assembling of this convention, as required by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor be hereby authorized to arrange a conference between the organizations in interest within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate James H. Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Carpet Upholsterers in Portland, Oregon, and Pittsburgh, Pa., are not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America and have refused all overtures made to them with a view of having them affiliate with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers the work performed by the members of the organizations in question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to instruct their representative in Portland, Oregon, and Pittsburgh, Pa., to adopt such means as may be necessary to bring about the affiliation of the two organ-

sations in question with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Edward I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Asphalt Workers, etc.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has issued a Federal charter to the Refiners and Mixers of Sheet Asphalt for street pavements, known as Mill Workers' No. 15033, of Chicago, Ill.; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Asphalt Workers, etc., covers the work performed by the men in question; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to withdraw Federal charter No. 15033 and to notify this organization to apply for charter of affiliation to the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen and Asphalt Workers, etc.

Your committee nonconcurs in this resolution for the reason that the members of Mill Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 15033 are employed in the manufacturing of asphalt and not in the laying of the same, over which the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters have jurisdiction.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate Edward I. Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Asphalt Workers, etc.:

WHEREAS, The Sheet Asphalt Workers' Local Union No. 84, of San Francisco, Cal., affiliated with the International Union of Pavers and Rammermen and Asphalt Workers, etc., has jurisdiction over paving; and

WHEREAS, The United Laborers' Local Union No. 1, also known as United Laborers' Local No. 12392, is endeavoring to force the members of the Asphalt Workers' Union No. 84, San Francisco, Cal., to relinquish their membership in said organization and to affiliate with the United Laborers' No. 1 or No. 12392, of San Francisco, Cal., and because of this condition the higher rate of wages established by the International Union of Pavers, etc., would be obligated by the United Laborers' Union and the lower rate of wages demanded by the United Laborers' Union would be established; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to notify the Central Labor Council of San Francisco, Cal., to co-operate with Local Union No. 84, of San Francisco, Cal., in order to establish with the municipal government and contractors control over the working in question and the rate demanded.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Dwyer, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, discussed the question at some length. He described the situation that exists in San Francisco and other cities and spoke of wages, hours of work, conditions of work, etc., in the cities affected.

The question was further discussed by Delegate D'Alessandro, of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.

Delegate Hannah spoke at length in support of the resolution introduced by him, described the nature of the work, the wages paid and conditions in different localities.

Delegate D'Alessandro moved as an amendment to the report of the committee that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for further investigation. Seconded by Delegate Dwyer.

Delegate Mareschi, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, spoke in favor of the amendment offered by Delegate D'Alessandro.

The question was further discussed by Delegates D'Alessandro, Dwyer and Mareschi.

Vice-President O'Connell, chairman of the committee: The committee has gone into this matter so thoroughly I had the records of both organizations searched to ascertain just what are their proper charter titles. I had Secretary Morrison bring the record books here from Washington, had them all searched, and I do not find any place in these records where your organization; Delegate D'Alessandro, has been conceded jurisdiction over asphalt workers. The last amendment made to your charter title gave you the street men doing common labor; it had no reference whatever to skilled men in the streets.

The amendment offered by Delegate D'Alessandro was lost by a vote of 110 in the negative to 68 in the affirmative.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers announced that Delegate Baine had been obliged to leave the city and would not be able to serve on the special committee appointed to report on the subject of militarism, and in his place appointed Delegate Collis Lovely.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegates Homer D. Call and Dennis Lane of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, On May 14, 1916, in regular meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Mo., a bill of grievance was filed by the Teamsters' Joint Council No. 13 against Meat Cutters' Local No. 88, of St. Louis, Mo., asking that the delegates

of the meat cutters be unseated in the Central Trades and Labor Union; and

WHEREAS, A motion was made and seconded that the request of the teamsters be complied with; and

WHEREAS, A substitute for the motion was made and seconded that the Secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Union be instructed to forward the communication from the Teamsters' Joint Council to President Gompers, and requested President Gompers to inform the Central Trades and Labor Union whether or not the late ruling of the American Federation of Labor on controversy of Brotherhood of Teamsters vs. Bakery Workers and Laundry Workers' unions covers the controversy mentioned in the Teamsters' Joint Council No. 13 communication of April 24, 1916. The question before the house was discussed at some length when a motion was put and the previous question was ordered, put and carried. The substitute was put and carried; and

WHEREAS, The instructions to the Central Trades and Labor Union by virtue of the substitute motion, which had been carried by the vote of the body, were ignored and not carried out; and

WHEREAS, The delegates from Meat Cutters' Local Union No. 88 were unseated at the meeting of May 14, 1916; and

WHEREAS, Such action is in violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Article 11, Section 8; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Mo., to seat the regular appointed delegates from Meat Cutters' Local No. 88 pending a conference of the executive officers of the two international unions which could bring about an amicable settlement of the grievance in question.

Your committee submits the following as a substitute:

We recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to investigate the situation regarding the expulsion of Meat Cutters' Local No. 88 from the central body of St. Louis, Mo., and if it is found that Local Union No. 88 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America has not in its membership teamsters coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, the central body shall then be ordered to seat Local No. 88 of the Meat Cutters.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Lane, Butcher Workmen, gave a brief account of strikes that had occurred in the packing houses of St. Louis, East St.

Louis and other cities. He referred particularly to the conditions that existed in St. Louis and the manner in which his organization had been hampered in its work by the dispute between Local No. 88 and the teamsters.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I favor the recommendation of the committee, and if President Gompers investigates this matter and finds there is no legal cause for unseating this local I trust it will be seated in the central body.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Chairman O'Connell: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted.

(Signed) JAMES O'CONNELL, Chairman:

JOHN F. TOBIN,
J. C. SHANESSY,
JOHN T. McGRATH,
H. J. CONWAY,
D. A. CAREY,
MILTON SNELLINGS,
JOHN T. SMITH,
JOHN F. KENNEDY,
EDWARD FLORE,
ALEXANDER RUSSELL,
J. C. McCORMICK,
FRANK DOYLE,
FRANK FARRINGTON,
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary.

Delegate Kuhlmann, Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union, stated that he desired unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution in regard to hod carriers, building and common laborers. Delegate D'Alessandro objected to the introduction of the resolution.

Delegate Barnes, Cigar Makers: I am somewhat informed on the subject matter the delegate wishes to present. The subject he refers to is included in the report of the Executive Council, but it has been assigned to no committee. It is under the heading of "Tunnel and Subway Constructors—Compressed Air Workers." The delegate has been under the necessity of going from committee to committee asking if this subject was referred to them, and finding it was not. He thinks it should be referred to some committee. In his judgment it was overlooked.

President Gompers: Subjects upon which the Executive Council reports to this convention, which have reached a finality, are not referred to any committee.

Delegate Brasse, Seattle, obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 165—By Delegate R. L. Brasse, Central Labor Council, Seattle:

WHEREAS, A terrible tragedy occurred at Everett, Wash., on this November 5, 1916; and

WHEREAS, Seven men have been killed and more than one hundred injured; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle believes this to be the culmination of high-handed and illegal methods to break strikes and suppress freedom of speech; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental principles involved make it of a national rather than local importance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use all its power to secure Federal and Congressional investigation to ascertain the real culprits and bring them to account.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

We, the undersigned, wish to be recorded as voting in the negative on those parts of the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, dealing with the subjects, "Immigration" and "Social Insurance" (p. 279). Seventh Day's Proceedings: Emil Seidel, Decatur Trades and Labor Assembly; Max S. Hayes, International Typographical Union; H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers (Social Insurance only); W. J. Adames,

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; J. Mahlon Barnes, Cigar Makers; E. Arnold, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers; J. C. Skemp, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers (as regards Social Insurance); Thos. Van Lear, International Association of Machinists; Joseph D. Cannon, Western Federation of Miners; P. J. Reardon, Western Federation of Miners; W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 11773; Andrew A. Hill, Little Rock, Ark., Central Body; Raymond Wilcox, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants No. 12046; Mabel H. Hudson, Office Employees' Association No. 12755; Ella Reeve Bloor, United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union; Max Zaritsky, United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union; Augustus F. Lindemann, Western Federation of Miners; Geo. H. Curry, Federal Labor Union No. 12065; H. S. McCluskey, Arizona State Federation of Labor; W. B. Hilton, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; Tobias Hall, United Textile Workers of America; Louis Leonard, Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly; D. G. Biggs, International Journeymen Tailors; Thos. Sweeney, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; B. Schlesinger, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Sarah Shapiro, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; M. Deltch, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; J. Heller, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Max Gorenstein, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

At 5:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m., Friday, November 24.

ELEVENTH DAY--Friday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., November 24, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Friday, November 24th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Reeves, Bowen, Dobson, Preece, Boyer, Baker, Koch, Schwarz, Gould, Brock, Hogan, Valentine, Frey, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, Nau, Mahon, McGrath (J. T.), Gavak, Adams (A. E.), Freil, Agethen, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, Jarrett, Dowler, Klser, Cohen (Jake), Alexander (Lee), Young, Boos, Sims, Connell, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Bander, Cooney, Graham, Lewis, Leonard, Brazze, Newland, Kennedy, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, Wieber, Taylor (R.), Liebowitz, Morris, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Browder, Chase, Mehnert.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Porto Rico.

Citizenship for Porto Rico.

Upon those portions of the report of the Executive Council under the above captions (p. 107 and pp. 163-174) the committee reported as follows:

We commend for your attention the Executive Council's report under the caption "Porto Rico" (page 163).

It appears that the more serious question with which the Island of Porto Rico has to contend is the economic condition for its working men and women.

For years the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico has demanded an investigation of the economic and social conditions of the workers, prior to any change in the organic act of law that might be enacted by Congress.

The deplorable condition of the workers of Porto Rico is predicated on the system of production and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. Over two-thirds of this wealth, taken from the island's soil, is taken abroad, thus minimizing the local circulation of money and neutralizing individual activities to the extent of reducing the workers to a state of servitude, to be exploited by the corporations.

The sugar and tobacco trusts are under the control of a number of persons who are non-residents of the island. They consider the Porto Rican workman only as a means to produce accumulative wealth at a low cost for the exploiting classes.

About 60 per cent. of the net gains, which are obtained through the work of the laborers in Porto Rico, are sent periodically to European and American centers, while the Porto Ricans are living in abject poverty.

About 40,000 agriculture workers of the 600,000 peasants who are starving in Porto Rico went on strike, demanding better wages and shorter hours, and they again became the victims of the brutality of the corporations, the machinations of the politicians and the indifference of the local government officials. In this strike men were murdered, many, including both sexes, were wounded and wholesale arrests were made, and no action taken by the government. The labor temple of Bayamon was attacked by the police and the unions' charters destroyed by the bullets of the police. The right of bail was denied; meetings and parades were disbanded by shooting and clubbing by the police and hired thugs of the corporations, all of which has been to discredit American institutions and the American administration in the island.

A bill was recently passed by the United States House of Representatives, and is now before the Senate, denying the right of suffrage to such persons who are unable to read and write, which affects 70 per cent. of the people in Porto Rico. No means are provided to enable some 200,000 children to attend school, which amounts to 70 per cent. of the total population, who, because of the inability to obtain an education, will be deprived of the right of franchise. Moreover, only such citizens who pay a tax are privileged to be representatives in the legislature of the island. Workingmen, however bright and intelligent they may be, if they pay no taxes will be disqualified and robbed of the right to be representatives—the civil right they enjoyed under the Spanish monarchy.

The terms of the Jones bill grant American citizenship to Porto Ricans, but rob them of their civil rights and are a discredit to our nation. The Jones bill also destroys a provision in the Foraker act, now in force, which provides that any person or corporation shall own or control not more than 500 acres of land. It, however, should be noted that the foregoing provision of the Foraker act has been ignored by the officials of the island and the corporations who hold thousands and thousands of acres of land.

A deficiency bill was recently passed by Congress, which nullifies the election laws and postpones the date of election and continues the incumbents in office.

The Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution asking the President of the United States or the Congress to appoint a commission to investigate the industrial, social and political conditions as they exist in the island.

Your committee hopes that such a commission may soon be appointed and visit the Island of Porto Rico and that the commission may be composed of men who will go to the heart of the conditions and get the real facts and views of the men of labor.

American citizenship should be granted with all its inherent and civil rights to the people of Porto Rico. They belong to the United States, but, under present conditions, are not citizens thereof. The American nation is in duty bound to give the people of Porto Rico the necessary opportunity for their betterment and the protection of their rights.

The American Federation of Labor should see to it that the rights of their fellow-workers in Porto Rico are fully restored to them.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to bring to the attention of the President of the United States and the Congress the subject matter of Porto Rico referred to and to do everything possible to achieve the fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of our fellow-workers in Porto Rico.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee amended Resolution No. 68 slightly by changing the phraseology, the resolution as amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate D. G. Biggs, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union:

WHEREAS, Certain employers of labor and other dominating influences of Colorado, having failed to destroy labor unions by direct action, have resorted to a subterfuge of administering proclaimed justice and equity under a recently established law for enforced investigation of labor disputes at the hands of an industrial commission appointed by a governor servile to the employers of the state; and

WHEREAS, Said law establishes involuntary servitude of the workers during the hearing of industrial disputes, and until the cases are finally disposed of, and is so worded that it can be stretched or shrunk at the whim or bias of the commission. The commissioners can hear a case promptly and speedily dispose of it, or they can delay it without limit of time if they, or the influences back of them, so desire; and

WHEREAS, They can hear workers in public and investigate employers in private and keep secret the private evidence from the workers involved and from the public. They can hold workers in involuntary servitude with the threat of a jail sentence while employers can get ready to defeat the workers' demands.

WHEREAS, To allow such laws to stand on the statute books, or to be adopted by other states, or to allow our Federal Government to enact such a law in principle, or in fact, or for us to approve of commissions appointed by political officials under the influence of employers without a protest, would be error and negligence on our part, and dangerous to our liberty as guaranteed us under the Federal Constitution. And to allow the payment of large salaries to commissions for the suppression of labor's legal and natural rights to continue or to spread without a protest would be construed by the public in general, and those who make, or who may make, such laws, and set up such dangerous commissions, as an acquiescence of labor in the principle involved, and of labor's willingness to be held in involuntary servitude, and to abide by decisions of commissions that may be biased, or those who may not understand labor's cause or its necessities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That men individually or collectively have a right to stop work any day or any time in a free democracy, and that their right is natural, legal, inalienable, and never should be surrendered; and that laws that violate this right are hereby denounced as reactionary, unconstitutional and dangerous to the stability of democratic government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention calls upon all labor unions, central bodies and state federations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and its Executive Council, to do all within their power to have repealed any or all such laws that may exist in the several states, and to watch vigilantly and oppose the further enactment of such laws by our commonwealths, or by our Federal Government, to the end that the workers may have the same freedom as have other citizens of this nation.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed at length by Delegate Biggs, Journeymen Tailors, who described the work of the Industrial Commission of Colorado, its workings and the danger of enforced arbitration.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 69 by striking out the paragraph which reads: "Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore, Md., November, 1916, do hereby condemn the Census Bureau for neglecting to publish such vital and important statistics."

The resolution, as amended, reads as follows:

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America:

WHEREAS, The United States Census Bureau publishes every five years the census of the street and electric railways of the United States, and in all reports prior to the report of 1912 they published the vital statistics showing the number of passengers and employes that had been killed by the street and electric railways; and

WHEREAS, The census report of 1902 showed that out of every 18,015,894 passengers carried one person had been killed, and that one employe was killed out of every 1,154 employes per year. In 1907 these reports showed that one person out of every 13,603,500 passengers carried was killed, and that one employe out of every 746 of the employes was killed annually; and

WHEREAS, The reports of 1912 are absolutely silent, giving no report at all upon this subject; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor have taken up this subject with the head of the Bureau of Census without any satisfaction as to why the statistics were not published; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to take up this subject with the heads of the Bureau of Census and such other Government officers as may be necessary and insist that in all future census reports of this kind that these vital and important statistics shall be published.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 72 by inserting in the last paragraph the words "Department of Labor and Department of Justice," the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 72—By the delegates from the International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, It has been held by the Federal courts on the Pacific Coast that the contract labor law has no application to seamen; and

WHEREAS, It has been held that the Chinese Exclusion Act does not apply to seamen serving on American vessels, and that Chinese may serve on American vessels without first establishing a legal domicile in the United States, and that they may be imported for this purpose; and

WHEREAS, This constitutes a denial of the important and fundamental principle that the deck of a vessel is part of the soil of the nation whose flag the vessel carries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon the Department of Labor and Department of Justice and upon the President to give careful consideration of the manner in which these laws are construed, to the end that the laws may be properly enforced.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate Carl Freeman, of the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks:

WHEREAS, The cost of living has increased greatly during the past four years, and yet during that time the salaries of railway postal clerks have been decreased—by working substitutes without giving them an appointment; by cutting the salaries of transfer and terminal clerks; by reducing the classification of certain lines; by taking mail from lines of high classification and working it in lines of terminals where lower classification exists, thereby reducing the force of the higher class lines; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor indorses the efforts of the affiliated railway postal clerks to secure legislation which will correct these conditions, and also their efforts to secure a higher wage scale, and instructs the Executive Council to co-operate with the Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks in seeking legislative relief in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee amended Resolution No. 86 by striking out the following paragraphs:

WHEREAS, We hold and declare that the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliated national and international and local unions should be entirely free from commercial enterprises and should never be engaged in business for profit.

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Co-operation shall be allowed the amount of _____ per day for actual time lost while in session, and transportation to headquarters, with the exception of the President, whose expense and per diem is already provided for.

And further amended by striking out the words "at least one month prior to the opening of the 1917 convention" from the last paragraph. The amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, The principle of co-operation is receiving more and more attention of the workers and many others interested in economic and social advancement; and

WHEREAS, Productive and distributive co-operation to be successful should be grounded upon a broad, workable plan, and, while not owned by the American Federation of Labor or any of its affiliated organizations, should nevertheless be under the control of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, through the President of the American Federation of Labor, be and is hereby authorized and instructed to appoint a committee of five for the purpose of taking under consideration the question of co-operation, the President of the American Federation of Labor to be ex-officio a member of the committee, but without vote; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the committee when appointed be and is hereby empowered to make a full investigation of co-operation in all of its different phases and ramifications, and report a plan of co-operation and law governing same that will be feasible, practicable and workable; and be it

RESOLVED, That the President shall obtain by correspondence all information possible upon the question of co-operation for the use of the committee, and he is hereby instructed to do the preliminary work of gathering statistics, information, etc., and shall furnish through correspondence the balance of the committee with all such available information, and that the preliminary work of the committee shall be done by correspondence, and the committee may be called together by the President for the purpose of drafting a report and a law for submission to the American Federation of Labor; and be it

RESOLVED, That the final meeting of the committee herein provided for shall not exceed in duration fifteen days, and that the report, together with the recommendation of the committee, shall be submitted to the

Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and through the Executive Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Thomas F. Kennedy, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The subject of arbitration now commands the attention of the world as offering a possible solution for those great problems which cause international wars and national controversies which put armies in the field and which cause strikes and lockouts in industries, and bring starvation to helpless women and innocent children; and

WHEREAS, At the present crisis in the labor movement this subject of arbitration has been projected before the people of the United States as a picture is thrown from a stereopticon upon a screen, and this picture is accompanied by seductive descriptions of its reputed worth, and is sustained by appeals to patriotism and denunciations of the use of force; and

WHEREAS, While the picture looks pretty on the screen, we have ample causes for dreading the secret designs of the operators in the darkness behind the machine as well as the painters of the picture, for the newspapers have aided in producing artificial effects and in promoting an illusion craftily designed by the capitalists; and

WHEREAS, While the Federation of Labor has always stood for fair arbitration and frequently pleaded for it in vain, it now becomes necessary for us to oppose that kind of arbitration which is being prepared for us by those who do not represent our interests; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Chicago Federation of Labor, That we announce our views upon this subject of universal interest and this proffered salvation from the woes of the world:

1. We hold that since arbitration has not been proposed for those who fix and control the prices of flour, meat, milk and all the necessities of life that arbitration applied by compulsion to wages for a term of years would result in holding the laborers in a box trap while they were being skinned to furnish profits to those who control the prices which we must pay to live; therefore, until the laborers can arbitrate prices the capitalists must not be allowed to fasten a compulsory arbitration law upon wages.

2. We hold that arbitration is the hearing and determining of a cause between parties in controversy by persons chosen or agreed to by the parties.

3. We hold that arbitration depends upon the opinion agreed to by a committee, of which the majority are chosen because of their previously declared opinions, their skill in presenting such opinions and their firmness in adhering to such opinions.

4. We hold that arbitration is the commitment to a small body of combatants of a

cause in which the welfare of a much larger body of persons is involved.

5. We hold that arbitration is in its nature similar to the choosing of champions who shall engage in personal combat, as did knights of old in a tournament, the victory to rest with the fortunate possessors of superior muscular or brain power.

6. We hold that arbitration to be effective must be made compulsory and must bind the parties in controversy to abide by the decisions of the chosen arbitrators for a future period, and their decisions must later be enforced by courts, police and militia, involving lawyers, trials, fines and imprisonments.

7. We hold that wages and hours of labor are not a minority matter, but concern the vast majority of mankind, and are therefore vital to the welfare and happiness of the whole nation.

8. We hold that wages and hours of labor are problems of such a nature that decision by committee cannot be permanently satisfactory.

9. We hold that free people will never consent to be ruled by any less principle than that of the Declaration of Independence, which reads, "Governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

10. Therefore, we publish these principles and appeal to the laborers, organized and unorganized, of these United States to gain for themselves all the powers of a free people, and especially to gain additional power to decide for themselves the hours which they shall work and the compensation therefor.

The committee recommended nonconurrence.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegates Proebstle, Brewery Workers; Arnold, Painters, and Kennedy, Chicago Federation of Labor, and Vice-President Duncan.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 105 by inserting in the second "Resolved" the words "take up the Federal Trades Commission's report, and," and further amended by striking out of the last "Resolved" the words "the conspiracies which are successfully," and inserting in lieu thereof "those who are unjustifiably." The amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 105.—By the delegates representing the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, the International Photo-Engravers' Union and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders:

WHEREAS, As a result of its recent investigation of news print paper prices, the Federal Trades Commission declares that during the first half of this year, when prices were already soaring to unprecedented

figures, the average cost of producing news print paper in domestic mills was less than \$1.65 a hundred pounds, or below the average cost of production in the last three years; and

WHEREAS, Contract prices rose this year from less than \$2.00 per hundred pounds to \$3.00 and \$3.50, and on current market purchases publishers have been compelled to pay as high as \$7.00 or more for paper bought in the same way prior to January 1, 1916, for between \$2.00 and \$3.00; and

WHEREAS, The facts obtained by the Federal Trades Commission show that the price of news print paper has advanced beyond all reason, considering the cost of manufacture, thereby indicating the existence of an illegal conspiracy to control prices and to extort illegitimate profits for jobbers and manufacturers; and

WHEREAS, The exorbitant and still growing prices charged for news print and other papers have had the effect of forcing some newspapers to suspend publication, others to consolidate, and still others to reduce the number of pages printed, thereby greatly reducing the number of employees in departments under the jurisdiction of the international unions represented in the International Allied Printing Trades Association; and

WHEREAS, Many newspaper publishers and commercial printers are reluctant to volunteer evidence tending to establish the existence of an illegal conspiracy, formed for the purpose of compelling the payment of extortionate prices for papers used in the printing industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in behalf of the men and women employed in the printing industry, urges an immediate and thorough investigation by the Department of Justice, to determine the influences which have effectively controlled the prices of printing papers during the past year, and which threaten to still further increase the prices of the same; and be it

RESOLVED, That the Department of Justice be urged to take up the Federal Trades Commission's report and immediately institute investigations through Federal grand juries in the larger cities of the United States for the purpose of obtaining evidence of the illegal conspiracies which are believed to exist; and be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to obtain action by the Federal Trades Commission, the Department of Justice and by Congress to the end that the printing industry may be rescued from the clutches of those who are unjustifiably manipulating the prices and supplies of papers used in printing.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The motion was discussed by Delegate Carey, Paper Makers, who objected to having the best organized branch of the trade

singled out, and suggested that the preamble include an investigation of the industry as a whole. If that were done, he said, he would have no objection to the resolution.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee: The resolution does not limit the investigation to news print paper, but calls for an investigation of all paper to find out who has inflated the prices and punish them for it.

Delegates Woll, Photo-Engravers, and Max S. Hayes, Typographical Union, spoke in defense of the recommendation of the committee.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Secretary Frey: The committee had four resolutions referred to it, all dealing with practically the same question. These are Nos. 101, 110, 113 and 116, as follows:

Resolution No. 113.—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The toll of any wealth producer is for the purpose of securing for those dependent upon it food, clothing and shelter requirements and surplus which is essential for emergencies; and

WHEREAS, The channels of distribution of these products of labor of the farmer and wage-worker are practically controlled by monopoly, which exacts tribute from both producer and consumer by fixing the price at which the producer must sell, and the price at which the consumer must buy, regardless of the natural law of supply and demand; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, As the expression of this state branch, that it demands legislation, state or national, that shall nullify the power of any monopoly to control the price of the necessities of life for producer and consumer, we declare that while the price of the product or the wage is expressed in the terms of money, the true return for the producer or the wage-worker is in the purchasing power of that wage or their product; we declare that all reasonable demands for shorter hours and higher wages are affected by the growing power of the monopolistic distributing factors to fix the price of the necessities of life for the producer and the consumer; there is no permanency for the wage until there is an assured permanency for the purchasing power of that wage governed by natural laws.

Resolution No. 101.—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of the Federal Employees Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, The prices of foodstuffs, clothing, fuel, and other necessities of life have increased to such an extent during the last few years that a large percentage of the population of the United States is no longer able to maintain a reasonably decent and comfortable standard of living; and

WHEREAS, While in many instances organized labor has been able to secure increases of wages somewhat commensurate

with the increase in the cost of living, there are a great many other instances where organized labor has not been able to secure increases of wages and there are many workers who are as yet unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Even in those cases where increases in wages have been secured there is a constant and growing demand for still further increases to meet the increasing cost of living; and

WHEREAS, The conditions which are today confronting the workers who have not received increases in wages are deplorable and a continuance thereof can result only in absolute destitution and want; and

WHEREAS, There is a growing complaint that labor is demanding too much as wages in many instances, and due to this feeling the increases are becoming harder and harder to get, so that in a short time difficulties will arise in the efforts to secure increases which will be insurmountable; and

WHEREAS, There has as yet been no organized effort to prevent the increase in the cost of living by the enactment of laws designed to prevent the undue raising of prices and providing for the conservation of the resources of the country to an extent which will prevent the disproportion now existing between the supply and demand of supplies; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is composed of representatives of all classes of workers from all parts of the United States, who are in touch with the workers of other countries, these workers being vitally interested in the prevention of prices for commodities higher than they can pay at the wages now in vogue; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and they are hereby instructed to take such steps as are necessary to cause an adequate and full investigation of the matter to be made as early as practicable with a view to appointing a committee to make further investigations, give full consideration to the matter, and to recommend some action which will tend to prevent further rise in prices of necessities of life and tend to lower present prices wherever practicable, taking into such consideration the advisability of recommending laws to Congress on the subject or submitting for approval an amendment of the Constitution of the United States whereby a tax may be laid on exports from the United States so as to prohibit the exportation of necessities of life at prices lower than they are sold at retail in the United States; thus insuring to the purchasers in this country the first opportunity to procure necessities and preventing the wholesale exportation of such supplies before the domestic demand for them is met at reasonable prices.

Resolution No. 116.—By Delegate Harry P. Griffin, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The bulk of the workers of our country and their families are suffering keenly on account of the exorbitant cost of

the necessities of life, especially food and fuel; and

WHEREAS, We believe the first duty of a community is to protect the homes and firesides of its own people; and

WHEREAS, The present outlook seems to indicate that still greater suffering is in store for all who depend upon wages for their daily sustenance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, that we call upon Congress to legislate as speedily as possible in the interests of the great mass of our people by placing an embargo on the export of food and fuel until our own suffering people have obtained some measure of relief from the constantly rising cost of living through circumstances over which they have no control.

Resolution No. 110.—By delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Department of Agriculture estimates that the 1916 wheat crop, and the surplus from the 1915 crop are barely sufficient to provide bread for our own people for the coming year; and

WHEREAS, It is alleged that the agents of foreign countries have contracted with American grain speculators for two hundred million bushels of wheat; and

WHEREAS, Flour is now higher than at any time since the Civil War, and all other food staples are advancing in proportion so that it is rapidly becoming impossible for a great portion of the working people of this country to obtain sufficient and proper food for their families; and

WHEREAS, This condition of affairs is a menace to the physical and social well-being of the nation and a matter of vital importance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor urges upon President Wilson and Congress the necessity of placing an embargo upon the export of wheat and other foodstuffs until it is positively determined that our domestic needs are fully provided for.

Secretary Frey: Your committee amends the "resolved" in Resolution No. 110 by adding after the word "embargo" the following phrase: "As far as our international legal or treaty rights will permit;" to strike out the words "our domestic needs are fully provided for" at the end of the "resolved" and to insert as follows: "The costs of living are reduced to normal," meaning not higher than before the present European war began and as much lower than said rates as supply would warrant, also to urge the prompt, rigid and full investigation by Congress of the holding up in this country of all lines of foodstuffs, fuel, etc., not because of shortage of products, but entirely for the purpose of raising prices above the normal rate and so raising said prices that working people and those dependent upon them are

reduced to the position of not being able to buy the necessities of life.

We also make part of this report that such investigation as will be made by Congress in accordance with the expressed purpose of this resolution and on Resolution No. 30, already acted upon by this convention, shall include representatives on the investigating commission of the organized labor movement of our country.

We earnestly trust that the commission when appointed will take speedy action and will include in its report recommendations for prosecution and severe punishment of those guilty of causing and inflicting upon the public the unwarranted increase of the costs of living.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 110 as herein amended as the action of this convention on Resolutions Nos. 101, 110, 113 and 116.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners: Mr. President, this is a matter of vital importance; so much so that I deem it advisable to open up a discussion on this floor. I am not going to read all the papers I have in my hand; you need not fear that. But I wish to bring out some of the points in connection with this high cost of living. One of the resolutions makes the assertion that our wage is not measured so much in dollars and cents as we receive it, but is the amount of merchandise that wage will buy. I quote from the *New York Times* of November 12th, a comparison of the prices we are paying, or were on November 12th of this year, with those of a few months before:

"In the last month there has been another advance of from \$1.50 to \$2 a barrel on flour of the highest grades. This makes it retail at from \$11 to \$11.50 per barrel. The average family grade of flour is \$10 a barrel, and in small quantities six or seven cents a pound."

Not a great while ago the baker paid five dollars a barrel for flour. Now the baker's flour is costing him \$10, \$10.50 and \$11 a barrel. And in connection with this advance in the cost of living the newspapers have taken up an agitation, not to protect the people, but to mislead the people. They want the grand juries to indict the bakers; they want the district attorneys to go after the bakers; they want the Department of Commerce and the Department of Justice to go after the bakers. And they are going to go after the bakers; the bakers are going to be

brought into court and made to pay the expense of defending themselves before the bar, and that is going to take several months.

I am not here speaking for the baker. I am speaking for you and I am showing you the game. After the baker defends himself in court and shows the judge and the jury that for the salt he uses in bread making he is now paying \$1.16 where he paid \$1.00 a year ago; that for the lard he uses in shortening he is now paying \$1.35 and \$1.50 for what he got for \$1.00 a few years ago; that for the paper with which he wraps up the bread he is paying \$1.75 and \$2.00, instead of \$1.00; that for the flour which he paid \$5 a barrel he is now paying \$10 and \$11. No judge or jury will convict that baker. But by the time the comedy with the baker is ended the wheat of the United States will be in Europe and we can go hungry.

Now, this resolution, if adopted, will help to protect people. Let us place an embargo on food. There is a shortage in the wheat crop this year, but left from last year is a surplus which, added to what we produced this year, will be sufficient to provide every man, woman and child in the United States with food for the coming year. But we are not keeping the wheat here; it is being shipped over to Europe, and I object to feeding Europe until after we feed the American people.

During the campaign which has just ended we heard a great deal about unadulterated Americanism and undiluted Americanism. Campaign orators of almost every stripe have gone on the platform and shouted "America first!" Every place we went in the broad land our ears were greeted with the cry "America first." But "Starve America first" is the program now being put in operation.

Now as to this wheat: At the present ratio of foreign buying 400,000,000 bushels are going off the home market. Adding the amount carried over from last year and deducting 80,000,000 bushels for seeding the next crop there will be about 200,000,000 bushels left, and to feed the American people 625,000,000 bushels are necessary. We are going to attempt now to feed with 200,000,000 bushels where 625,000,000 are required. What is the answer? Somebody is going hungry, somebody is going without bread, and I can guarantee that the millionaires of the country will not be hungry. You and yours are going hungry; you and yours are going without bread. Why?

They tell us we must be reasonable; they tell us we must be patient. Coal in New York was up to \$12 a ton. I don't know what they are paying now, but when I mined coal in Pennsylvania last I got 25 cents a ton for mining it. I don't know where the difference goes, but it is going. When this coal went up to \$12 a ton some of the people of New York were so unreasonable, so un-American that the *New York Globe* got peevish and said, "No need to worry if you only keep cool." No, there is no need to worry, for you and those you represent are going to keep cool this winter—down around zero.

That was on November 1st, and on the same day we were told we would pay \$20 a ton for coal by December 1st. Right here in these clippings from papers not friendly to our cause, papers that have no intention to shed too much light on this question, we are told that the wage-workers of New York who cannot buy coal by the ton are paying by the basket at the rate of \$30 a ton.

It is time some action were taken on this question of the high cost of living. The *New York World* of the 19th tells how prosperous we are, how much we have to which we ought to be proud. It reminds me of an editorial in the *New York Times* three or four months ago when the militaristic agitation was at its height. Somebody asked the question: "What have the workers to fight for? They have nothing to fight for." The *Times*, as usual, got peeved at this and said, "It is true the great mass of the working people have only immaterial things for which to fight in the United States of America." But the people for whom the *Times* spoke have the material things and you have the immaterial things, and this is one of the immaterial things that you have to fight for.

"American exports still continue to advance" is the heading of another article. These exports mean the food and manufactured products we are shipping somewhere else, the food and clothing we are taking from ourselves, our wives and children and shipping to Europe, Africa, Asia or South America. They boast of these wonderful exports. From the port of New York alone the shipments in about twelve days, as quoted here, ran from \$2,000,000 to \$19,000,000 worth a day. How are you going to keep from hunger if they keep no food in the country?

We are told it is illegal to place an embargo on food. If a calamity were to over-

take this city of Baltimore tomorrow, if such a fire as once swept over it occurred, the State of Maryland and the United States would take hold of the situation to protect the property of the people and to a certain extent to protect their lives. Law would be set aside that the people might be protected as far as possible from the result of that calamity. Here we are, a hundred of millions of people, face to face with hunger when more of our men and women are at work than ever before in our history. The representative of the paper makers told you a few minutes ago that from all sides are coming requests that the men he represents shall work more than eight hours a day and more than six days a week. When labor is employed to a greater extent than ever before we are face to face with hunger in the United States of America. Why? To build up our foreign commerce. That the profiteers might ship your food and mine to feed somebody else.

Now, when you men and women here are sent into new fields or into old fields to assist in organizing the men and women of industry the papers come out and say: "The foreign agitator is in our midst. Drive the aliens away. We don't want them here disturbing our good conditions." When you try to organize labor you may have five, eight or ten generations of American stock back of you, but you are a foreign agitator, you are championing foreign ideas; but when it comes to selling your bread and butter and meat all over the world and letting you go hungry the foreigner is a good fellow and they will feed him before they feed you and yours. They get the bread and butter, and hunger is in store for you.

This is not a matter of conjecture. It is an absolute fact that stares us in the face. Four hundred million bushels of wheat going to Europe, leaving 200,000,000 bushels here, 625,000,000 bushels required to feed the American people, and the 200,000,000 that are left will not spread over the field. A few years ago we got 16 ounces of bread for five cents. Then the loaf was cut down to 14 ounces, another slice put it down to 12 ounces, and now we are getting a 10-ounce loaf and since the first of October have been paying six cents for it. That is an increase of almost 100 per cent. in the cost of bread. For the amount of bread we got a few years ago for one dollar we are paying two dollars.

One of the big bakers said recently that he feared by Christmas we would pay 10 cents for a 10-ounce loaf of bread, by the first of

April we would pay 20 cents, and after April there would be no more bread until the new crop of wheat could be harvested. Now that is what is facing you. Why? That big business might sell at a gigantic profit over in Europe. They ship the 400,000,000 bushels to Europe. They make a big profit on that. Wheat was quoted at \$2.50 a bushel in London in the past few weeks. They will make a profit on the 400,000,000 shipped to Europe. The 200,000,000 bushels left will not feed the American people, and the result will be that prices will soar and soar higher than ever.

Wheat is a necessity. We must have the bread and we will pay any price asked to get it provided we have the money to buy it, and up will go the price of the remaining 200,000,000 bushels. You are not going to be able to pay for it. You are going to go hungry before the wheat is all consumed, because you cannot pay the price demanded for this bread, and the only remedy, that is, the only immediate remedy—and it is an immediate remedy we want now—is to place an embargo on wheat.

Since we have come to Baltimore, within these two weeks, the prices in restaurants have gone up 25 and 50 per cent. For the first time in the history of Baltimore they are charging extra for bread and butter, not because you came here, but because of those conditions about which I speak. Now, you are not going to be able to buy this bread, you are going hungry. All they want you to do is to work harder, work longer hours and then go hungry for them in order that a few men may grow wealthier and wealthier. During the past two years we have made more millionaires than we had at the beginning of the European war. The men of big wealth have accumulated more money during the last two years than during any other time in the history of this nation. These are the reasons they wanted war. They boast of the tremendous volume of commerce; they tell us of our flag going over every sea; our ships going into every port. That is true, but it is taking your food and mine; it is going to force your wives and children to go hungry.

I have no objection to as many ships as they can put on the ocean; I have no objection to their shipping away as much food as they wish, providing there is enough left to feed the American people. I am going to shout "America first," and I am going to shout it as loud and as enthusiastically as any one else shouts it, but instead of

shouting it as a slogan I am going to shout "Feed America first, and then do what you like with the rest."

Give us this embargo and it will be a starting step. We find that one man in Chicago has 70,000,000 eggs in storage. He bought them for 22 cents a dozen the first part of the year and he says he will not leave an egg go until he gets 70 cents a dozen for them. Very few of you will have the privilege of looking at a fresh egg in the near future, and you will get storage eggs at 50 cents a dozen. Potatoes will go to \$2.50 a bushel and butter will follow suit. One of the quotations in one of the papers is: "Wheat steadier and butter stronger." I did not see how steady the wheat was, but I did taste how much stronger the butter was.

We want action; we want that embargo until enough food is set aside to feed the American people. This emergency that is confronting us is as great as any this country has ever faced. The only immediate remedy is that embargo. When that embargo is placed it will force them to sell those products of labor at a more reasonable price; it will show the profiteers that the American people are awakening to this game and that the American Federation of Labor will take a position out in front and say to those into whose hands the wealth of this nation has gone: "So far and no farther. You will see that the American people are fed; then you can sell what is left wherever you will, for what price you may, but feed the American people first."

That is the slogan that should go out to the American people from this convention. Let them understand that this is one of the things we will fight to the uttermost, as expressed by President Gompers the other day. Let us ask for this embargo, not on bended knees, but as a right coming to a people that are free, or that think they are free. Let this embargo be placed on our foodstuffs until our people are fed; then let them do as they see fit with the rest.

The question was discussed by Delegates Arnold, Painters, and Griffin, Seamen.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Gorenstein moved that the address made by Delegate Cannon be made a part of the records of the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Frey: Your committee finds that Resolution No. 155 appears to be practically identical in language with Resolu-

tion No. 119, apparently having been duplicated by two delegates. We will, therefore, report upon Resolution No. 119.

Resolution No. 155.—By Delegate John A. McDonald, of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, To secure and retain competent workmen on the Panama Canal, the Isthmian Canal Commission, with approval of the Secretary of War and the President, announced in 1907 the granting of longevity increases of 5 per cent. for the second year service, and 3 per cent. for each additional year, effective from beginning of service of all employes until the maximum of 25 per cent. allowed; and

WHEREAS, Such longevity pay was abolished by action of Congress in 1909, without previous notice to workers on the Panama Canal, by providing that appropriations could not be used for its continuation; and

WHEREAS, Congress, in sixty-third session, voted (resolution 16510) general rewards to all officers of the army, the navy and the Marine Hospital Service in providing for the promotion of one grade in rank and retirement on application of all who served three or more years on the Panama Canal, including younger officers educated at public expense at West Point, and who had rendered to the Government little or no service except the three or more years on the Panama Canal, and some of whom have now retired, and others are eligible to retire on three-fourths pay for life of grade to which promoted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention record its disapproval of the partiality of legislation from House resolution 16510 of Sixty-third Congress, rewarding generally all military and naval officers for three years or more service on the Panama Canal by retired pay for life, while ignoring members of organized labor previously deprived of continuation of longevity pay and civilians, who, as publicly stated by General Goethals, performed more acceptable service for longer periods of time than military officers rewarded; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That such discrimination and partiality in favor of the military be especially condemned as contrasting strongly with attempted and officially proposed reduction of wage scales for organized labor in 1914, and also attempts to reduce wage scales by making charges for quarters, light and fuel, as actually charged from March 1 to May 24, 1915, and again proposed to become effective July 1, 1916, but later again rescinded, and which proposed charges constituted a relatively greater reduction in remuneration of members of organized labor than of military and naval officers detailed for duty on the Panama Canal in official positions; and be it also

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends that Congress rescind its cancellation of longevity, and that such be granted all American workers of the Panama Canal, or that Congress investigate legislation classed as partial and discriminatory in the preceding, and take such other action as may

be deemed fit and appropriate to correct existing injustice to members of organized labor and other civilians equally entitled to consideration with military officers, as evidenced in the resolutions of many national, state and federated bodies of organized labor, and acknowledged by many Senators and Representatives in letters to constituents, and that, in pursuance of such request, copies of these resolutions be sent to each House of Congress; to Congressman Adamson, who introduced measures into the House granting retired pay to military officers; to Senator Chamberlain, who proposed amendment in the Senate; to the Secretary of War, who exercises supervision over matters pertaining to the Panama Canal, and the public press.

Resolution No. 119.—By Federal Employees' Union 15236, Canal Zone, Panama.

WHEREAS, To secure and retain competent workmen on the Panama Canal, the Isthmian Canal Commission, with approval of the Secretary of War and the President, announced in 1907 the granting of longevity increases of 5 per cent. for the second-year service, and 3 per cent. for each additional year, effective from beginning of service of all employees until the maximum of 25 per cent. allowed; and

WHEREAS, Such longevity pay was abolished by action of Congress in 1909 without previous notice to workers on the Panama Canal by providing that appropriations could not be used for its continuation; and

WHEREAS, Congress in sixty-third session voted (Resolution 16510) general rewards to all officers of the Army, the Navy and the Marine Hospital Service in providing for their promotion of one grade in rank and retirement on application of all who served three or more years on the Panama Canal, including younger officers educated at public expense at West Point, and who had rendered to the Government little or no service, except the three or more years on the Panama Canal, and some of whom have now retired, and others are eligible to retire on three-fourths pay for life of grade to which promoted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention record its disapproval of the partiality of legislation from House resolution 16510 of Sixty-third Congress rewarding generally all military and naval officers for three years or more service on the Panama Canal by retired pay for life, while ignoring members of organized labor previously deprived of continuation of longevity pay and civilians, who, as publicly stated by General Goethals, performed more acceptable service for longer periods of time than military officers rewarded; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such discrimination and partiality in favor of the military be especially condemned as contrasting strongly with attempted and officially proposed reduction of wage scales for organized labor in 1914, and also attempts to reduce wage scales by making charges for quarters, light and fuel, as actually charged from March 1 to May 24, 1915, and again proposed to become effective July 1, 1916, but later again rescinded, and which pro-

posed charges constituted a relatively greater reduction in remuneration of members of organized labor than of military and naval officers detailed for duty on the Panama Canal in official positions; and be it also

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends that Congress rescind its cancellation of longevity, and that such be granted all American workers of the Panama Canal, or that Congress investigate legislation classed as partial and discriminatory in the preceding, and take such other action as may be deemed fit and appropriate to correct existing injustice to members of organized labor and other civilians equally entitled to consideration with military officers, as evidenced in resolutions of many national, state and federated bodies of organized labor, and acknowledged by many Senators and Representatives in letters to constituents, and that in pursuance of such request that copies of these resolutions be sent to each House of Congress, to Congressman Adamson, who introduced measures into the House granting retired pay to military officers; to Senator Chamberlain, who proposed amendment in the Senate; to the Secretary of War, who exercises supervision over matters pertaining to the Panama Canal, and the public press.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 119.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 122.—By Delegate John B. Breslin, Panther Creek Valley Central Labor Union, Lansford, Pa.:

WHEREAS, The interest of organized labor in national legislation and administration has become of vital importance; and

WHEREAS, The rank and file of organized labor should be kept continuously informed as to the actions of its political friends and enemies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention elects and that the American Federation of Labor in convention annually hereafter re-elects a Labor Representation Committee consisting of five members of organized labor, who during their term of office shall be resident in Washington, one of these members to be the President of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the compensation of the members of this committee shall be fixed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends nonconcurrency in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 128.—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, We deem it for the best interest of public safety that there should be two licensed men in the pilot house of all steamers of 100 tons and over carrying passengers while they are under way; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegate representing the American Federation of Labor, at

the national convention, be instructed to introduce a bill at the convention covering the purport of this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to secure the passage of this bill.

The committee recommends nonconurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution 129 by striking out the words "was not at the final adjournment of the Sixty-fourth Congress," and inserting "has not been," the resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate D. P. Haggerty, of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Hon. John I. Nolan introduced in the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress a bill known as H. R. 12029, which provides for Government regulation of gill-nets used in the waters of Bristol Bay, Alaska, for catching red salmon, providing that it shall be unlawful to use a mesh in these waters of less than five and three-quarters inches stretched measure mesh, in order that the great red salmon industry in Bristol Bay may not be destroyed; and

WHEREAS, Said bill (H. R. 12029) has not been reported out of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, to which committee it had been referred; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled, that the Legislative Committee is hereby instructed to use its best endeavors to have said bill enacted into law.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Hon. J. Charles Linthicum, of Maryland, has introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution (H. R. 137) providing for the appointment by the Speaker of a committee of five members of the House, whose duty it shall be to investigate and report as speedily as practicable as follows:

(a) Whether conditions prevailing in dairies and dairy products seriously menace the health and property of the people of the United States.

(b) Whether Federal inspection and supervision, either alone or in co-operation with state and municipal inspection and supervision, is necessary to the reasonable protection of the health and property of the citizens of the United States.

(c) If so, then the best and most economic methods of inaugurating and enforcing such inspection and supervision; and

WHEREAS, A hearing was had on H. R. 137 on April 11, 1916, before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, at which time Dr. E. C. Schroeder, expert bacteriologist of the Department of Agriculture, stated to the committee that 800 children die annually in New York City of bovine tuberculosis and on this basis the annual death rate in the United States from bovine tuberculosis is 6,000 children; and further said that over 9 per cent., or 2,000,000, of our dairy cows have tuberculosis, and are capable of transmitting that disease to children; while Dr. John B. Mohler, assistant chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, told the committee that he had personally examined the bodies of a number of children who died of tuberculosis and found that over 22 per cent. had died of bovine tuberculosis; and

WHEREAS, "The Forecast" of December, 1915, page 399, says: "Other investigations . . . have proved with equal conclusiveness that children are the chief sufferers from the bovine type of tuberculosis, which is so prevalent in cattle that it is useless to think of this immediate eradication. The only protection for our children until this is accomplished is pasteurization. There is no escape from the conclusion, therefore, that in permitting the use of milk or milk products without pasteurization we are responsible for the slaughter of innocents compared with which that of Herod was a trifle; and many of those whom we do not kill we maim and cripple for life, for the deadly tubercular bacilli attack the bones, joints and glands of the unhappy little ones rather than their lungs; and

WHEREAS, If these charges are true, then it is the duty of Congress to investigate and to pass such legislation as may be necessary to remedy the evil; and if they are untrue, then Congress should, by proper investigation, show this to be the fact, that the uncertainty now prevalent among our citizens may be alleviated and the real facts known, so that the people may freely and unceasingly avail themselves without fear and trembling of this splendid product, the most nutritious, useful, and when produced and distributed under proper sanitary methods, the most healthful of all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor favors an investigation of the charges made against milk and milk products, and gives its approval to House Resolution No. 137, which is appended hereto; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to communicate our action to each of the gentlemen composing the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, urging a favorable report on H. R. 137; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to do all things necessary to bring to pass the speedy passage of this resolution.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 187—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, During a recent parade to demonstrate preparedness in the city of San Francisco, Cal., ten persons were killed and a number injured by a bomb explosion; and

WHEREAS, Five persons were arrested, four of them being members of labor unions, and charged with murder, and it is a plain and undisputed fact that the prosecution has no direct evidence against them; this fact was brought out at the late trial of one of the defendants, who was convicted by a jury of men of whom the majority of them might well be termed professional jurors; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, after listening to the story as told by the brother from California, pledges its moral support to the end that a fair and impartial trial may be secured, and urges the members of affiliated unions to extend their financial support to gather the necessary funds to defray the legal expense attached to the case.

Secretary Frey: As the subject matter of this resolution has been taken up by the California State Federation of Labor and acted upon, your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for such action as the circumstances warrant.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

The committee amended Resolution No. 144 by striking out the words "the convention" and inserting "the Executive Council," the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate J. P. Holland, New York State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, will celebrate his sixty-seventh birthday and his fiftieth marriage anniversary on January 27, 1917; and

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers has devoted his whole life and the best that was in him for and in the interest of the organized labor movement, and remains today just as determined and sincere to secure justice and right for labor; be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that for the purpose of publicly demonstrating our appreciation of his purpose, his efforts and sincerity, we, the delegates here assembled, unite in making this celebration an epoch in the life of Samuel Gompers, and, therefore, call upon all international and national officers and all sympathizers and friends to assemble in the city of New York on January 27, 1917, at a

mass demonstration to thus honor him and show our individual devotion.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council appoint a committee to co-operate with the New York State Federation of Labor and the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity in carrying out the object of this resolution.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Report of Committee on Adjustment.

Chairman O'Connell: Your Committee on Adjustment begs leave to offer a supplemental report on a matter which, through some error, did not get to our committee in time to be submitted with our report.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Change in Title (p. 124) we recommend the following:

Your committee recommends the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to call a conference of all the parties in interest within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with a view of bringing about an amicable understanding as to the jurisdiction over pile driving. Failure on the part of the conference to agree on the question of jurisdiction, the Executive Council is authorized to decide which organization or organizations is to hold jurisdiction over pile driving. Pending adjustment either by conference or decision of the Executive Council, the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers is ordered to discontinue the use of the words "pile drivers" in their title.

Delegate McClory: We are satisfied with the report of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted. **Treasurer Lennon in the Chair.**

Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Ferguson, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Education begs leave to submit the following as its report:

The matters considered by the Executive Council, which are found in its report under the appropriate subheads and which were referred to this committee, are herein reported by caption, with the recommendations of the committee following immediately after each.

Industrial Education—Vocational Training.

Your committee has read carefully the matter under this head and heartily concurs

with the sentiments expressed. We recommend that the matter be left with the Executive Council to take such further action as will cause the greatest benefit to labor in the development of industrial education, vocational and trade training. We further recommend that the Executive Council endeavor to so change the bill that the salary for a specialist in home economics be made equal to those of other specialists mentioned.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Bureau of Labor Safety.

With reference to the matter under the above title your committee notes with gratification the diligence and watchfulness exhibited, and urges a continuance of the same. We particularly recommend that the Executive Council make renewed efforts to have restored to the Bureau of Labor Safety bill those references to vocational diseases stricken out by the Senate Committee. The recommendation of the Executive Council with respect to H. R. 9420, introduced by Mr. Casey, of Pennsylvania, is indorsed by this committee.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Labor's Right to Representation.

Your committee heartily commends the Executive Council's assertion and comment appearing under the above caption.

We believe that labor's right to representation on all agencies controlling or determining public policies should be frankly and freely expressed whenever the opportunity presents itself. To this end we recommend that the Executive Council prepare a special circular letter for state federations and central labor councils calling attention to the urgent need for more proportionate labor representation, not only in city councils, state legislatures and in Congress, but also on every city, state and Federal commission that deals with public policies or matters of general concern.

We desire further to lay emphasis upon the urgent need for labor representation on city school boards, state boards of education, and last, but not least, on the governing boards of our state-owned universities. What we need badly in many of our so-called higher institutions of learning is more of the spirit which has recently found trite expression here in Congressional enactments, i. e., that human rights must always take precedence over property rights. Every state-owned university should serve all the people, but this can scarcely be expected if none but captains of industry, bankers, law-

yers, etc., direct its affairs and inspire its policy toward the workers who comprise the majority of each state's citizenship.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Gary Investigation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption your committee reports as follows:

The proposed investigation of the system of education in operation in Gary, Indiana, is indorsed, and the Executive Council is authorized to take whatever course is necessary to secure for the masses the best education that has been devised.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Erickson Junior Clubs.

Your committee has read with interest the matter dealt with under the above caption, and concurs in the recommendations of the Executive Council.

In this connection we considered Resolution No. 56, and we respectfully recommend its adoption after the last "Whereas," and the last "Resolve" have been deleted, so resolution will read as follows:

Resolution No. 56.—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, It is generally conceded that organized labor should be active in the education of the younger generation in the fundamental principles of trades unionism, the great humanitarian movement of the age; and

WHEREAS, Such education must be conducted along lines that will engage the interest and attention of these soon-to-be citizens by encouraging their tastes for healthful amusements as well as leading their minds to a better knowledge of the newer civilization toward which our movement strives; and

WHEREAS, Emmanuel G. Erickson, a union painter of Casper, Wyoming, has inaugurated a plan, accepted by the Wyoming State Federation of Labor at its eighth annual convention and generally known as the Erickson plan for boys' clubs, which idea is also being altered and applied to clubs for girls; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we urge our officers to give the widest possible publicity to the plans as outlined by the Erickson plan to the end that its splendid features may become generally known and adopted by the American labor movement.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolutions Nos. 5, 87 and 149, dealing with the same subject matter, were covered in one report by the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 87.—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman David Lewis, of Maryland, provides for the reclassification of salaries of postal clerks and letter-carriers, increasing the maximum to \$1,400 per annum in first-class postoffices, and to \$1,300 per annum in second-class postoffices; and

WHEREAS, The salaries of postal employees have not been increased proportionately with the increased cost of living, nor do they receive a wage commensurate with the important exacting duties they are required to perform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby indorses the Lewis bill, and urges upon Congress its enactment.

Resolution No. 149.—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and indorsed by that body:

WHEREAS, Mr. Lewis, of Maryland, introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Postoffice and Post Roads and ordered to be printed:

"A bill to reclassify at first and second class post offices and carriers in the city delivery service. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That on and after the first day of July next following the passage of this act, clerks at first and second class post-offices and carriers in the city delivery shall be classified as follows: Grade one, at a salary of \$800 per annum; Grade two, at a salary of \$900 per annum; Grade three, at a salary of \$1,000 per annum; Grade four, at a salary of \$1,100 per annum; Grade five, at a salary of \$1,200 per annum; Grade six, at a salary of \$1,300 per annum; Grade seven, at a salary of \$1,400 per annum.

"Sec. 2. That clerks and carriers at first-class offices shall be promoted successively to the seventh grade, and clerks and carriers at second-class offices shall be promoted successively to the sixth grade.

"Sec. 3. That a clerk or carrier who shall have completed one year of service in any grade with a satisfactory record for efficiency shall be eligible for promotion to the next higher grade, such promotion to take effect from the beginning of the next quarter year period thereafter.

"Sec. 4. That an act entitled, 'An Act making appropriations for the service of the Postoffice Department for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1908, and for other purposes, approved March 2d, 1907, in so far as the same is in conflict with the provisions of this act, is hereby repealed.'

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor indorse the Lewis Bill, and instruct its Legislative Committee to co-operate with the officers of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks to secure this wage increase for the postal employees.

Resolution No. 5.—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The wage scales existing in the postal service governing the wages of postoffice clerks, railway mail clerks and city letter carriers were fixed in 1907 and are woefully inadequate to meet the present day cost of living; and

WHEREAS, Postal employees are highly specialized workers who function in a Government monopoly with no hope of receiving a higher wage from a competing industrial establishment, performing a service which gradually unfits them for employment elsewhere; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse the attempts of affiliated postal workers to secure a higher wage scale from the Sixty-fourth Congress and instruct the Executive Council to render all possible assistance.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 5, as it covers the subject matter in Resolutions Nos. 87 and 149.

The report of the committee was adopted. Resolutions Nos. 7 and 106, relating to the same question, were reported upon in the following order:

Resolution No. 106.—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in Congress a bill known as the Nolan Minimum Wage bill that would grant to all employees of the United States Government after two years of service not less than \$3 per day; and

WHEREAS, Contrary to the general opinion of presumed high wages of those employed by the Government, there are thousands of such Government workers who receive \$50 per month and less, as disclosed at the hearings of the Nolan bill; and

WHEREAS, The general standard of wages for the average mechanic and skilled worker is in excess of \$3.00 per day, and the Government should raise its standard of wages to the same level that prevails outside the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby indorses the Nolan Minimum Wage bill, and that Congress be urged to enact this measure.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of the Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There is pending in Congress H. R. 11873, known as the Nolan Minimum Wage Bill, which proposes to establish a minimum wage of not less than \$3.00 a day, or a proportionate amount if paid by the hour, the month or the year, for all persons who have been in the civil employment of the United States for at least two years; and

WHEREAS, This bill has been unanimously reported to the House of Representatives by the Committee on Labor, with recommendation that it be passed; and

WHEREAS, The platform of the Democratic party adopted at St. Louis in June, 1916, states that the Democratic party favors a living wage for all employees of the United

States, and \$3.00 per day is the lowest wage upon which any person may live and support a family in any degree of comfort; and

WHEREAS, Practically all of the organized workers of the United States receive more than \$3.00 per day in wages, and more than one-third of the employees of the United States receive less than \$3.00 per day; and

WHEREAS, The actual cost of the necessities of life has increased to such an extent within the last few years as to make living conditions of the low-salaried employees practically unbearable, and this increase in the cost of the necessities of life falls most heavily on the Government employees in the lower grades of salaries and wages; and

WHEREAS, There is a constant tendency on the part of Government officials to increase the number of low-salaried positions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact H. R. 11876, the Nolan Minimum Wage Bill, at the session beginning in December, 1916.

Resolutions Nos. 7 and 106 relate to the same question. We recommend the adoption of Resolution No. 7, as it fully covers the subject matter in both.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolutions No. 8 and No. 83, dealing with the same subject matter, were reported upon as follows:

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many of the clerks in the postoffices are compelled to work nights at high tension and under conditions that impair their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department grants no recognition either by wage or time differential to the clerks employed at night; and

WHEREAS, The British postal service has long recognized a seven-hour tour for night workers, and our Government in its printing office at Washington grants night workers a 20 per cent. wage differential; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before Congress the Randall-Lewis bill which seeks to grant time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked by postal employees between 6 p. m. and 6 a. m. and which will operate to minimize night work by confining it to the distribution and dispatch of important mail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby indorses the Randall-Lewis bill and urge the members of Congress to have this bill enacted into law.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postoffice clerks throughout the country are compelled to

work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well being; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks is endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the postal service by securing a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m. and prior to 6 a. m. for postoffice clerks and letter carriers—a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before the Sixty-fourth Congress the Randall-Lewis bill, which will accomplish this reform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor indorses the Randall-Lewis bill, and instructs the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in seeking its passage.

Your committee considered Resolutions Nos. 83 and 8 together and recommends the adoption of No. 8, as the same subject is covered in both.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 38 and 79, dealing with the same subject matter, were reported upon as follows:

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Women constitute one-fifth of the wage-earners of the United States and this number is yearly increasing; and

WHEREAS, The effect of industrial conditions on women workers should receive sympathetic study and fair analysis; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Department of Labor has not given to this important subject the attention it deserves and cannot as the department is now organized; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approves the effort that is now being made to secure the establishment of a woman's bureau in the Federal Department of Labor.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and indorsed by that body:

WHEREAS, The National Women's Trade Union League, at the Chicago biennial convention in 1900, called upon the Department of Commerce and Labor to establish a specific division to investigate and report from time to time upon the conditions of working women in the United States, with special reference to the health, safety and morals of the motherhood of the country; and

WHEREAS, At the last session of Congress a bill was introduced in both branches to establish under the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division and under a woman chief; and

WHEREAS, The rapid increase of women workers in the factories, mills and shops of

the nation is fraught with industrial and social consequences of the utmost importance to the national welfare; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily indorse the bill for the creation of this division known as the Casey Bill (H. R. 18353) in the last session and call upon all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to help in the passage of this measure.

Resolutions Nos. 38 and 79 were considered by this committee. Both relate to the same subject, the establishment of a woman's bureau in the Federal Department of Labor. Your committee has been informed the machinery now exists in the Department of Labor for the establishment of this bureau, and, therefore, recommends nonconcurrence in both resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 42, 43 and 28, dealing with the same subject matter, were reported upon as follows:

Resolution No. 28.—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt of the Massachusetts State Branch:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in Congress a bill known as the Keating Right of Appeal bill, which would give to civil service employees in event of removal from the service, or the imposing of harsh discipline in the way of reduction of salary or rating, the right of appeal to the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation; and

WHEREAS, As provided at present the civil service employe has but a limited opportunity to answer charges pressed against him; and

WHEREAS, The Keating bill would materially enlarge upon this right and give the employe a full opportunity to have his punishment reviewed by a body separate from the department in which he may be employed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby indorses the Keating Right of Appeal bill and urges upon Congress the enactment of this bill into law.

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Federal civil service laws are defective in not granting to employes the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, The lodging of arbitrary power in the hands of officials from whose judgment there can be no appeal is contrary to the spirit of our American institutions and operates toward the creation of a governmental bureaucracy; and

WHEREAS, There is pending before Congress a bill introduced by Representative Keating, which seeks to grant Government civil service employes the right to appeal to the United States Board of

Mediation and Conciliation in cases involving demotion or dismissal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorses the Keating bill and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with affiliated civil service employes in securing its passage.

Resolution No. 43.—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of Federal Employees' Union No. 14632;

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service Commission now holds examinations for and certifies for appointment all prospective employes of the United States in the classified civil service; and

WHEREAS, The United States Civil Service Commission now has no further jurisdiction over an employe of the United States after he has been appointed to a position in the service of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The United States employs several hundred thousand men and women in its various services, and in every case of mistreatment of any of these employes there is no one in authority to whom these employes may appeal with any assurance of fair investigation and settlement of the difficulty; and

WHEREAS, Under the present system of the administration of the Government of the United States with regard to the treatment of employes when any complaint is made it is referred to the official in direct charge of the employes, who in all likelihood is the one guilty of the mistreatment, for a report. He makes a report, which goes to his superior. This superior, as a rule, does not go into the matter further than to approve the report of his subordinate, but forwards it to his superior, who in turn forwards it until it reaches the head of the department. This head of the department then replies to the complainant in the terms of the report of the immediate superior of the complainant, thus giving the complainant absolutely no alternative than to abide by the statements of his immediate superior; and

WHEREAS, There are many abuses of official authority over employes of the United States to secure the redress of which there is absolutely no means unless the aggrieved one has political influence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law providing that there shall be a court of appeals of the United States for the investigation of complaints of employes of the United States and of the District of Columbia, with authority to direct the correction of any abuses of official authority or injustices toward any of said employes.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 43, as it covers the subject matter incorporated in Resolutions Nos. 42 and 28 submitted to this committee.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolutions Nos. 44, 133 and 134 were reported upon as follows:

Resolution No. 44—by Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employes upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in this condition; men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service, or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of Government employes is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the position taken by previous conventions by indorsing the efforts of affiliated civil service bodies to secure the enactment of a satisfactory retirement law for superannuated Government workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist representatives of affiliated civil service employes in calling the attention of Congress to the urgent need of this legislation.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of Federal Employes' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There are employed by the United States and the District of Columbia several thousand workers who have grown old in the service, who are no longer able to render services commensurate with the salaries paid to them, and who are absolutely dependent upon the said salaries for their support, because the cost of living has increased of late years to such an extent that comparatively few of them have been able to accumulate any savings; and

WHEREAS, The efficiency of the service of the United States and of the District of Columbia is impaired to a very great extent by the retention in the service of these superannuates, and the continued requirement by the United States that they shall render service despite their physical disability, is an inhumane treatment, but to discharge them, as is sometimes done, with absolutely no provision for their old age, is even more inhumane and unjust, as they have devoted their lives to the service; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the commercial and industrial world has shown the wisdom and economy of retiring superannuated employes, as is indicated by the fact that several hundred of the largest corporations now have provisions for the retirement of their superannuates, even though in many cases the promise of retirement to the employes is in the nature of "strike insurance;" and

WHEREAS, The United States has heretofore shown its concurrence in this view

by providing for the retirement of the officers and enlisted men of the Army and Navy and Marine Corps, the judges of the Federal courts, the members of the life-saving service, the coast guard, the revenue cutter service, and various other special classes of employes, a great many of whom perform services no more dangerous than the work of the civilian employes of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is a widespread and prevalent belief in the wisdom of providing a law under which the civilian employes of the United States and of the District of Columbia who are superannuated may be retired, a great many of the officials of the United States and members of Congress being outspokenly in favor of the plan; and

WHEREAS, The sentiment and views of Congress in regard to this matter are such that there is only required a strong impetus, such as could be furnished by the American Federation of Labor, to induce Congress to enact a law that will be a model retirement system upon which private employes may be induced to base their systems of retirement; and

WHEREAS, The Democratic party is now in power and in control of the House and Senate of the United States, has incorporated in its platform a plank declaring itself in favor of the enactment of a retirement law for the employes of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States to enact a law at the session of Congress beginning December, 1916, providing that all employes of the United States and of the District of Columbia shall be retired when superannuated at a rate of pay sufficient to enable them to live during their old age without becoming burdens upon relatives or the community in which they live.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate John Lorch, of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The United States is the only large country in the world that has not made suitable provision for its superannuated and otherwise disabled civil employes; and

WHEREAS, The governments, firms and corporations that have established plans of retirement on service annuities for employes of this character have found this method of dealing with superannuation not only just and reasonable from a humane point of view, but also in the interest of efficiency and economy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to use every available means to secure the establishment of a retirement system for Federal civil employes which will not either directly or indirectly cause them to suffer a reduction in wages during employment.

During its deliberations your committee carefully considered Resolutions Nos. 44,

133 and 134, all dealing with the enactment of a law by the Congress of the United States providing for old age pensions and retirement allowances for civil service employees of the Federal Government. We recommend the following resolution as a substitute for the three submitted:

WHEREAS, There are employed by the United States and the District of Columbia several thousand workers who have grown old in the service, who are no longer able to render services commensurate with the salaries paid to them, and who are absolutely dependent upon the said salaries for their support, because the cost of living has increased of late years to such an extent that comparatively few of them have been able to accumulate any savings; and

WHEREAS, The efficiency of the service of the United States and of the District of Columbia is impaired to a very great extent by the retention in the service of these superannuates, and the continued requirement by the United States that they shall render service despite their physical disability, is an inhumane treatment, but to discharge them, as is sometimes done, with absolutely no provision for their old age, is even more inhumane and unjust, as they have devoted their lives to the service; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the commercial and industrial world has shown the wisdom and economy of retiring superannuated employees, as is indicated by the fact that several hundred of the largest corporations now have provisions for the retirement of their superannuates, even though in many cases the promise of retirement to the employees is in the nature of "strike insurance;" and

WHEREAS, The United States has heretofore shown its concurrence in this view by providing for the retirement of the officers and enlisted men of the Army and Navy and Marine Corps, the judges of the Federal courts, the members of the life-saving service, the coast guard, the revenue cutter service, and various other special classes of employees, a great many of whom perform services no more dangerous than the work of the civilian employees of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is a widespread and prevalent belief in the wisdom of providing a law under which the civilian employees of the United States and of the District of Columbia who are superannuated may be retired, a great many of the officials of the United States and members of Congress being outspokenly in favor of the plan; and

WHEREAS, The sentiment and views of Congress in regard to this matter are such that there is only required a strong impetus, such as could be furnished by the American Federation of Labor, to induce Congress to enact a law that will be a model retirement system upon which private employees may be induced to base their systems of retirement; and

WHEREAS, The Democratic party is now in power and in control of the House and Senate of the United States, has incorporated in its platform a plank declaring itself in favor of the enactment of a retirement

law for the employees of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to use every available means to secure the establishment of a retirement system for Federal civil employes which will not either directly or indirectly cause them to suffer a reduction in wages during employment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Hall, Textile Workers.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate John H. Lorch, of the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia are denied the right of suffrage, a right that is enjoyed by citizens of every State in the Union; and

WHEREAS, This denial, in our opinion, is unconstitutional; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention, go on record as favoring a law that will give to the residents of the District of Columbia a voice in the Electoral College, thereby enabling them to have a voice in the selection of the President of the United States, and also to give them representation in the upper and lower house of Congress.

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be directed to draw up and introduce a bill that will carry out these resolutions.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution and desires to quote the report of the Executive Council to the San Francisco Convention, as follows:

Suffrage in the District of Columbia.

The residents of the District of Columbia are still disfranchised. Some discussion was indulged in during last Congress among the people of the District and among Congressmen, relative to the restoration of full citizenship rights to the residents of the District of Columbia. The financial and corporate interests of the District in combination with their associates in other sections of the country are, as a whole, bitterly opposed to granting the franchise or allowing a local form of self-government to be established in the District of Columbia. There is more profit assured to them by letting matters stand as they are and unfortunately the people of the District of Columbia, taking them as a whole, are too lukewarm and too indifferent concerning their civic rights to assert themselves as they should. So long as this apathy continues on the part of the masses and diligence is maintained on the part of the few privileged investors, we need not expect Congress to grant the ballot to the disfranchised people of the District of Columbia. "What is worth having is worth struggling for" has always been the axiom among trade unionists. The same

principle holds good in regard to the rights and privileges of general citizenship.

We have encouraged public discussion to persuade the people of the District of Columbia to assert themselves to secure the voting privilege. We shall continue to do this whenever the opportunity is afforded and hope that ultimately our ideals may be achieved.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The American trade-union movement should have for its information an annual compilation of all matters affecting labor's interests which have occurred during the year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be, and is hereby instructed to have prepared a Year Book, which shall contain a record of all matters affecting the trade-union movement which have occurred during the preceding twelve months, and that the necessary steps be taken to secure the annual publication of such a volume in the future.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to publish a statement in the *American Federationist* and the *News Letter* to the effect that the Department of Labor in Washington regularly issues bulletins and pamphlets of a statistical character covering almost every phase of the industrial question, which publications may be secured by merely asking for them.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Frey, in opposing the recommendation of the committee, said, in part: I feel that the committee and the delegates may not thoroughly understand what I desire to have accomplished in the publishing of the Year Book. It is not the matter that appears from time to time in the *News Letter*, although it may be a part of that; it is not the very valuable information we receive monthly through *The American Federationist*, although it may be a part of that; it is not all these statistical matters that appear in the Government reports, although it may be part of that. What we want is to have the most substantial information that affects our movement during the year gathered together so that we may have at our disposal a handy volume that will give to all our officers, organizers and active members a condensed resume of things occurring within our movement of which they ought to be informed. I believe a Year Book of this kind is a very fitting step along the line of our education. I want something

which at the end of the year will place in the hands of every active member of our movement the information we should have at hand relative to what has transpired during the year.

Vice-President Valentine, chairman of the committee, stated that the committee felt the information referred to by Delegate Frey could be secured from the Labor Department, the *News Letter* and *The American Federationist*, and it would not be necessary to publish the book, which might make a large volume and be very costly for the organization.

Delegate Van Lear, Machinists, spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution. During his discussion he referred to the difficulty of securing information upon matters referred to in the resolution in a convenient form.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was lost.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers, moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and carried.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The education of the workers in the fundamentals of trades-unionism, its history, its purposes and hopes is as essential as their mere organization; and

WHEREAS, The qualifications for carrying on this work successfully are such that the average worker cannot hope to be able to present facts acceptably to others that may be perfectly clear in his own mind; and

WHEREAS, There is in many communities a misapprehension concerning the objects and purposes of our movement due to a misunderstanding and misrepresentation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the convention that we favor the establishment of a lecture bureau, under the direction of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the purpose of which shall be to route qualified speakers, actual participants in our movement, in unorganized as well as organized communities. Where organizers are available and are qualified they shall act in this capacity and such others shall be commissioned as may be necessary to carry on the work of education and to promote a greater unanimity of opinion favorable to our purposes.

With respect to this resolution your committee indorses the report of the Executive Council to the Philadelphia convention, as follows:

Lecture Bureau.

In regard to the resolution requesting that the convention instruct the Executive Council to establish lecture bureaus and to employ expert sociologists, which the convention referred to the Executive Council,

with instructions to give consideration to the subject with the object of bringing about a wider knowledge of the measures and policies advocated by the trade union movement, we beg to say that the subject was referred to the Washington resident officers who held a conference with the representatives of the various affiliated departments and the Legislative Committee. After a thorough discussion it was decided that during the coming winter President Gompers should deliver a series of lectures to organized labor in Washington; that these lectures be stenographically reported; that the questions and answers be taken down so as to bring out the subjects of discussion with reference to every feature of the labor movement; that these questions and answers be published in pamphlet form for the officers and organizers to assist them in lecturing upon the labor movement. The pamphlet will be distributed to the rank

and file of the labor movement, the sale price to be practically at cost.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The motion was discussed by Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: I move that 2:30 tomorrow afternoon be set for the election of officers and the selection of a place for the next convention, unless those matters are reached at an earlier period. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12:30 the convention was adjourned to 2 p. m. of the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY--Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m. Friday, November 24th, Vice-President O'Connell in the chair.

Absentees—Reeves, Myers (C. E.), Gould, Schwarz, Bryan, Hogan, Call, Marshall, Rau, Nau, Taber, Hurley, Sweeney, Fursman, Alexander (H. G.) Agethen, Jarrett, Iglesias, Dowler, Brown, Kiser, Pauley, Cohen (Jake), Alexander (Lee), Brandle, Boos, Sims, Murray, Davis, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Rander, Cooney, Graham, Lewis, Newland, Kennedy, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, Peabody, Zaranko, Raines (M. A.), Wieber, Coleman, Liebowitz, Morris, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Browder, Chase, Meinert, Rodgers.

Report of Committee on Education.

Delegate Ferguson, secretary of the committee, continued his report, as follows:

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Organized labor of Wyoming, through the eighth annual convention of the State Federation of Labor, has provided a permanent education committee, which committee has been authorized to solicit donations from individuals, unions or other sources, the funds thus created to be administered in the furtherance of educational opportunities among worthy workers who have been denied an opportunity by reason of their economic position; and

WHEREAS, We believe that such a movement is one worthy of emulation by all State organizations, to the end that we may take a more active part in the work of extending opportunities for an education to our less fortunate brothers and sisters; and

WHEREAS, Brother E. Richard Shipp, a member of the Casper Typographical Union,

chairman of this committee and the father of this idea, has given this subject most thorough study; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this convention that we approve of the plans as formulated by this committee and indorsed by the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, recommend similar action on the part of our various State federations and invite Brother Shipp to contribute an article or articles on the Wyoming plan for publication in the *American Federationist*.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrency in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Joseph J. Hunt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Our Legislature is made up in a large measure of lawyers who write laws that too often require the assistance of the Supreme Court to determine what they mean;

RESOLVED, That we renew our attempt to exchange views with the farmers to the end that the hammer and the pitchfork may be as largely represented with their plain language in the councils of the State and the nation as they were in the days to which statesmen point with pride and fall in their feeble attempts to imitate.

Your committee submits that the subject matter contained in Resolution No. 114 has been fully dealt with in that part of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Labor's Right to Representation." Hence no recommendation is required upon same.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegate H. M. McLarin, of Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There are employed in the District of Columbia about two thousand workers of various grades and classes who are paid from appropriations made by the Congress of the United States, the funds for this pay being derived in equal parts from the Treasury of the United States and from the revenues of the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, This group of employees is engaged upon duties and work very similar to and co-equal in value with the duties and work of the employees of the United States in the District of Columbia, but their salaries, wages, hours and other conditions of work are not as advantageous as are those of the employees of the United States in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, These employees of the District of Columbia are in reality, though not according to present interpretation of the law, employees of the United States; they work alongside with and in the same community as do the employees of the United States; they perform practically the same grades of services; they are paid from the Treasury of the United States; the laws governing the District of Columbia (where the citizens do not vote) and the employees of the District of Columbia are enacted by the Congress of the United States, and yet these employees are maintained in a group by themselves working for an average rate of pay less than that of the classified civil service employees of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Democratic party is now in power and in control of the House and Senate of the United States, has incorporated in its platform a plank declaring itself in favor of the extension of the civil service system of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The employees of the District of Columbia are not now included in the classified civil service of the United States, which would insure to them fairness in appointments and ability of appointees, would tend to upbuild the personnel of the employees by requiring specified abilities in appointees, would protect those in the service from summary removal, would prevent the appointment of unqualified persons to positions on account of political influence, and would tend in a great measure to equalize the conditions of pay and work between this group of employees and the other employees of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the President of this organization and the Executive Council be and they are hereby instructed to use every effort to have the Congress of the United States enact a law providing that the employees of the District of Columbia shall be covered into the classified civil service of the United States, and shall hereafter be considered in all matters as within the classified civil service of the United States, and that all appointments to the service of the District of Columbia, other than Presidential appointments, shall be by certification by and from the Civil Service Commission of the United States.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and investigation.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the Chair.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegate W. B. Hilton, of the West Virginia State Federation of Labor; Louis Leonard, of the Ohio Valley Trades Assembly; John Williams and John J. Sullivan, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be hereby authorized and instructed to prepare and submit to the Congress of the United States a bill to provide for an old age pension of not less than \$20 per month; to urge upon state branches that they take similar action with regard to their State Legislatures, and assist them in so doing; and that the Executive Council be authorized to co-operate with other organizations having a similar object and plan.

Your committee recommends reference to the Executive Council for investigation, urging a report thereon to the next convention of this body.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hall, Textile Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee, and moved as an amendment that the Executive Council be instructed to give all aid and assistance, together with the officers of every state and the District of Columbia, entering one of these bills for the consideration of the legislators.

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Arnold.

President Gompers: The amendment offered by Delegate Hall is really the original resolution and is therefore not in order.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 153 by striking out the word "editorial" in line 10 and inserting "contributed article."

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates Joseph N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey and Charles A. Carlson, of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of November 13, 1916, prints a contributed article in reference to the relation between the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Musicians as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards the Boston Symphony Orchestra which is misleading and incorrect; and

WHEREAS, The statements made in this contributed article are undoubtedly designed to place both the American Federation of Labor and American Federation of Musicians in their relationship to each other in

a false light before the people of this country; and

WHEREAS, The facts are that at one time, about ten years ago, the members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra were also members of the American Federation of Musicians, but when the American Federation of Musicians announced its intention of stopping the general importation of musicians from abroad by symphony orchestra managers and other musical organizations for advertising purposes only, and not for the betterment of such organizations, and that the American Federation of Musicians would insist that the capable American boy be given an opportunity before giving the preference often to a less capable importation from abroad, and that no objection would be made to importations from abroad if actually required, then it was that Colonel Higginson asserted his absolute ownership of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and issued a ukase to the members of that orchestra giving them their choice between membership in the Boston Symphony Orchestra or membership in the American Federation of Musicians; and

WHEREAS, Besides the Boston Symphony Orchestra there are in the United States fifteen symphony orchestras, all of whom are members of the American Federation of Musicians, every one of whom must be a citizen of the United States or have declared his intention of becoming such by taking out his first papers, and all of those orchestras have cheerfully submitted to the decision of the American Federation of Musicians in the matter of the importation of musicians from abroad, because they know this decision was arrived at to protect the American musicians against mere whimsical importations solely for advertising purposes, and that no objection was ever made to an importation that was necessary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we denounce this attempt to misrepresent both the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Musicians, and will support the American Federation of Musicians in its efforts to the ultimate uplift of the American musician.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Ida Fursman of the American Federation of Teachers:

We of the American Federation of Teachers, in making our first appearance before a convention of the American Federation of Labor, do not wish to appear presumptuous, but we feel that our mutual relationship obligates us to lay certain matters before you.

It is our earnest conviction that organized labor, on behalf of itself and all of the people, must closely watch our public schools, which are now determining the quality of the democracy of the next generation. A radical reconstruction of our educational system to meet changing social and economic conditions is in progress. The forces of privilege and reaction are seizing this op-

portunity to entrench more firmly their domination of the schools of the country. The teacher is made the center of attack, since it is logically recognized that the moulding of the child's habits of thought and life results not from material equipment or texts, but from the living personality of the teacher. Hence there has developed a vicious, country-wide attempt to abridge the freedom of the teacher,—freedom of speech, of organization, of citizenship.

At present this attack is concentrated on the teachers of Chicago, but the outcome will have far-reaching consequences for the entire country. On June 27, 1916, a bare majority of the Chicago Board of Education, which had previously paved the way by repealing the "Meritorious Service Clause" in the employment of teachers, dropped summarily, without warning or a hearing, thirty-eight members of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, including all of the officers. This un-American act was consummated in defiance of the recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools, who had given marks of high efficiency to the thirty-eight, almost all of them being graded either "Excellent" or "Superior."

The American Federation of Teachers contends that the American Federation of Labor cannot safely ignore this frontal attack on the right of public employees to organize and affiliate with labor; that it must vigorously protest against this suspension of the American right to a hearing; and against this attempted curtailment of the teacher's full rights of citizenship.

Two fundamental remedies, tested and approved by the experience of many cities and states, which will prevent the recurrence of this intolerable situation, are, first, to remove the control of the teaching staff from lay boards of education, and place it in the hands of the Superintendents of Schools; and second, to apply the principle of civil service to the employment and dismissal of teachers, thus removing the schools from politics, and securing tenure during efficiency.

We believe that the schools cannot perform their chief function, the preparation for life in a democracy, unless in their administration and very atmosphere they are themselves democratic. Since the vital element in the school is the teacher, democratic school administration can mean only administration in which the teacher has an effective voice.

We believe that the schools cannot achieve their best results until the economic status of the teacher is materially raised.

We believe in vocational education rather than vocational training. The school must definitely help the child to become self-supporting. But democratic vocational education must be so broad and elastic that no arbitrary restrictions are placed on the choice of trade or profession, that no child is necessarily condemned for life to a choice made at twelve or fifteen, and that no child can ever be made an unthinking adjunct of a machine. To guard against these and other dangers, any scheme of vocational education must be made an integral part of the general educational system. "Unit" and not "dual" control must be maintained.

We further believe that in a matter so vitally affecting the very existence of popular government as educational policy, the

people should retain direct control, and therefore we urge labor to actively encourage the growing tendency toward elective boards of education.

We believe that the experience of fourteen states has proved that a system of free text books is an essential of genuinely free and democratic public schools.

It is now recognized that enlightened public policy demands pension laws for public employes, and we urge that labor assist in securing such laws in backward states; and in particular that this convention take definite action toward securing from Congress adequate pension provisions for the teachers of Washington, so that the list of backward cities in this regard may no longer include our national capital.

In conclusion, we of the American Federation of Teachers consider ourselves workers in a vitally important field, and believe that we should stand shoulder to shoulder with the other workers of the country, to whom democracy is not a machinery for private gain, but a hope and means of completer living. And believing that all forward looking workers appreciate their vital state in our public schools, we ask this convention, for the sake of our common democracy, to record its approval, and urge upon its affiliated bodies the support of the following principles:

1. The right of teachers to organize and affiliate with labor must be recognized.

2. If our children, during their most impressionable years are to have the benefit of daily contact with examples of upstanding American manhood and womanhood, and not to be exposed to an atmosphere of servility in the schoolroom, teachers must be given warning and a hearing before being separated from the service.

3. The teacher must be guaranteed the opportunity to make his due influence felt in the community, working through the schools chiefly, but free to work through all the avenues of citizenship.

4. The control of the teaching staff should be removed from the lay Board of Education, and placed in the hands of the professional expert, the Superintendent of Schools.

5. If our democracy is not to be crippled at its source, democratic school administration must be secured by insuring to the teacher an effective voice in that administration.

6. The schools must be removed from politics by the application of the merit principle of civil service to the employment, advancement, and dismissal of teachers, thus securing tenure during efficiency.

7. The work of the teacher, now notoriously ill-paid, determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial recognition more nearly commensurate with its importance to the community.

8. Vocational education should be encouraged, but only under a "unit system."

9. The people should directly control educational policies through the popular election of Boards of Education.

10. A system of free text books is an essential of genuinely free and democratic public schools.

11. Enlightened public policy demands adequate pension provisions for public school teachers.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Your committee, having considered and reported upon the educational subjects referred to it, would feel itself remiss in its duty if it failed to direct the attention of this convention to the formation and affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers. It is with extreme pleasure that we report upon the inauguration and affiliation of a National Union of School Teachers, a movement which will eventually democratize our public schools and everything relating thereto.

A year ago the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor submitted a splendid report to the San Francisco Convention evidencing the necessity of organizing the school teachers for the purpose of defending their rights, advancing their conditions of employment and protecting as well as promoting the interests of our schools and the welfare of our children.

Your committee holds that the teachers of our schools are deserving of our unqualified support and encouragement to bring the teaching staff of our schools into direct affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. We, therefore, recommend that the American Federation of Labor should continue to use its best efforts in the work of organizing the school teachers. We further recommend that every local, national and international union, and all city and State federations of labor be requested to do everything possible to secure the early affiliation of every school teacher with the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Ferguson: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

JOSEPH VALENTINE, Chairman;

C. C. SHAY,

M. M. DONOGHUE,

MARGARET DALEY,

JOSEPH OBERGFELL,

CHARLES A. SUMNER,

D. G. RAMSAY,

JOHN G. SULLIVAN,

WILLIAM DOBSON,

R. S. LAVENDER,

PAUL SCHARRENBERG,

E. W. D. O'DELL,

FREDERICK W. ELY,

IDA L. M. FURSMAN,

JOHN H. FERGUSON, Secretary,

Committee on Education.

Secretary Ferguson moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Report of Committee on Laws.

Delegate McLarin, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

By the Executive Council (p. 66):

Voting in Conventions.

As the subject of the voting power in conventions on roll call votes of organizations affiliating or becoming reinstated during a year has several times arisen, we herewith recommend to this convention that while such organizations should be represented in conventions by their full number of delegates, they should on roll call votes be only entitled to their proportionate vote according to the number of months they have been in affiliation during the year.

Your Committee on Laws reports an amendment to Section 3 of Article IV, of the Constitution, so that the section, as amended, will read:

SECTION 3, ARTICLE IV.

"Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No city or state federation shall be allowed more than one vote."

The committee recommends the adoption of this amendment.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 10—By Federal Labor Union No. 12692:

WHEREAS, At a convention of the A. F. of L. a law was passed requiring all members of local federal unions to accept the *American Federationist*, and an extra head tax of five cents a month was imposed on the locals, our local members are not satisfied with these magazines, and we feel that this extra tax could be used to better advantage in our local work here; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Executive Board of Local No. 12692, request the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention assembled to repeal this law, and relieve the locals of the extra tax.

Your Committee on Laws reports nonconcurrence in this proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates R. L. Brazzie, Seattle Labor Council; Gertrude McNally, Federal Labor Union No. 12776; Wm. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' No. 11773; H. M. McLarin, Federal Employees' Union No. 14632:

WHEREAS, There are now more than 700 local trade and Federal unions which pay a monthly tax of 15 cents per member, and these local trade and Federal unions are without representation on the Executive Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the A. F. of L. be so amended as to provide for an additional vice-president to be elected by and from the directly affiliated local trade and Federal unions as their representative on the Executive Council.

Your Committee on Laws reports nonconcurrence in this proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Frederick W. Ely, Stenographers' Union No. 13188:

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended as follows: Amend Section 1, Article 10, by striking out the words "fifteen cents" and substituting the words "ten cents." Amend Section 14, of Article 13, by striking out the following words: "One-fourth of each initiation fee received by such local trade or federal labor union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax," and substitute therefor the words "the per capita tax shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor."

Your Committee on Laws reports nonconcurrence in this proposition, and recommends the following as a substitute:

Amend Section 14, Article XIII, to read as follows:

"That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated local trade or federal labor unions shall be not less than \$1 or more than \$10, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such local trade or federal labor union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamp."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate C. C. Dane, of Federal Labor Union No. 14761:

WHEREAS, The method now in force in issuing membership books to Federal Labor Unions has been found unsatisfactory and is the cause of much discontent among the members, having to wait for long periods before receiving said books from the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the American Federation of Labor to issue membership books to the secretaries in bulk, in order that same could be issued to new members upon joining the organization; also, that initiation stamps be issued to secretaries of Federal Labor Unions in the same way as the monthly due stamps.

Your committee reports nonconcurrence in this proposition.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegates Curry and Dane opposed the recommendation of the committee.

Chairman Lennon spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Secretary Morrison stated that with the constitution as changed in the present convention the books of the members of the local unions can be sent back within twenty-four hours after being received at headquarters.

The question was discussed further by Delegates Wharton, Machinists; Seidel, Decatur Ill.; Donoghue, Montana; Johnston, Machinists; Frayne, Sheet Metal Workers; Pollock and Goldstone.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by 121 votes in the affirmative to 57 in the negative.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, It is advisable that a more systematic method should be adopted for the direction of our legal activities; and

WHEREAS, Past conventions of the American Federation of Labor have indorsed the creation of a legal department, which would be under the direction of the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby are instructed to establish a legal department not later than January 1, 1917, which shall have at its head a competent attorney and such other assistants as are necessary, and which shall serve the American Federation of Labor as a central bureau for all legal matters affecting the interests of Labor. And that the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to levy an assessment not to exceed two cents per capita upon the membership of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of creating a fund from which the expenses of a legal department will be met.

Committee on Report of Executive Council recommends reference to Executive Council

for immediate attention after consenting to the amendment by Delegate Frey by the insertion of the words "or as soon as possible thereafter" after the date January 1, 1917, in the third paragraph of the resolution.

Substitute offered and adopted by the convention that the Committee on Laws provide for the creation of fund for the maintenance of a legal bureau under the direction of the Executive Council.

Your committee, in accordance with this instruction, reports by recommending the amendment of Section 1, Article X, by striking out the words "three-fourths of" in the sixth line of this section and making an addition so that the section will read as follows:

"The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. One-fourth of the income from the per capita tax paid by national and international unions shall be set aside as a special fund for the maintenance of a bureau of legal information, under the direction of the Executive Council, at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor."

Your committee recommends the adoption of the amendment. (Seconded.)

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, opposed the report of the committee, declaring that any further increase in the per capita tax would be a burden upon many of the larger organizations.

Secretary Morrison: I desire to offer as an amendment that "one" be stricken out and "seven-eighths" inserted. (Seconded.)

The report of the committee states that the money collected should be held in a fund for a legal bureau. One-fourth of a cent would amount to about \$60,000 or over a year. There is no necessity for that amount of money being collected to carry on a legal bureau. An increase of one-twelfth of a cent would be ample; in fact, it would be more than sufficient to establish a legal bureau of information. I agree with Delegate Tobin. I was fearful of having it a cent because it means a great amount for large organizations that have a small per capita tax; but it appears to me that with the conditions existing throughout the country, with the antagonism that is being ar-

rayed against the labor organizations, a bureau could be established and an attorney placed in there who could be of assistance in securing information for the attorneys hired by the national and the international organizations or the American Federation of Labor local unions. I believe the cost for several years would not exceed \$10,000.

If the convention should vote down the one cent and pass the seven-eighths that would be considered the general per capita tax, and so much of the money as is not needed next year for the bureau could be used for the general work of organizing the unorganized workers, particularly women workers and the unskilled laborers. For the past three years we have had an assessment of one cent upon all organizations, so if you increase the per capita one-twelfth of a cent it will amount to over \$20,000. You could spend nearly \$10,000, if needed, or \$8,000 or \$5,000 next year establishing your legal bureau and you would have the additional fund, not only for the general organizing work, but the surplus could be applied in reducing the indebtedness on the American Federation of Labor Office Building. I believe if this convention will increase the per capita tax to seven-eighths of a cent there will be no need in the future to increase it again, and there will be ample funds to establish a legal bureau that can secure all the necessary information that will be of value to the national and international unions, as well as to the legislative committees of the various states in preparing bills to be submitted to the state legislatures and in the Congress of the United States.

Vice-President Hayes in the chair.

Delegate Frey, Molders, supported the amendment offered by Secretary Morrison.

Delegate Sullivan, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Walker, Mine Workers, spoke at length in favor of the establishment of the legal bureau.

President Gompers, in discussing the question, said, in part: There is not a dollar that can come into the treasury of the American Federation of Labor from which will not come a thousandfold benefits from the spirit and the purpose of the organized labor movement and the unorganized workers. I have no objection to the increase of the per capita tax, whether to seven-eighths of a cent or one cent per member per month. As Brother Walker said, I don't believe there is any institution on earth that re-

ceives so much advantage for so little cost as in the American Federation of Labor.

I am opposed at least to one part of the committee's report, and that is the last lines which have been added to the last section of the Constitution. You stipulate that you will have from \$40,000 to \$60,000 in the treasury to be devoted to the purpose of establishing a legal bureau, and, depend upon it, at the end of the year it will be spent. Provide for the authority of the Executive Council to hire such attorney or establish a bureau for legal information and assistance wherever possible, and then you will place it absolutely under the jurisdiction of the Council. Give the Executive Council the means to carry on the work, but do not lay down rules and say so much must be expended.

Delegate Furuseth: I move to strike out the latter part which provides that one-fourth of the income shall be set aside for the legal bureau.

Several delegates requested President Gompers to suggest an amendment. President Gompers submitted the following as an amendment to the amendment:

Strike out all after the word "quarterly" in the committee's report and substitute the following new section:

"The Executive Council shall establish a legal bureau of information under the direction and supervision of the Executive Council. The expenses of said bureau shall be paid from the general funds of the American Federation of Labor and be under the direction of the Executive Council."

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Frey.

The amendment was discussed by Delegates Tobin, Teamsters; Furuseth, Seamen; Wool, Photo-Engravers; Schlesinger and Secretary Morrison.

The amendment to the amendment offered by President Gompers was carried.

Secretary Morrison: My amendment is to strike out one cent and insert seven-eighths of a cent.

The amendment offered by Secretary Morrison was lost on a viva voce vote.

A roll call was demanded by several delegates on the motion to adopt the report of the committee. The demand was supported by a sufficient number of delegates and the Secretary proceeded with the roll call.

Following is the roll call on the report of the committee to increase the per capita tax to one cent per month per member to provide for the establishment of a legal bureau:

Ayes—Mullaney, McGrath (J. F.), Franklin, Hinsman, McGuire, MacGowan, Sovey,

Bruff, Conroy, Proebstle, McClory, Tobin (Sam), Morin, Boyer, Gompers, Mueller, Barnes, Flaherty, Bright, Myers, Baker, Conway, Koch, Meyer, Feeney, Healy, Morton, Brennan, Miller (A. W.), Hayes (D. A.), Steelman, Lawson, Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), McCue, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Dwyer, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Raleigh, Koveleski, Farrell, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Brock, Bryan, Machinists' Delegation (404 votes), Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Frayne, United Mine Workers' Delegation (2,272 votes), Moyer, Reardon, Cannon, Lindemann, Valentine, Frey, McCormick, Torpey, Prudhomme, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Carbon, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Hannah, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Berry, Hardy, Scheid, Nau, Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath (J. T.), Furuseth, Flynn, Scharrenberg, Griffin, Fleming, Shay, Canavan, Dolliver, Suarez, Freil, Sumner, Funder, Burk, Golden, Conboy, Walker (Jesse), Hall, Evans, Curtis, Morrison, Hatch, McCluskey, Stremiau, Brown (F. B.), Sprague, Donoghue, Cozzolino, Osborne, Hilton, Fox, Lucey, Shearer, Ferguson, Homan, Hayward, Kennedy, Seidel, McDonald, Hill, Ossmann, Gagnon, O'Shea, Davis, Draper, Bauldauf, Cathrall, Bradley, Heller, Leonard, Brazzle, Lemke, Leonard, Higgins, Walters, Kritzer, Peabody, McLarin, Ernst, Rincker, Pollock, representing 8,722 votes.

Nays—Myrup, Schneider (R. C.), Go stone, Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Felder, Foley, Kramer, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Lovely, Martindale, McCarthy, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Butterworth, Bowen, Dobson, Preece, Shaughnessy, Jones, Ryan, Adams (W. J.), Thompson, Nolte, Hutcheson, Duffy, Woodbury, Hemsell, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross, Perkins, Campbell, Kuhlmann, McNulty (F. J.), Noonan, Kloter, Fisher (Frank), Snellings, Hannahan, Edgerton, Comerford, Woll, Schwarz, Shamp, Rickert, Larger, Altman, Doyle, Daley, Schlesinger, Shapiro, Deltch, Heller, Gorenstein, Rosenberg, Clarke, Roberts, Kennedy (J. F.), Christman, Duncan, Russell, Alexan-

der (Henry), Zaritsky, Bloor, Marshall, Keefe, McSorley, Taggart, Bock, O'Connor (J. M.), O'Connor (T. V.), Vaccarelli, Harrison, Joy, Machinists' delegation (404 votes), Irwin, Nichols, Hogan, Call, Lane, United Mine Workers' delegation (908 votes), Hedrick, Skemp, Lynch, Guerin, McKeon, Arnold, Bergstrom, McGlvern, Donlin, Cook, O'Keefe, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, Menge, Chadwick, Sultor, Hurley, Welsh, Griggs, Short, Burt, Sheehan, Sweeney, Lennon, Biggs, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, Wilson (J. E.), Perham, Alexander (H. G.), Ramsay, Bode, Freeman (J. W.), Williams (T. J.), Scott (Marsden G.), Hayes (M. S.), Dennett, Stevenson (Hugh), Fitzpatrick, Mountford, Mitch, Hunt, Fatterson, Post, Hohler, Bennett, Jennings, McAndrews (Andrew), Smith (J. T.), Gregson, Ogletree, Niven, Grimblot, Voll, McAndrews (J. J.), Hollis, representing 11,866 votes.

Not Voting—Reeves, Kline, MacPherson, Freeman (Carl), Scoby, Gould, Machinists' delegation (201 votes); Laverander, Deviny, Gavlak, Adams (A. E.), Fursman, Agethen, Haggerty, Cone, Fitchie, Crellyn, Taylor (C. O.), James, Holland, Jarrett, Ralsae, Iglesias, Rich, Dowler, Brown (E. G.), Kiser, Pauley, Cohen (Jake), Harlin, Hahn, Alexander (Lee), Young (J. G.), Ballard, O'Dell, Willis, Alden, Brandle, Boos, Breslin, Sims, Murray (John), Connell, Hilfers, Brindell, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Harrison (Ben), Rander, Cooney, Graham, Wilkinson, O'Connell (J. A.), Lewis, Woodmansee, Newland, Kennedy (J. H.), Lorch, Windell, O'Donnell, Wilcox, McNally, Curry, Dane, Zaranko, Baines, Scott (Melinda), Bohm, Murray (M. A.), Wieber, Coen (James), Coleman, Taylor (Richard), McNulty (Ignatius), Liebowitz, Morris, Hudson, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Ely, Browder, Chase, Melnert, Rodgers, Gosling, Whitefield, Stevenson (T. W.), representing 558 votes.

At 6 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 25.

TWELFTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

Baltimore, Md., November 25, 1916.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 25, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Reeves, Tobin (J. F.), McCarthy, MacPherson, Myers (C. E.), Freeman, Kuhlmann, Meyer, Schwarz, Brennan, Gould, Brock, Guerin, Nau, McGrath (J. T.), Adams (A. E.), Agethen, Coen, Sprague, Jarrett, Dowler, Kiser, Pauley Cohen (Jake), Alexander (Lee), Boos, Sims, Brindell, O'Shea, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Rander, Cooney, Graham, Lewis, Brazzle, Newland, Kennedy, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, Peabody, Dane, Zaranko, Raines, Wieber, Coen, Liebowitz, Morris, De Sautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Browder, Chase, Mehnert, Rodgers.

Delegate Furuseth: Yesterday the Committee on Education reported on No. 38 as follows: "Your committee has been informed the machinery now exists in the Department of Labor for the establishment of this bureau and therefore recommends nonconcurrence in both resolutions." The machinery for establishing such a bureau does not exist in the Department and no such bureau can be established except by law enacted by Congress and signed by the President. Resolution No. 38 is an indorsement of H. R. 16353, introduced by Mr. Casey, of Pennsylvania, after a consultation with the Secretary of Labor. The bill was sent from the Committee on Labor to the Department of Labor. In the course of routine business it was sent to the Bureau of Statistics, and, being looked upon as a question of statistics they reported against it. Secretary Wilson had to leave and did not have an opportunity at the time to devote to it, owing to the report, and sent it to the Committee on Labor as it came from the Bureau of Statistics. When the report came to the Committee on Labor it was a surprise to everybody and the resolution and report were turned over to Mr. Casey for the purpose of studying it before any action would be taken on the bill. He took it to Secretary of Labor Wilson after a few days, and Mr. Wilson withdrew the report which had been sent from the committee.

I move that we reconsider the motion by which the report of the committee was adopted and refer the whole matter to the

Executive Council for further action. (Seconded.)

The question was discussed by Delegate Shay, Delegate Daley, Delegate Anderson and Delegate Ramsay.

The motion to reconsider was lost.

Report of Committee on Laws.

Delegate McLarin, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 103.—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is composed of affiliated international, national and local unions, all advancing the idea of democracy in industry and government; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention is subversive of the true spirit of democracy, and not in accord with the underlying principles of our movement; be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be so changed as to provide for the nomination and election of all officers by a referendum vote of the affiliated membership.

The convention of the Federation held in 1911 directed the Executive Council to make an investigation regarding the feasibility of electing officers of the Federation by the initiative and referendum, and to report at the next convention. The report of this investigation was submitted to the Rochester Convention held in 1912, and appears in the printed report of the proceedings of the Rochester Convention, beginning on page 162 and ending on page 179.

The tabulated statement founded upon the replies received from the organizations affiliated with the Federation showed the following results:

Number of national and international unions which elected their officers by the initiative and referendum system	34
Number of national and international unions which elected their officers by the convention system	75
Number of national and international unions favoring the election of the officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum system	23
Number of national and international unions against the election of officers of the A. F. of L. by the initiative and referendum system	32

Unions making no replies to the questions submitted to them consisted of 331,787 members.

Since the submission of this report of investigation to the Rochester Convention there has been no material change in the number of unions that have fully developed initiative and referendum systems existing in their organizations.

Your committee, therefore, recommends nonconcurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, of the Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council: :

Amend Article IV by adding a new section to be known as section 2-B.

Each delegate must be a member in good standing of the union he or she represents, and working at the trade at least three (3) months preceding the convention, but this should not be construed to bar the election of any member of an affiliated union who may be in the employ of his or her union as a salaried official thereof, and devoting the major part of his or her time to the same, nor to any member thereof, who may have become victimized for his or her activity in a strike, a lockout, or organization work.

Your Committee on Laws reports nonconcurrence in this proposition.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate John A. O'Connell, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Financial officers of unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are required to submit monthly reports which entail a great deal of unnecessary labor and loss of time to compile, by reason of the manner and form of said reports; and

WHEREAS, The same information can be compiled more compactly and equally accurate by the elimination of unnecessary repetition of names and other simplifications as shown in the accompanying exhibits of a monthly report of Elevator Conductors and Starters' Union No. 13105, of San Francisco, showing both the present method and the proposed new form of report, and demonstrating the great simplicity and advantage of said proposed form; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to remedy the aforesaid grievance of directly affiliated unions and substitute a simplified method of rendering their monthly reports.

Your Committee on Laws reports that this resolution is covered by the foregoing action taken on Resolution No. 41.

The report of the committee was adopted.

JOHN B. LENNON, Chairman;

JOHN MOORE,

HUGH FRAYNE,

J. A. ROSS,

LOUIS A. SCHWARZ,

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,

COLLIS LOVELY,

E. E. BAKER,

JAMES P. NOONAN,

TIMOTHY HEALY,

JESSE STEELMAN,

JULIUS STREMLAU,

JOHN A. O'CONNELL,

G. JONES,

H. M. McLARIN, Secretary,

Committee on Laws.

Treasurer Lennon: I move that we adopt the constitution of the American Federation of Labor as amended by the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee had referred to it Resolutions Nos. 27, 85 and 54, all referring to the question of the eight-hour day by legislation. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773:

WHEREAS, During the past year the struggle for the eight-hour day has become of national importance and has received the indorsement, not only of the President and Congress of the United States, but of the voters at the polls; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirms its historical position in favor of securing the eight-hour day for all workers and instructs its officials to prosecute with vigorous and undiminished zeal the campaign for the securing of the eight-hour day throughout all industry, both by industrial and legislative action.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Robert P. Brindell, Central Federated Union of New York:

WHEREAS, The shortening of the hours of labor is one of the most important matters to come before this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The policy of successfully accomplishing this object, while we agree on

its necessity, is one for calm consideration and sincere deliberation; be it

RESOLVED, By the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity to urge this convention to go on record in favor of a national eight-hour day, to be secured through and by the National Government.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill of the Little Rock, Ark. Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, We have been trying to shorten the hours of labor as economic development and progress warranted it, and that eight hours is the work day decided in order that our members may have more opportunities for intellectual development and social enjoyment; and

WHEREAS, The last United States Congress passed an eight-hour law for the benefit of the railroad brotherhoods, the same being endorsed by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary action to secure a universal eight-hour day as a standard workday for all mechanical, industrial and mercantile establishments throughout the entire United States by legislative enactment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, together with its legal advisory board, draft such a measure, and present it to Congress at the next general assembly, and when submitted to Congress the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor shall send forth instructions to all general presidents of all national and international organizations, also all central bodies and Federal labor unions, to the end that they urge every local organization at the proper time to urge and demand of their Congressmen from their several districts in every state of the union, and their United States Senators from the different states to support such a measure.

Your committee upon this question of the eight-hour day by legislation desires to report as follows:

We strongly urge all workers, organized and unorganized, to concentrate their efforts to secure the eight-hour workday at the earliest possible time.

We pledge the unswerving determination of the American labor movement to the eight-hour principle and in order to carry out this purpose your committee recommends that the foregoing resolutions be referred to a special committee to be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor with powers to confer with representatives of the organized employees of the transportation companies, the committee to report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the time and in the manner it deems advisable, but at least four weeks before the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

This action is deemed advisable in view of the fact that a law was recently passed by Congress regulating the hours of certain employes in transportation service. A con-

test is now on involving these employes, the government of our country and the railroad corporations, and the facts brought out in this contest and the final determination will vitally affect the eight-hour principle for all workers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: At the Philadelphia convention a resolution was adopted with reference to the men commonly known as the shop employes, with the object in view of having those employes come under the measure known as the Newlands amendment to the Erdman Act. One reason for that action is that these employes have not been considered as transportation employes. As far as I am aware, there has not been any action taken by the officers of the American Federation of Labor with the object in view of having that recommendation given the shop employes, members of organizations affiliated with this American Federation of Labor, to come under that clause.

In order to make the point I have in mind clear I desire to say that if such action had been taken the Adamson Bill, recently enacted by Congress affecting the purely transportation employes, defined as being those employes actually engaged in the transportation of the trains, passenger and freight, would have been included under the Adamson Law and the eight-hour day would have been established without any reduction in present compensation for all the employes represented now in the American Federation of Labor. I would like to ask the President of the American Federation of Labor, or the chairman of the Resolutions Committee, if the words "transportation employes" as read in their proposed measure includes the members of the organization affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, because under the interpretation of the Government we would not be included under the language you have used.

Vice-President Duhcan, chairman of the committee: The understanding of the committee under the resolution is that those organizations represented here in the American Federation of Labor will have their representation through the committee of five the President will appoint if this is passed. If this recommendation is adopted those organizations will have representation through that committee.

Delegate Wharton: The language of the resolution does not make that provision.

Vice-President Duncan: The report of the committee cannot be misunderstood. It

recommends that, because of the conditions mentioned in the report, the committee to be appointed by the President, representing the American Federation of Labor, will meet with representatives of the railroad brotherhoods, see what can be done and report in a general way on the subject to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Wharton: If I understand the resolution correctly it says "transportation employes." We are not considered as transportation employes.

Vice-President Duncan: You will be represented through the committee the President will appoint.

Delegate Shapiro, International Ladies' Garment Workers, in discussing the question, urged that the eight-hour law be secured universally, if possible, either through law or through industrial organization.

Delegate VanLear, Machinists, stated that he would support a resolution for an eight-hour day by legislation or any other way it can be secured.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by a vote of 126 in the affirmative to 52 in the negative.

Resolution No. 165—By Delegate Roy L. Brazzle, Central Labor Council, Seattle, Wash.:

WHEREAS, A terrible tragedy occurred at Everett, Wash., on November 5, 1918; and

WHEREAS, Seven men were killed and more than one hundred injured; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle believes this to be the culmination of high-handed and illegal methods to break strikes and suppress freedom of speech; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental principles involved make it of a national rather than local importance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor use all its power to secure federal and congressional investigation to ascertain the real culprits and bring them to account.

Your committee submits the following recommendations in lieu of the resolution:

If it should appear that the present city and state investigations being made are insufficient, the Executive Council is hereby instructed to request that a federal investigation shall be made, instituted through the Department of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Frey: The committee desires to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 166—By the Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, Ever since his selection by the people of that state as their chief executive Governor Hunt, of Arizona, has shown a loyalty to the people of Arizona worthy of emulation by public officials everywhere, and especially so as it pertains to the courageous manner in which he preserved peace in Greenlee County during the miners' strike of a year ago, when he refused to permit the importation of gunmen and mercenaries to inaugurate a reign of terror; and

WHEREAS, In the recent campaign for the election of Governor the powerful corporations of the Southwest, state and interstate, expended hundreds of thousands of dollars to defeat Governor Hunt, and to elect in his place one who would be more amenable to their purposes; and

WHEREAS, There is much evidence of corrupt practices and the debauching of the electorate; and

WHEREAS, The permanency of our republic, the continuance of our free institutions and the welfare of the people are seriously jeopardized by this vicious use of money in elections; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate the position taken by preceding conventions of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to the use of money to corrupt voters at our public elections, and that the American Federation of Labor fully indorses the efforts being made by the trade unionists of Arizona to insist that there shall be a fair count in the elections for Governor in that state.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers: In its supplemental report the Adjustment Committee (page 348, eleventh day's proceedings) recommends that we hold a conference with the Carpenters. We are perfectly agreeable to that part of it, but where it states: "Failure on the part of the conference to agree on the question of jurisdiction, the Executive Council is authorized to decide which organization or organizations is to hold jurisdiction over pile driving." I object to that. I do not want it understood I was in favor of that when I stated we would be agreeable to meet the Carpenters. The pile driving question has been settled by conventions in the past, and we are opposed to placing it in the hands of the Executive Council, especially in view of the fact that there is a member of the Carpenters' organization on the Executive Council.

Delegate Williams (T. J.): Mr. Chairman, certain statements appeared in probably all of the newspapers of this country on the 8th of November. Those statements

were supposed to come from me. I was entirely unaware that such a statement would appear in the newspapers. My first knowledge of it was when one of the assistants of President Gompers called me up at my home and made the explanation to me, owing to the fact that she had received a telegram. As soon as I was able I got in touch with the Associated Press representative and made as emphatic a denial of the statement as was possible. Surely there are men in this convention that must be aware of the fact that newspapers do not care what they say of you when they please to say it and there must be men here who have had to suffer from that same thing. The statement that is supposed to have emanated from me is an absolute lie. The statement does not express my sentiments and I do not think that any one here would do one an injustice to the extent of saying it is possible for a man to make a statement that he himself in all his career never even thought of. There are men possibly who want to believe that I said these things and therefore I will not attempt to convince them, but I believe there is a sufficient number of fair-minded men who will believe what I say in regard to it. I did speak to a reporter on the first of November. It was not premeditated on my part. I could not go to Pittsburgh, which was my home, without it being known, and I never attempted to disguise my presence there. I was approached by a newspaper man, and what little I said to him was in regard to building trades matters. In order to clear up any doubt in the minds of any delegate here I desire to say that this statement in practically its entirety is a lie, and I want that thoroughly understood by this convention.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the Committee on Report of the Executive Council: A number of delegates have asked in regard to Resolution No. 108, introduced by Delegate Perkins, in regard to industrial insurance. It is the desire of the committee and also of the introducer of the resolution that we offer the following interpretation to be attached to the committee's report so there will be no misunderstanding about it:

Nothing in the foregoing resolution is intended to apply to or interfere with laws compelling employers to insure compensation to injured workmen.

Delegate Golden Textile Workers obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 167—By Delegates Golden, Walker, Conboy and Hall, of the United Textile Workers:

WHEREAS, Over seven hundred Textile Workers, men, women and children, employed at the Gluck and Equinox Mills at Anderson, South Carolina, went on strike last August on the refusal of the company to grant a 10 per cent. increase in wages; and

WHEREAS, The mill officials publicly stated that while they could well afford to give the increase in wages, nevertheless not a cent of increase would they grant while these people belonged to a union; and

WHEREAS, The representative of the Federal Labor Department and the representative of the South Carolina State Board of Conciliation both submitted propositions to arbitrate the dispute, the strikers agreeing to the proposition, but when submitted to the company it was flatly turned down; and

WHEREAS, On the refusal of the sheriff of Anderson County to evict the strikers from the company's houses until such time as other shelter could be provided for the women and children of the strikers, Governor Richard I. Manning dispatched five companies of Coast Artillery Militia, at the request of the mill corporation, to perform the work of eviction, and as he claimed to maintain law and order, notwithstanding the fact that not a single unlawful act had occurred since the inauguration of the strike up to the present time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, extend our sympathy and moral support to the striking textile workers of Anderson, South Carolina, who are making such a noble fight to better their conditions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn the action of Governor Richard I. Manning of South Carolina in sending the five companies of militia to a strike situation where it is conceded that no disorder had occurred and none was anticipated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we are of the opinion that the real motive, in ordering the militia into this strike situation, was for the purpose of assisting the mill corporation to break the strike.

Delegate Golden moved the adoption of the resolution. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Lawlor, United Hatters: I rise on a question of privilege. I desire to speak on an action affecting legislation passed by this convention in the last two or three days. On last Wednesday, after an extended debate, the convention decided by an almost unanimous vote that jurisdiction over the making of felt, straw and Panama hats belongs to the United Hatters of North America. I have a copy of the New York Call, under yesterday's date, in which there is a large display advertisement calling for a massmeeting in Cooper Union, New York

city, for the purpose of organizing straw, felt, Panama and velvet hatters under the jurisdiction of the cap makers' organization. I ask this convention to instruct the Executive Council to notify the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers to cancel this meeting, which is entirely in violation of the jurisdiction decided the other day, and, in my opinion, an insult to this convention.

I ask further, that in the event of this meeting of the cap makers not complying with the request of the Council to cease organizing straw, felt and Panama hatters that are under our jurisdiction, the cap makers be suspended from membership in this organization.

Delegate Bloor, Cloth Hat and Cap Makers: This meeting was arranged before the committee was in session and the matter was spoken of. It is up to our membership now to notify them of this action. There are 150 shops with contracts with manufacturers and some concerted action will have to be taken by the membership.

President Gompers: It is safe to assume the organization will give a ready and voluntary obedience to the action and decisions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Report of Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Mueller, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America:

After ten years of persistent efforts on the part of organized labor, practically every leading musical band instrument factory in this country was organized, and adopted the use of the union label of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers of North America. An agitation was then started, creating a demand for the union-made instrument; these firms profiting thereby, but were not willing to grant anything in return. After these factories were thoroughly organized and the demand created for the union-made product, the union men made a demand for a shorter work-day and increase in wages. These musical factories immediately formed a manufacturers' association, viz. the National Association of Band Instrument Manufacturers, and immediately notified organized labor that all demands for union conditions were refused; abrogated union agreements and discontinued the use of the union label on their instruments. They further declared for the non-union shop, and demanded the right to hire whom they pleased pay whatever wages they felt like paying, and work their factories any number of hours above the hours demanded by the union without extra compensation.

A general strike was called Monday, February 14, 1915, and all the union employes, both men and women, went on strike, and have been on strike ever since.

This strike has received the indorsement of our international union, nearly all central bodies, and the American Federation of Musicians in convention assembled; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse the action of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers of North America in their efforts to better the condition of the union men employed in the musical instrument industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn the action of the following factories as being both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor:

C. G. Conn, Ltd., Elkhart, Ind.; Bueschel Band Instrument Company, Elkhart, Ind.; The Martine Band Instrument Company, Elkhart, Ind.; The Elkhart Musical Instrument Company, Elkhart, Ind.; Emil K. Blessing Company, Elkhart, Ind.; Frank Holton Company, Chicago, Ills.; Taylor & Horn Company, Chicago, Ills.; Harry D. Jay, Chicago, Ills.; J. W. Work & Sons, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Grand Rapids Musical Instrument Company, Grand Rapids, Mich.; H. W. White Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates K. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and George Leary, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Atha Tool Company, of Newark, N. J., owned and controlled by the notorious Stanley Rule and Level Company, of New Britain, Conn., have declared for the non-union shop by compelling all union men to leave their employ; and

WHEREAS, The Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers Union of North America have been engaged in a bitter struggle with this concern in an effort to maintain the union standard of wages and human working conditions in the factory; and

WHEREAS, The position taken by the above named organization has been investigated by representatives of the Essex Trades Council, of Newark, N. J., and the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, and indorsed by them; and

WHEREAS, This concern manufactures tools used by blacksmiths, engineers, machinists, carpenters, bricklayers, structural iron workers, and several others of the organized trades affiliated with this Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That these organizations above mentioned be requested to take notice of the unfair attitude of the Atha Tool Company; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Labor, at its thirty-sixth annual convention, go on record indorsing the position taken by the above named organization in its fight against this concern.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 32.—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl, George Leary, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The International Silver Company (The Silver Trust), owning and controlling about 75 per cent. of the silver industry of this country, employ skilled labor, both male and female, working the so-called precious metals and operating their factories 60 hours per week, and paying a scale of wages averaging at least \$1 per day less than that paid to mechanics on similar work on the baser metals, have declared an unrelinquishing war on organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor, after having demanded shorter hours and fair wages, were forced to strike, and have been on strike for over one year against this silver trust; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorse the efforts of organized labor to better the conditions of the silver workers, and condemn as unfair the antagonistic attitude of the International Silver Company.

Your committee, after careful consideration, recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 52.—By Delegates W. W. Britton, H. C. Diehl and George Leary, of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Woodstock Typewriter Company, of Woodstock, Ill., the only remaining factory manufacturing typewriters operating ten hours per day, while all other factories manufacturing a similar line of products are operating on the shorter work-day basis, and paying from 15 to 25 per cent. higher wages. This firm absolutely refuses to concede the shorter work-day to their employees, who went on strike August 28, 1916; be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the action of the Woodstock Typewriter Company as being both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor.

Your committee, after careful consideration, recommends concurrence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Diehl.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Your committee, at the request of the White Rats Actors' representatives, amends Resolution No. 107 by striking out the original resolve, which reads:

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor extend every possible assistance to the White Rats Actors' Union of America in resisting any threatened attempted lockout of its members, and in enforcing the demands of the White Rats Actors' Union of America for an equitable, enforceable contract between managers and actors, the legal rate of commission, a board of arbitration and the union shop.

Also at the request of the White Rats Actors' Union the committee inserted the ninth and tenth clauses of the preamble, and the "Resolved" as it appears in the amended resolution, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 107.—By Delegates James William Fitzpatrick and Harry Mountford, of the White Rats Actors' Union of America:

WHEREAS, The White Rats, Actors' Union of America, the only actors' organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has for the past sixteen years been trying to improve, uplift and better the conditions of employment for the actors and actresses of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, There is an association known as the "Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association," which is said to consist of all the managers of vaudeville theaters, burlesque theaters, circuses and all other forms of entertainment; and

WHEREAS, Repeated attempts have been made by the White Rats Actors' Union, through its International executive and Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Harry Mountford, to obtain a conference with the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association; and

WHEREAS, Acting under the instructions of the International Board, the International President, Mr. James William Fitzpatrick, addressed many letters to them, to which no answer was received, and finally was compelled to make a public request for a conference with them, which was published in the professional press on Friday, September 22, 1916; and

WHEREAS, The Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association answered this public appeal by a public refusal published in the professional press on Friday, September 29, 1916, in which they absolutely refused to meet a committee of the White Rats Actors' Union on the following grounds, which reasons are quoted in their own language: "Since the reorganization of the White Rats Actors' Union we have declined to deal with it because it is a trades union, and it advocates the principle of the 'closed shop' * * * We absolutely refuse any conference with any committee of White Rats as long as the White Rats bears the union stamp. * * * We are forever pledged against the White Rats and against any conference with it and any of its committees, so long as the White Rats continues to be a labor union, with its policy of closed shop. * * * We are opposed to the White Rats as at present constituted,

with its malignant and cancerous growths, which have attached to it, such as the closed shop, agitation, strikes. * * * and

WHEREAS, In the same published reply they describe their patrons as the "always ignorant public;" and

WHEREAS, Their patrons are largely made up of members of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, They have repeatedly, privately and publicly threatened that they will lock out all members of the White Rats Actors' Union, and deprive them of any employment in the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, Another statement is made and circulated by the said Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association, and has received credence even in the ranks of organized labor, that the White Rats Actors' International Union was not a bona fide organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The spreading of the above statements by the said combination of employers is a great detriment to the successful upbuilding and activities of the White Rats Actors' International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor assist the White Rats Actors' International Union in all possible manner to inform the trades unionists in particular, and the public generally, that the White Rats Actors' International Union is a bona fide organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and as such is entitled to the support of organized labor in all its efforts to better the condition of its members.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 117 and Resolution No. 157, dealing with the same subject matter, are covered by one report of the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Members of Local 15, United Garment Workers of America, have been forced upon the streets of Baltimore through the efforts of a strike-breaking agency parading in the guise of a labor union; and

WHEREAS, This strike-breaking agency is being ably assisted in its work of attempting to destroy an organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor by certain employers, to wit, Henry Sonneborn & Co. and Strouse & Bros.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Labor instruct its secretary to notify as quickly as possible all state federations, city central bodies, local and federal unions that "Style-plus" clothing, manufactured by Henry Sonneborn & Co., and "High Art" clothing, manufactured by Strouse & Bros., are produced by strike-breakers, thugs and

jailed, brought to Baltimore from the slums of New York and Chicago for the sole purpose of destroying an organization of unquestioned standing in the American labor movement.

Resolution No. 157—By the delegates of the United Garment Workers:

WHEREAS, The firm of Strouse & Bros., manufacturers of High Art Clothing, and Henry Sonneborn & Co., manufacturers of Style-Plus Clothing, of Baltimore, Md., are endeavoring to destroy the Clothing Cutters' Union of Baltimore, composed of members of the United Garment Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Said firms are recognizing the seceders of the Garment Workers who themselves amalgamated with the Clothing Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, Said firms continually in the past year have conspired and schemed with the seceders to destroy the bona fide membership of the United Garment Workers in their employ and forced them to rejoin the secession movement, and in order that said members may retain their membership in the United Garment Workers they were forced to strike on June 27, 1916, and are still on strike; and

WHEREAS, The seceders, with the aid of the firms of Sonneborn & Co. and Strouse & Bros., have imported strike-breakers and gunmen to intimidate and coerce the clothing cutters to return to their work and join the seceding organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Baltimore, hereby indorses the strike of the Clothing Cutters' Union against the above mentioned firms, and that this department give all publicity possible to the fact as herein stated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced by the Union Label Trades Department to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for its indorsement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending these conventions on their return to their respective homes are requested to call the attention of the membership of their respective locals, central bodies and the merchants in their localities that the High Art Clothing made by Strouse & Bros., and Style-Plus 17 clothing made by Sonneborn & Co., of Baltimore, Md., is unfair to organized labor.

Inasmuch as these two resolutions relate to the same subject, your committee has amended Resolution No. 117 by adding the Resolve of Resolution No. 157 thereto, the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate John H. Ferguson, of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Members of Local 15, United Garment Workers of America, have been forced upon the streets of Baltimore through the efforts of a strike-breaking

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agency parading in the guise of a labor union; and

WHEREAS, This strike-breaking agency is being ably assisted in its work of attempting to destroy an organization affiliated to the American Federation of Labor by certain employers, to wit, Henry Sonneborn & Co. and Strouse & Bros.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Federation of Labor instruct its secretary to notify as quickly as possible all state federations, city central bodies, local and federal unions that "Style-plus" clothing, manufactured by Henry Sonneborn & Co., is produced by strike-breakers, brought to Baltimore from the slums of New York and Chicago for the sole purpose of destroying an organization of unquestioned standing in the American labor movement; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending this convention on their return to their respective homes are requested to call the attention of the membership of their respective locals, central bodies and the merchants in their localities that the Style Plus 17 clothing made by Sonneborn & Co., of Baltimore, Md., is unfair to organized labor.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Secretary Mueller: The committee is pleased to inform the convention that the Garment Workers have succeeded in coming to an amicable adjustment with Strouse & Bros., of this city, and hence it was a pleasure to strike out their names from this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegates Shapiro, Schlesinger and Gorenstein, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Ferguson, Baltimore; Heller, International Ladies' Garment Workers; Freeman, Larger, Doyle and Altman, United Garment Workers, and Ramsay, Telegraphers, and Treasurer Lennon, President Gompers and Vice-President Hayes.

Delegate Heller moved that the entire matter be referred to the Executive Council for investigation. The motion was defeated.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 159 by inserting the word "actions" in the third line of the "Resolve," and also inserting the words "both antagonistic and," and striking out the following words: "To refuse to purchase the products of said firm," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie, Illinois State Federation of Labor: WHEREAS, On June 8, 1916, a meeting was held in Paris, Ill., for the purpose of organizing the broom makers employed by

the Merkle-Wiley Broom Company. The firm, on learning of the said action, discharged a number of its employees for having become members of the International Broom and Whisk Makers' Union; and

WHEREAS, The action of the firm was reported to President John H. Walker of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, who called on the firm for the purpose of settling the grievance of the broom makers, the management making the statement that they did not want their employees disturbed by the establishment of an organization and refused to recognize organized labor; and

WHEREAS, The Merkle-Wiley Broom Company, by its action in discharging employees for becoming members of a trade union, indicate that they do not desire the patronage of union men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declares the actions of the Merkle-Wiley Broom Company, of Paris, Ill., to be both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor, and urges all union men and women and friends of organized labor to purchase only brooms bearing the union label of the Broom and Whisk Makers' Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Federation notify all State and city central bodies of the above action.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution as amended by the committee and agreed to by the delegate who presented it.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Mueller: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by the entire committee.

D. A. HAYES, Chairman;
JAMES J. FREEL,
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,
WM. H. JOHNSTON,
W. W. BRITTON,
GAD. MARTINDALE,
JOS. PROEBSTLE,
JACOB KOCH,
W. L. FUNDER BURK,
H. W. DENNETT,
H. J. HARDY,
W. H. BRIGHT,
WM. DOREY,
PHIL H. MUELLER, Secretary.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate Barnes, Cigar Makers, made a brief statement in regard to the firm manufacturing the "Cinco" cigar, and asked the delegates to bear in mind that the cigar in question was made by a firm that pays the smallest wages for the work done of any concern in the United States in the cigar business

Delegate O'Connor, Longshoremen, obtained the consent of the convention to the introduction of the following:

Resolution No. 168—By T. V. O'Connor, Paul A. Vaccarelli, Thomas Harrison and John T. Joy, Longshoremen's International Association:

RESOLVED, That because it has become evident to the delegates to this convention, as well as many others, that the fact of holding a convention in a specified city has sometimes been taken advantage of by hotel proprietors and others, resulting in advanced rates; therefore, we offer the following:

That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby empowered to change the location of the holding of the subsequent convention if in their judgment such a course is deemed expedient and advisable.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution.

The motion was lost by a vote of 107 in the negative to 49 in the affirmative.

Report of the Committee on Shorter Workday.

Delegate Williams (John), secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Shorter Workday has attended to the duties assigned them, and beg leave to report as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 11 by striking from the last paragraph the words "by establishing a rate of time and a half for all work in excess of eight hours," and substituting the following words: "And the Executive Council is requested to urge an amendment to the present law providing a penalty for violation thereof, so that it will be rigidly enforced," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, The Sixty-second Congress enacted an eight-hour law for postoffice clerks and city letter carriers, which provided that the day's work should be confined to eight within ten hours; except only in emergencies, when overtime was to be paid at the regular rate of wages; and

WHEREAS, The practice has developed in many of the large offices of keeping the employes at their tasks for ten and eleven hours daily, menacing their health and impairing the efficiency of the postal service; and

WHEREAS, The absence of any penalty for overtime work is a constant invitation to the supervisory officials to hold the skilled workers rather than employ a sufficient number of auxiliary workers or seek

the appointment of additional clerks and carriers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges its support to the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in its efforts to force a rigid observance of the postal eight-hour law, and the Executive Council is requested to urge an amendment to the present law providing a penalty for violation thereof, so that it will be rigidly enforced.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported that Resolution No. 54, originally referred to the Committee on Shorter Workday, had been acted upon by the Committee on Resolutions.

The committee amended Resolution No. 19 by striking from the last paragraph the word "officers" and inserting "Executive Council" and striking out the words "co-operate with the Women's Trade Union League," the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Elizabeth Christman, of the International Glove Workers' Union; Melinda Scott, of the Panama and Felt Hat Workers' No. 14360, and Mary Anderson, of the National Women's Trade Union League:

WHEREAS, The Women's Trade Union League is planning a campaign for eight-hour legislation for women in the different States and in Congress; and

WHEREAS, International State Conferences have been held in the New England and Middle West States to plan for this campaign, and another will be held in the Eastern States early in December; and

WHEREAS, Forty of the Legislatures will be sitting in 1917 and Congress will convene very shortly, and as this seems to be the opportune time to conduct a campaign for eight-hour legislation for women, and to successfully conduct the legislative campaign we need the co-operation and assistance of all trade union organizations, particularly the State Federations of Labor in securing state legislation and the American Federation of Labor in the federal work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in this convention pledge every assistance possible to the Women's Trade Union League in working for the legislation and ask the co-operation of their organizations in this campaign; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its Executive Council render every assistance possible in this campaign to secure eight-hour legislation for women workers.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 91 by inserting in the first paragraph the words "not more than." The amended resolution reads as follows:

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate R. E. Peabody of the Federal Employees' Union No. 14374:

WHEREAS, It has become a fixed principle in American civilization that not more than six days shall constitute a week's work and that eight hours shall be the standard of a day's labor; and

WHEREAS, Along the boundary lines between the United States and Canada and the United States and Mexico, the United States custom and immigration inspectors are compelled to work seven days per week, and in many instances in excess of twelve hours per day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as being opposed to this condition of affairs and that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to take this matter up with the executive departments of the Government looking toward relief for these men, and also to prepare and urge upon Congress such legislation as may be necessary to correct this evil.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution in its amended form.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth: The work those men are doing is that of looking after the violation of customs and immigration laws; it is a peculiar work and they are not tied down to an eight-hour day in any one day. I believe the matter should be given further consideration, and I move as an amendment that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation.

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Sullivan (J. L.), and carried.

The resolution as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates Homer D. Call and Dennis Lane, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the eight-hour working day; and

WHEREAS, The butcher workmen of this country are in most localities working from ten to fourteen hours per day; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor indorses the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in their efforts to secure a universal eight-hour working day in all departments, and in all localities where possible; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledges its moral support to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in their efforts to secure the eight-hour workday.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Williams: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed by all the members.

WILLIAM GREEN, Chairman;
MARSDEN G. SCOTT,
C. L. BAINE,
GEORGE LEARY,
THOMAS REDDING,
M. J. MCGUIRE,
DENNIS LANE,
JOHN J. LYNCH,
WILLIAM TABER,
PATRICK FLYNN,
H. G. ALEXANDER
THOS. L. HUGHES,
JACOB FISCHER,
JOHN DEVINY,
JOHN WILLIAMS, Secretary.

The report of the committee as a whole, as amended, was adopted.

President Gompers suggested that the following report be taken up *seriatim* and acted upon by the convention. The suggestion of the President was concurred in and Secretary Morrison read the following report:

Executive Council Supplemental Report.
Baltimore, Md., Nov. 24, 1916.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In the report we had the honor to submit to this convention under the heading "Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers—Building Trades Department," pages 124-128, we recounted the various stages of procedure regarding the effort to secure an harmonious arrangement of the dispute between the two first named organizations, and added that we anticipated that a conference would be held between the officers of the said organizations some time during this convention and that it would be necessary to make a supplemental report thereon.

President Gompers and Vice-President Duncan had several conferences with the representatives of both organizations prior to the convention. Since the convention President Gompers has had many conferences with President Hynes and President Hutcheson and these, too, without beneficial result.

For the information of this convention we desire to say that each was asked to submit a proposition which the other might accept. President Hynes for the Sheet Metal Workers proposed the following:

Sheet Metal Workers' Proposition.

With the purpose in view of establishing a means whereby the strained relations existing between the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, as applied to disputed trade jurisdiction, may be brought to a point of adjustment, we, the representatives of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance submit the following memorandum, which briefly sets forth conditions we believe to be equitable, and such as we are willing to subscribe to. In this connection we only make reference to the two different classifications of manufactured material that have been the subject of controversy, viz. sheet metal frames and sash and hollow sheet metal door and trim.

Reference No. 1—The manufacture, fabrication, erection and adjusting of all sheet metal window frames and sash is recognized as the work of the sheet metal worker, and such work shall be performed by members of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Reference No. 2—The manufacture and fabrication of all hollow sheet metal doors and trim is recognized as the work of the sheet metal worker, and which work shall be performed by the members of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Reference No. 3—Any sheet metal contractor who operates a plant manufacturing general sheet metal products that are used in building construction, and in connection with the operation of said plant also manufactures and fabricates hollow sheet metal doors and trim shall employ members of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance to erect all work that he manufactures, without interference from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, their employers or the general contractors.

Reference No. 4—A contractor operating a plant engaged largely or exclusively in the manufacture of hollow metal doors and trim shall have the privilege of using such craftsmen as he may desire in the erection of said hollow metal doors and trim, provided, however, that he employ only union men in the prosecution of said work. It is furthermore willed and understood that all such work manufactured for erection in any locality said work must be made and erected under conditions as good as established by the sheet metal workers having jurisdiction over the locality where said material is to be erected. The foregoing reference to "conditions" being interpreted as meaning wages, hours of labor, etc., and the procedure to govern shall be as set forth in Arti-

cle 13, Section 12, of the Constitution of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Hollow metal doors and metal trim, as interpreted and agreed to by the committee, is sheet metal drawn or pressed, painted, grained and baked to represent a wood product when finished.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters pledge themselves to use all honorable means to help the sheet metal workers to organize the factories where hollow metal doors and metal trim are manufactured.

Carpenters' Proposition.

On the action of the San Francisco Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor annulling the Tampa decision of the Building Trades Department in the controversy between the Carpenters and Sheet Metal Workers the representatives of the Carpenters propose as a settlement of this controversy:

1. That the manufacture of hollow metal trim and doors be conceded to the Sheet Metal Workers.

2. That the erection of all hollow metal trim and doors be conceded to the Carpenters.

3. That the Carpenters co-operate with the Sheet Metal Workers in organizing the plants where hollow metal trim and doors are manufactured.

Metal Window Frames and Sash.

1. The making of metal window frames and metal sash is conceded to the Sheet Metal Workers.

2. The setting of metal window frames is conceded to the Carpenters.

3. The fitting and hanging of metal sash is conceded to the Sheet Metal Workers, providing this agreement is accepted by them.

From neither of these propositions would anyone yield.

We, therefore, recommend that the general presidents of both organizations be urged to meet and agree upon an adjustment on or before April 1, 1917; that in the event of failure to do so or their failure to reach an agreement the Executive Council be and is hereby directed to use its best efforts to the end that an amicable adjustment may be arranged between the two organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report as read.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: As I understand the report, it means that if President Hutcheson and myself cannot agree the Executive Council will use its best

endeavors to try to get us to agree. If the committee's report is adopted would that, in your opinion, prohibit the Building Trades Department, which convenes next week, from taking any further action on this question while this action is pending? With the understanding that the Building Trades Department in convention next week could not take any further step while this arrangement is pending, I am in favor of the report and desire to say, in so far as our organization is concerned, that we are perfectly willing to go along and do everything possible to the end that an adjustment that is satisfactory to both organizations may be arrived at, to the end that there will be fewer strikes in the building trades and that fewer lockouts will be necessary in so far as building trades are concerned in America. And I am in hopes our friends, the Carpenters, will feel about it just as I do. But I desire to say that if the Building Trades Department has the right to further discuss or take up this question after it is decided by this convention, I am absolutely and positively opposed, and we will endeavor to do the best we can to get away from the effects of the committee's report.

Vice-President Duncan: I would much prefer to hear President Hynes of the Sheet Metal Workers withdraw the last part of his statement—that if any discussion takes place he will abandon everything and fight. The law of the American Federation of Labor, which practically governs the question asked by Delegate Hynes, is found in Section 9, Article XV, of the constitution dealing with the general rules governing departments of the American Federation of Labor, and reads as follows: "The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and action of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department."

The Building Trades Department could not very well be debarred from discussing this subject; but if the American Federation of Labor passes the motion now before this convention it would not be within the province of the Building Trades Department to go beyond the action of this convention. The Building Trades Department could not, in accordance with the section I have read, take action at variance with the action of the American Federation of Labor now pending.

Delegate Hynes: We do not want to have anything detrimental to our organization done in the Building Trades Department convention, such as was done in San Francisco last year. I am just trying to protect our organization to this extent: That the Building Trades Department in convention shall not assume to abrogate what is done by this convention. So far as discussion is concerned, they can discuss it as much as they like.

The motion to adopt the section of the supplemental report as read was carried.

Machinists—Carpenters.

Under this heading we reported to the convention on page 128. We now desire to report that some progress has been made: that is, that the officers of the Carpenters and the Machinists held a conference and agreed upon the following:

Baltimore, Md., November 20, 1916.
To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

The representatives of the International Association of Machinists and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America held a conference in the Rennett Hotel, November 20, 1916, for the purpose of considering the dispute between the two organizations and arriving at some understanding that may eventually lead to a satisfactory adjustment of same.

Realizing the grave importance of the questions at issue and that several conferences may be necessary to work out an agreement, it was agreed that the international president of each organization appoint a subcommittee to confer, from time to time, until an agreement has been reached.

The representatives present felt that it would take some time to complete this work, but to show their earnestness and determination, before the conference adjourned, each president appointed a subcommittee to immediately take up the work referred to.

These committees are now in session in this city, laying plans for future conferences.

It was further agreed that pending a final adjustment of the dispute in question, if local troubles or disputes arise between the two organizations they should be referred to the presidents of both organizations for settlement.

A report giving the result of the conferences will be made to the next convention.

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
FRANK DUFFY,
O. E. WOODBURY,
JAMES P. OGLETREE,
JACK FLYNN,

On behalf of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
J. A. TAYLOR,
THOMAS VAN LEAR,
A. O. WHARTON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,

On behalf of the International Association of Machinists.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report.

Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers: Last year at the San Francisco convention the Executive Council was instructed to send out a letter in regard to the Carpenters' claims of jurisdiction. That has not been carried out. Inasmuch as the arrangement has been made for the Carpenters and Machinists, and we have some claims we are interested in, it seems to me the Iron Workers ought to be included in this conference, not necessarily in the conference between the Carpenters and Machinists, but between the Iron Workers and the Carpenters. The Carpenters have enlarged their claims greatly, they have put these things into their claims and spread them broadcast. We thought there would be some decision reached before the Carpenters went further. Yesterday you instructed the Iron Workers to discontinue the words "pile drivers." Why did you not go as far as that with the Carpenters?

President Gompers: The supplementary report of the Executive Council deals with one specific thing, a controversy between the Carpenters and the Machinists. The Council could not include another organization, even though it may have a just cause of complaint.

Delegate McClory: Last year that was not given consideration. The representatives of many organizations stood on the floor and asked to be considered in that matter of jurisdiction. The resolution that was introduced by Delegate Berry in San Francisco was supposed to cover the point for all organizations. That is why these organizations did not enter a protest.

The motion to adopt the report was carried.

Western Federation of Miners.

The Western Federation of Miners made application for a change of its title to "International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers." The Executive Board making the application distinctively disclaimed any desire or purpose in changing or extending the jurisdiction under its new title. Protests from several organizations were received, and President Gompers was authorized by us to hold a conference with the officers of the Western Federation of Miners and the representatives of the protesting organizations. That conference was held, and upon the clear understanding that no change or extension of jurisdiction was involved in the application, the objections were withdrawn. We, therefore, authorized the issuance of the charter to the Western Federation of Miners under its new title.

The report was adopted as read.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President;
JAMES DUNCAN, 1st Vice-President;
JAMES O'CONNELL, 2nd Vice-President;
DENIS A. HAYES, 3rd Vice-President;
JOS. F. VALENTINE, 4th Vice-President;
JOHN R. ALPINE, 5th Vice-President;
H. B. PERHAM, 6th Vice-President;
FRANK DUFFY, 7th Vice-President;
WILLIAM GREEN, 8th Vice-President;
JOHN B. LENNON, Treasurer;
FRANK MORRISON, Secretary,
Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded that the Supplemental Report of the Executive Council upon the subjects with which it deals be adopted as a whole. The motion was carried by unanimous vote.

Vice-President Duncan: I move that the rules be suspended in so far as the Saturday half-holiday is concerned; that the convention now take a recess for the noon hour, and reconvene at 2:15 p. m.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 1 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:15 p. m. of the same day.

TWELFTH DAY—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:15 o'clock p. m., Saturday, November 25th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Reeves, Kramer, McGrath, Dobson, Campbell, Myers (C. E.), Rodgers, Kuhlmann, Kloter, Zaritsky, Nau, Adams (A. E.), Agethen, Haggerty, Hilton, Lucey, Brown, Kiser, Cohen (Jake), Alexander (Lee), Young, Brandle, Boos, Sims, Connell, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Cooney, Graham, Heller, Lewis, Grimblot, Newland, Kennedy, Windell, O'Donnell (W. P.), Kritzer, Dane, Zaranko, Raines, Wieber, Coen, Coleman, Liebowitz, De Sautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Rincker, Ely, Browder, Chase, Mehnert.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Koveleski, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate James H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 28, of San Francisco, Cal., has been suspended from membership by the Upholsterers' International Union of North America for refusing to comply with a decision rendered by the General Executive Board; and

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 28 is affiliated with the California State Federation of Labor, the San Francisco Labor Council and the Building Trades Council of San Francisco; be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who have included in their membership Local Union No. 28 of San Francisco to unseat this organization within thirty days after the adjournment of this convention.

Your committee reports ratification and completion of an agreement between representatives of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America and Local Union No. 28 of San Francisco, Cal. The amendment reads as follows:

Agreement entered into this day, November 16th, 1916, between James H. Hatch, representing Upholsterers and Trimmers International Union of North America, and B. B. Rosenthal, representing San Francisco Local Union No. 28:

First—That Local Union No. 28 of San Francisco shall be reinstated and thereby placed in good standing in the Upholsterers and Trimmers International Union of North America; it is further understood and agreed to that Local No. 28 will pay up all indebtedness due to the international union, after its reinstatement.

Second—That a committee of three, representing Local Union No. 28, a committee of three representing Local Union No. 3 of San Francisco shall be appointed, by the locals in question, to arrange for a pro rata division of the funds that were on hand at the time the charter was granted to Local No. 3, and its officers elected, this division of funds to be agreed to within thirty days after the adjournment of this convention.

Third—That Mr. P. H. McCarthy, President of the Building Trades Council of California, and Mr. John A. O'Connell, Secretary of San Francisco Labor Council, agree to render every assistance within their power to put into operation the terms of this agreement, thereby establishing harmonious relations among all concerned.

JAS. H. HATCH,

Representing Upholsterers and Trimmers International Union of North America.

B. B. ROSENTHAL,

Representing San Francisco Local Union No. 28.

P. H. MCCARTHY,

Representing State Building Trades Council of California.

JOHN A. O'CONNELL,

Representing San Francisco Labor Council.

Secretary Koveleski: I move the adoption of the supplemental report. (Seconded and carried.)

(Signed) H. B. PERHAM, Chairman:

H. S. MARSHALL,

J. J. BARRY,

SARAH SHAPIRO,

JOHN MURRAY,

NORMAN SPRAGUE,

ROBERT BRINDELL,

FRED A. HELLER,

R. E. WOODMANSEE,

JOHN S. LORCH,

STEWART A. HAYWARD,

JAMES A. SHORT,

ROBERT G. FITCHIE,

CHARLES ANDERSON,

E. KOVELESKI, Secretary.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Election of Officers.

President Gompers: During the election of the President of the American Federation of Labor I have asked former Vice-President John Mitchell to preside.

Former Vice-President Mitchell in the Chair.

The chairman announced that nominations were in order for President.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers, was recognized by the Chair and placed in nomination for President for the ensuing year Samuel Gompers, of the Cigar Makers' International Union. The nomination was seconded by a number of delegates.

Delegate Woll, Photo-Engravers, moved that the Secretary cast the ballot of the convention for the election of Samuel Gompers as President for the ensuing year. The motion was seconded and carried. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected for the ensuing year.

Delegate Perkins: Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Delegates: It is sometimes difficult for some of us to break into the limelight, but in my mind there is no question that some of us are striving to do the very best we possibly can to give to the great movement for which the American Federation of Labor stands the best that is in us. While some are more fortunate than others because of natural endowment and the spirit which moves them, there is no question that the name of Samuel Gompers, when the history of the labor movement is written, will be emblazoned on the pages of that history. There is no question that the memory of his achievements, of his fidelity to the great work of uplift will live in the minds and hearts and memories of all those who have been fortunate enough to have been associated with him. Living in his deeds we know his place in the hall of fame is secure. Still it is well that his features as well as his work be perpetuated so that the memory and the knowledge of his work may be an inspiration to those who shall come after us. But Mr. Gompers is a modest man.

A sculptress of ability in Chicago, Miss Kathleen Wheeler, succeeded, through the machinations of some of President Gompers' friends, in inducing him to sit for her to make a bust of him. She labored faithfully and she has achieved success. It is now my great pleasure to present to this convention the result of her handiwork. (Turning to the President.) Mr. Samuel Gompers, I have the honor of introducing to you a life-like bust of yourself in order that you may see yourself as others see you.

Delegate Perkins, at the close of his address, unveiled a handsome bronze bust of President Gompers.

Chairman Mitchell: Mr. Gompers, accept this gift, and permit me formally to notify you of your unanimous election as President

of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

President Gompers: I find it difficult to express what I feel at this time. My gratitude to you, my appreciation of your indorsement of what which I have tried to do, is more than I can tell you. After all, it is not the question of achievement. It is the question of what I tried to do, the spirit, and the purpose which prompted me to act; that which I have endeavored to do and to say in order to be helpful to my fellow men, to interpret the spirit of the labor movement, to carry on the work as others have been compelled to lay it down, to try to help my fellows of today, so that they and I, when we shall lay down our work, will hand over the labor movement of our country and our time untarnished. We have striven that our labor movement may be in a bit better position for those who shall succeed us, that the burdens of labor shall be lighter than those that we bore when we entered into the struggle.

If we can in our time contribute something to bring light into the work and into the lives of our fellow workers; if we can touch the spark that instills the spirit of independence and character in the men and women of labor; if we who are the successors of the struggling masses of the past, of the labor movement whose men and women have borne the scars of battle, and all the pains and pangs of the struggle for human justice and uplift; if this great labor movement of ours can but help to place better opportunity in the hands of the toiling masses of our country and our time; if we can be helpful to our fellows across the sea in every country, in every clime to the farthest recesses of the world; if we can press home to all the world and upon all those who now, consciously or unconsciously, undertake to oppress and tyrannise over the workers and deny them the elements of justice and the opportunity for equality; if we can help in ushering in a brighter and a better day; if we can understand the general concept of human justice and human freedom; if we can instill in the minds of all that the best and highest concepts and idealisms of freedom make for the utmost fraternity and unity of the peoples of our common country and of the whole civilized world, we shall have done something in the interest of labor, of the masses of humanity and for the perpetuation of our republic and the ideals and ideas upon which it is founded and to which it aspires. To be helpful, to be of some instrumentality, to be useful in that movement is one of the greatest heritages and opportunities that can

come to any man. I am proud indeed of the fact that my conscience is free, my mind unhampered and my consciousness unaffected. I know as the light has been given to me I have tried to serve my fellow men.

President Gompers again expressed his appreciation of the gift, and asked that it be considered a gift to the American Federation of Labor, and that some place be found for it in the American Federation of Labor Building.

President Gompers in the chair.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association, was placed in nomination for first vice-president by Delegate Frey (J. P.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Koveleski the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for first vice-president. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James Duncan was declared unanimously elected to serve as first vice-president for the ensuing year.

James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, was placed in nomination for second vice-president by Delegate Franklin, of the Boiler Makers' organization. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Johnston the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James O'Connell for second vice-president. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James O'Connell was declared unanimously elected to serve as second vice-president for the ensuing year.

Denis A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, was placed in nomination for third vice-president by Delegate John H. Walker, Mine Workers. There being no further names presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for D. A. Hayes for third vice-president. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and D. A. Hayes was declared unanimously elected third vice-president for the ensuing year.

Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union of North America, was placed in nomination for fourth vice-president by Delegate Wilson (James). The nomination was seconded by Delegate Bradley and Delegate O'Connell (John). No further names being

presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Perkins the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Joseph F. Valentine was declared unanimously elected to serve as fourth vice-president for the ensuing term.

John R. Alpine, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers of North America, was placed in nomination for fifth vice-president by Delegate Tobin (D. J.). There being no further names presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Cook, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John R. Alpine was declared unanimously elected fifth vice-president for the ensuing term.

H. B. Perham, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, was placed in nomination for sixth vice-president by Delegate Alexander (H. G.). No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

The secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for H. B. Perham for sixth vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and H. B. Perham was declared unanimously elected to serve as sixth vice-president for the ensuing term.

Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was placed in nomination for seventh vice-president by Delegate Hutcheson. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Stremiau the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy as seventh vice-president. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Frank Duffy was declared unanimously elected to serve as seventh vice-president for the ensuing term.

William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America, was placed in nomination for eighth vice-president by Delegate Hayes of the same organization. No further names being presented, upon motion of Delegate Cannon the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for eighth vice-president.

The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and William Green was declared duly elected to serve as eighth vice-president for the ensuing year.

John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors of North America, was placed in nomination for treasurer by Delegate Sweeney (T.). The nomination was seconded by Delegate Schlesinger. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Gorenstein the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John B. Lennon. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and John B. Lennon was declared unanimously elected to serve as treasurer for the ensuing term.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen: I rise to place in nomination for the office of Secretary of the American Federation of Labor one with whom every delegate to this convention is acquainted, and I want to paraphrase the statement of my good friend Dan Tobin when he said the American labor movement has arrived at that point where we must be careful in the selection of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. I want to submit to this convention that there is no more important position upon the Executive Council than that of the secretary of this Federation, and in bringing to the attention of this convention the man I shall mention in a moment I want to say that during the life of the American Federation of Labor no one has given more than he to the cause, the growth and uplift of this movement than has the present Secretary, Frank Morrison. We have had testimony of his fidelity and loyalty to the American labor movement.

I am reminded of the test brought to the attention of the American people in the case of the Buck Stove and Range Company, when the president, Mr. Gompers, and the second vice-president, Mr. Mitchell, and Secretary Morrison brought to this country's attention the necessity of the amending of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and in doing that, as the representative of the American Federation of Labor and its secretary Mr. Morrison was prepared to accept the penalty of the court, as were President Gompers and Mr. Mitchell, in order to bring to us the relief of immunity from that Sherman Anti-Trust Law. And I say to you at this time, with the growth of the American labor movement, with its millions of members, with the increased responsibility that comes to the

office of the secretary of this Federation, I want to urge upon you to re-elect the man who has gone through the fight, and as a representative of a printing trades union, for the fifth time, it gives me pleasure to offer for your consideration the name of Frank Morrison for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

There being no other names presented, the nominations were closed, and upon motion of Delegate Miller, Musicians, the President was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison. The instructions of the convention were complied with and Frank Morrison was declared unanimously elected to serve as secretary for the ensuing term.

Each of the officers, upon being declared elected, made a brief speech, in which he expressed his appreciation of the honor of the unanimous re-election.

Election of Fraternal Delegates.

President Gompers: The convention will elect two fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and one to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate John Golden, Textile Workers, was placed in nomination for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress by Vice-President Duncan. There being no further nominations, the secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Golden. The secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and John Golden was declared duly elected a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Golden made a brief address, in which he thanked the delegates for the honor conferred upon him by the unanimous election.

Delegate Frank Farrington, United Mine Workers, was placed in nomination for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress by Delegate Mitchell, United Mine Workers.

Delegate John J. Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers, was placed in nomination by Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters.

Delegate Hynes: I desire to thank President Hutcheson for placing me in nomination for fraternal delegate, but I desire to respectfully decline the nomination, because I most positively refuse to be a candidate against one of the best fellows, in my opinion, there is, not only in this convention and the United States, but in the entire world, Frank Farrington.

There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unani-

mous vote of the convention for Frank Farrington for fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Frank Farrington was declared duly elected a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Farrington made a brief address, in which he thanked the delegates for the honor of selecting him to represent the American Federation of Labor in the British Trades Union Congress, assured them that he felt the responsibility that would devolve upon him in properly representing the Federation, and stated that he would do his best to fill the position with credit to himself and to the organization.

Delegate Emanuel Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, was nominated for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress by Delegate Shay. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Orr.

There being no further nominations, upon motion of Delegate Fox the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Delegate Koveleski for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Delegate Koveleski was declared duly elected.

Delegate Koveleski made a brief address, in which he thanked the delegates for the honor of the election, and assured them he would try to represent the Federation as it should be represented in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Selection of Convention City.

Buffalo, N. Y., was nominated by Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees. The nomination was seconded by Delegate O'Connor, Longshoremen.

Fort Worth, Texas, was nominated by Delegate Rich, Texas State Federation of Labor. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Orr, Street Railway Employees.

A roll call on the selection of the convention city resulted as follows:

Buffalo—Myrup, Noschang, Shanessy, Fischer (Jacob), Feider, Foley, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Lovely, Martindale, McCarthy, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Butterworth, McClory, Tobin (Sam), Morrin, Hutcheson, Duffy, Woodbury, Hemsell, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross, Perkins, Gompers, Mueller, Campbell, Bright, Myers, Meyer, Feeney, Woll, Schwarz, Miller (A. W.), Altman, Schlesinger, Shapiro, Deitch, Heller, Gorenstein, Rosenberg, Hayes (D. A.), Steelman, Lawson, Flint Glass Workers' delegation (63 votes); Christman, Zaritzky, Bloor, Marshall, Keefe, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Raleigh, Koveleski, Farrell, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Gould, McSorley, Taggart,

Bock, O'Connor (J. M.), O'Connor (T. V.), Vaccarella, Harrison, Joy, Johnston, Van Lear, Wharton, O'Connell (James), Hynes, Redding, Moriarty, Frayne, United Mine Workers' delegation (2,120 votes); Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Carbon, Hedrick, Skemp, Lynch, Guerin, McKeon, Arnold, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Wilson (James), Gernon, Hannah, Bergstrom, McGivern, Donlin, Cook, O'Keefe, Alpine, Kearney, Rau, Anderson, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Menge, Chadwick, Deviny, Hurley, Gavlak, Furuseth, Flynn, Scharrenberg, Griffin, Shay, Canavan, Dolliver, Suarez, Welsh, Griggs, Short, Burt, Sheehan, Freeman (J. W.), Golden, Conboy, Walker, Hall, Williams (T. J.), Evans, Curtis, Scott (Marsden G.), Morrison, Dennett, Stevenson (Hugh), Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, Haggerty, Stremlau, Crellin, Donoghue, Cozzoli o. Ralisse, Post, Iglesias, Hilton, Lucey, Hayward, Hahn, McDonald, O'Dell, Brandle, Boos, Breslin, Ogletree, Hilfers, Brindell, O'Shea, Davis, Harrison, Cathrall, Bradley, Heller (F. A.), O'Connell (J. A.), Leonard, Lemke, Leonard (Louis), Higgins, Voll, Wilcox, McAndrews (J. J.), McNally, Pollock, Ely, representing 12,689 votes.

Fort Worth—Schneider (R. C.), Goldstone, Kilne, Kramer, McGrath (J. F.), Franklin, Hinzman, McGuire (M. J.), MacGowan, Sovey, Bruff, Conroy, Proebstle, Bowen, Dobson, Preece, Shaughnessy, Jones, Boyer, Ryan, Adams (W. J.), Thompson, Nolte, Barnes, Baker, Conway, Koch, Kuhlmann, Scooby, McNulty (F. J.), Noonan, Kloter, Fisher (Frank), Snellings, Hannah, Edgerton, Comerford, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Rickert, Larger, Doyle, Daley, Flint Glass Workers' delegation (31 votes); Duncan, Russell, Alexander (Henry), Lawlor, Greene (M. F.), McCue, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Mareschi, D'Andrea, Dwyer, Brock, Bryan, Taylor (J. A.), Irwin, Nichols, Call, Lane, United Mine Workers' delegation (1,060 votes); Moyer, Reardon, Cannon, Lindemann, Valentine, Frey, McCormick, Torpey, Prudhomme, Berry, Hardy, Scheld, Nau, Sultor, Mahon, Orr, Taber, McGrath (J. T.), Fleming, Freel, Sumner, Funder-Burk, Sweeney, Lennon, Biggs, Tobin, Hughes, Gillespie, Neer, Wilson (J. E.), Perham, Alexander (H. G.), Ramsay, Bode, Hayes (M. S.), McCluskey, Fitchie, Mitch, Sprague, Patterson, Osborne, Hohler, Rich, Fox, Ferguson, Homan, McAndrews (Andrew), Seidel, Ballard, Smith, Murray (John), Gagnon, Brazzle, Walters, Peabody, McLarin, Ernst, Curry, Bohm, Murray (M. A.), representing 7,853 votes.

Not Voting—Mullaney, Reeves, MacPherson, Flaherty, Freeman (Carl), Hogan, Lavender, Adams (A. E.), Fursman, Agethen, Cone, Brown (F. B.), Hunt, Taylor (C. O.), James, Holland, Jarrett, Dowler, Shearer, Bennett, Jennings, Brown (E. G.), Kiser, Pauley, Cohen (Jake), Kennedy (T. F.), Harlin, Alexander (Lee), Young (J. G.), Willis, Alden, Gregson, Sims, Hill, Ossmann, Connell, Stephens, Betcher, Henry, Draper, Bauldauf, Rander, Cooney, Graham, Wilkinson, Lewis, Niven, Grimblot, Woodmansee, Newland, Kennedy (J. H.), Lorch, Windell, O'Donnell, Kritzer, Dane, Zaranko, Ralnes, Scott (Melinda).

Wieber, Cohen (James), Coleman, Taylor (Richard), McNulty (Ignatius), Liebowitz, Morris, Hudson, DeSautis, Peters, Byrne, Master, Rincker, Hollis, Browder, Chase, Meinert, Rodgers, Gosling, Whitefield, Stevenson, representing 306 votes.

President Gompers: I declare Buffalo, N. Y., as the place chosen by this convention in which to hold the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1917.

Report of Special Committee on Militarism.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Complying with the instructions of this convention, your special committee, upon the subject of "Militarism," submits the following declarations:

We are unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism," that system fostered and developed by tyrants with the object of supporting their arbitrary authority and utilized by those whose predatory designs or ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other nations, destroying their liberties, acquiring their wealth and fastening the yoke of bondage upon them.

The American trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that "militarism," even in its less horrid manifestations, brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. Under the baleful thrall of the savage instincts which it arouses, the finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under "militarism" a pseudo-patriotism is established in the minds of the people wherein men believe that there is nobility and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty, or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democratic institutions. "Militarism" is the appeal of arbitrary and irresponsible force as opposed to reason and justice.

Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The institutions of our country and the freedom won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to die in defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions. Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army—to which we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish "militarism" in all of its phases. Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our several states, has given cause for gravest apprehension. At times their ranks have been recruited from professional thugs, criminals and employees of corporations involved in conflict with workmen who are

endeavoring to protect their rights and interests and elevate their standards of living.

During industrial disputes the militia has been called upon to support the authority of those who have desired to enforce martial law, while the courts were open and civil authorities competent to maintain the supremacy of civil law.

We declare that the militia of our several states should be organized and controlled by the democratic institutions of our country, so that this voluntary force of citizen soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose to be used to jeopardize or infringe upon the liberties of our people.

The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle regarded at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

Unquestionably the perpetuity of our ideals of government and the maintenance of our free institutions depend largely upon the character of training received by the youth of today—the citizen of tomorrow. While demanding that our public schools shall so teach our children as to develop keen, ready minds, and inspire them with high and lofty ideals fully prepared to intelligently exercise the duties and responsibility of a free people, we also demand that the body of every child be so trained in our schools as to develop them into full manhood and womanhood. We likewise insist that the youth of today—the worker of tomorrow—be so trained as to take his place in our industries fully equipped and prepared to protect his rights as a worker and to properly exercise his influence in our economic and industrial life.

We are, however, unalterably opposed to any form of physical training or any quality of mental education, which would tend to inculcate the spirit of "militarism." The child's immature and impressionable mind must not be taught to think, except with horror, upon the killing of human beings. To arouse the thought that any of their school hours are devoted to preparation for the possible use of arms against their fellow men, is to brutalize their instincts and subvert the influence of the necessary lessons of humanity, peace and good will which it is the duty of our public schools to impress upon them.

These are the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor declares its position.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, Chairman;
MATTHEW WOLL,
PAUL SCHARRENBURG,
JOHN MURRAY,
COLLIS LOVELY,
ANDREW A. HILL,
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Your committee also recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of five, the President acting as chairman, which will

gather data, hear evidence, record and publish the same, and report at such time and in such manner as it deems best to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, upon the question of militarism.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Report of Committee on International Relations.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee desires to reiterate that you may reaffirm the expressions and declarations of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the questions of war and its causes as follows:

Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism and back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy. We declare against the former under all circumstances and in the second instance we have no words of condemnation, and that your committee feels the American Federation of Labor through this convention can serve the best interests of all our fellow-workers regardless of where located and, moreover, those of our trade union movement by maintaining strict neutrality under existing circumstances.

We again repeat and express that fraternal spirit and world-wide sympathy and kindly regard for the welfare of our fellow-workers regardless of where located or of nationality.

While words cannot express the horror we feel over the terrible conflict now devastating Europe and by which so many human souls are being dropped into the vortex of eternity, we express the judgment that unless a larger measure of human liberty, justice and democracy shall come to the toiling masses, the frightful sacrifice has been and will be in vain.

Let us here express the hope that, while regretting the existence of the world war, since it has been inaugurated, its end will usher in an era which shall witness the establishment of a better understanding of labor's viewpoint and better economic, social and political conditions for all the workers, and finally that from the ashes of destruction and the carnage of conflict there shall be merged a new spirit, a new courage and the determination upon the part of labor to obtain and hold a fuller democracy which shall safeguard, protect and advance the liberties and material in-

terests of the masses. While civilization has wandered far from the ideals of humanity and a brutalizing madness is temporarily enthroned in this war, we are neither pessimists nor necessarily pacifists. We express the judgment that first the war cannot and will not crush the hopes and aspirations and activities of organized labor, and that secondly the trade union movement will be a potential force in establishing and maintaining more permanent peace upon a foundation which will maintain greater justice and human liberty and finally stand as a bulwark of strength against wars of conquest waged in the interest of commercialism, kings, potentates and an oligarchy of arrogant autocracy grounded upon finance and commercialism.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

International Labor Relations.

Executive Council's Report, pages 54-55.

We note with extreme regret the failure of certain European labor movements to accept the invitation and plan adopted by the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and submitted to all labor centers of all the countries to participate in a World Labor Congress at the same time and place as the World's Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the present European war.

The present confusion and chaotic conditions of the world's trade union movement justify the wisdom of the proposition made and adopted at the San Francisco 1915 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, wherein we suggested that in times of stress, and when the normal functions and activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be interrupted for any cause, that the office of the President should automatically revert to some neutral country. Had this been agreed to we would not now be facing the danger of a disruption of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

We cannot, and we do not, condemn the action of any federated center. We realize that they are influenced by extremely abnormal conditions, and that they are controlled by national and racial passions engendered by this war that are now at white heat; that their actions are not necessarily the sober second thought and judgment which might, and undoubtedly would be, expressed under normal living conditions.

We are keenly mindful of the fact that it is extremely difficult for us to get information to the labor movement of certain countries, and more difficult for such movements to get the true information to us. All communications are held up and censored, hence judgment should be stayed, and conclusions reached only after we are in possession of the absolute facts.

While we are forced to abandon the original proposition to hold a World Labor Congress at the time and place as the World's Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the war, while reaffirming the judgment which prompted the adoption of such a proposition, yet in the event of the failure to hold a congress such as proposed we concur with the Executive Council that some action should be taken and the necessary machinery adopted to carry forward the purposes and intent of such a congress and recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue efforts to bring about a conference after the war in which the organized labor movement of all countries affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions may participate, and that the Executive Council be instructed to have the American Federation of Labor represented in that conference, as directed by the San Francisco Convention.

From the results of the correspondence, as well as the conferences had between the representatives of the labor movement of the various European countries and some of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, it is not now determined whether the national conference proposed by the American Federation of Labor can be held, and yet we do not believe that the American Federation of Labor should entirely abandon the proposal. In any event we recommend that further effort be made to clear away the misapprehensions or whatever there may be of groundless opposition to the conference; that at all events we urge that the labor movements of the various countries should insist upon representation by men of organized labor movement in the treaty-making congress in which the terms of peace and the future conduct of the nations shall be determined.

We hold that the voice of labor should be heard in the official congress of the nations and in the conferences of organized labor and that the Executive Council is authorized to carry both or either of these propositions into effect.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Mexico.

The report of the Executive Council upon this subject contains irrefutable evidence of the potentiality of the organized labor movement as an international influence for humanity, justice and peace. We are keenly appreciative of the constructive statesmanship that has been exercised by President Gompers and the Executive Council in maintaining human interests and giving expression to the ideals of the common people in the relations between our country and the Mexican Republic and in helping to avert hostilities which pernicious interests sought and are seeking to bring about in order to secure privileges and opportunities for exploitation.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to continue its present policies and to be on the alert to take advantage of all future opportunities for furthering humanitarian ideals and protecting the rights and interests of the workers of both countries.

The purposes of the Mexican revolution appeal to the highest concepts and impulses of all liberty loving men and women. The struggle now in progress in Mexico is the effort of a nation to free itself from irresponsible use of governmental power and from the fetters of tyranny. We affirm the right of every nation to work out its own destiny in accord with the concepts and the genius of its own people. The labor movement of the United States through the President and the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council has been helpful in maintaining this right for the labor movement of Mexico, and we recommend that such intercourse and conferences as may be deemed helpful to this purpose shall be continued.

One immediate course for action presents itself. President Gompers submitted to this committee a decree issued by General Venustiano Carranza, First Chief of the Constitutionalist Government in Mexico City, on August 1, 1916. That decree is of vital importance to the very existence of the labor movement of Mexico. It is based upon a principle of universal significance to the workers of all countries, as is disclosed in these sections which we here quote:

Article 1. The death penalty shall be applied, not only to disturbers of the peace mentioned in the Law on January 25, 1862, but also to:

First—Those who may incite workmen to strike in factories and concerns devoted to

public service, or who may engage in propaganda to that end; to those who may preside at meetings where such strikes are proposed, discussed, or approved; to those who may defend or uphold the same; to those who may approve or subscribe thereto; to those who may attend said meetings, or may not withdraw from the same as soon as they learn their purpose; and to those who strive to render the strike effective after it has once been declared.

Second—To those who, because of the suspension of work in said factories, or in any other, take advantage of disorders occasioned, or to aggravate matters and impose the strike by force, should proceed to damage, or destroy property of the concerns operated by the employes or workmen interested in the suspension, or belonging to other concerns whose workmen it is desired to cause to strike; and to those who, with the same purpose, may foment public disturbances, either against public functionaries or against private parties, or who may have recourse to violence against the person or property of any citizen, or citizens, or who may proceed to take possession of, or destroy, or cause damage to public or to private property, and

Third—To those who by means of threats, or the use of force may prevent that others may work in the concern to take the place of the strikers.

Since this decree represents a tendency manifested by other governments to deny wage-earners the fundamental rights of free workers, we feel it the duty of this convention to voice the cause of labor in all countries. Because of the peculiar advantages which our nation or our labor movement now enjoy, we can give expression to the unalterable determination of the workers everywhere to refuse to relinquish a right secured or minimize our demands for freedom and justice.

Your committee learns with satisfaction that the President of the American Federation of Labor has already emphatically declared to the representatives of the Constitutional Government of Mexico that labor's sympathy with and approval of that government were based upon the friendly, helpful relations between it and the labor movement of Mexico and that continuation of that policy is necessary to our confidence.

On behalf of the Constitutionalist Government of Mexico its representatives explained that the cause of the issuance of the decree of August 1, 1916, was not against strikes inaugurated for improved conditions of the workers of Mexico, but that an order for a general strike had been issued by irresponsible, and at the time unknown, parties and demands made for conditions impossible to be conceded and that the government's representatives in Mexico sought in vain to have a conference with the persons who

called the strike for the purpose of reaching an adjustment, but that no representative of any of the workers, organized or unorganized, responded.

Efforts have already been made to secure the revocation or the modification of the decree outlawing strikes in Mexico, and we recommend that this convention authorize and direct that these efforts be continued to the end that the labor movement of this country be helpful in every honorable way in restoring to Mexican wage-earners the rights and opportunities of free workers.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

In discussing the question Delegate Cannon, Western Federation of Miners, said in part: We have passed two resolutions dealing with militarism in this convention. They are magnificent, but your Executive Council, since our meeting at San Francisco, has performed one of the greatest tasks for the working people of the world, and for humanity, ever performed by any body of men at any time or place. When the European war came on the cry went up all over the world, "Why didn't the workers of Europe stop the war?" I am not going to discuss that question now, but when the dogs of war were ready to be loosed in Mexico and it seemed almost hopeless to maintain peace, the representatives of the labor movement of Mexico met with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and they stopped the war between the United States and Mexico. I have opposed individuals and members of the Executive Council on many occasions, but for their conduct in preventing that war I want to express my absolute approval. If it were not for the labor movement of Mexico and the labor movement of the United States we now would be at war with Mexico, not for humanity's sake, not for the benefit of labor, but to crush the young but growing labor movement of the republic of Mexico. The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Pan-American Labor Relations.

Executive Council's Report, pages 35-37.

Your committee is in full accord with the expressions and declarations of the Executive Council upon this important matter. We hold that there are no other means whereby greater progress can be made and friendly relations maintained, misunderstandings prevented and cordial relations maintained among the workers—the masses, and finally a permanent and lasting peace between all republics of continental America.

except by first encouraging labor to organize there and secondly through the establishment of a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We recommend that the Executive Council exert every available effort to first be helpful in organizing the workers of all Pan-American republics and, secondly, to federate them in the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: During the most critical period of the conditions described by Delegate Cannon in his remarks it seemed wise to endeavor to meet the situation by having a conference of representatives of labor in Mexico and some representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Our Mexican friends were impetuous and impatient; they came to the border without giving the representatives of the American Federation of Labor an opportunity to get there, and as a consequence the international conference was not held. Telegraphic communications were conducted between the representatives of labor and myself as to what should be done, and it was decided that they would send representatives to Washington.

At that time the organized workers of the state of Yucatan sent a committee consisting of Mr. Carlos Loveria and Mr. Balthaser Pages to help preach the doctrine of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. Mr. Loveria and Mr. Pages, learning of our conference, came to Washington. About that time the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was in session and a general conference was held lasting several days. A joint declaration was reached and given to the world of our unalterable opposition to a conflict between the workers of Mexico and the workers of the United States, to endeavor to prevail upon the working people not to be inflamed, to prevail upon the governments of our respective countries to hold themselves properly in leash and prevent a conflict, even against the outbursts of jingoism and the exploiters. At that meeting there were a number of the representatives of the syndicalists and of the trade unionists of Mexico and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and it was my privilege to communicate the opinions I had as to what form the organized labor movements of Mexico and of the South American republics should take in order to be of the most practical use to the workers.

Mr. Pages was unable to accompany Mr. Loveria to the South American countries, but Mr. Loveria visited a number of these countries and took with him, not only the agreement reached, but also the suggested basis which I had the honor of formulating and to suggest to the workers of these countries. Mr. Loveria has made this special effort to come to Baltimore for the purpose of further conference, and if it meets the views of this convention we will hear from him at this time.

Mr. Loveria made an address of some length in which he discussed the labor movement in America, especially in Yucatan, the appreciation felt by the people there for the efforts that had been put forth by the American Federation of Labor to be helpful in establishing the movement in that country and bringing about a better understanding between the two nations. He gave many interesting details about the work that had been accomplished and what the workers hoped to do when peace should once more be established in Mexico.

At the close of his address Mr. Loveria submitted the following report:

Carlos Loveria, Chief of the Department of Labor of the State of Yucatan, Mexico, left said State last June with credentials from over twenty Yucatan labor unions, embracing about twelve thousand men. His mission was to come to the United States to secure credentials from President Gompers with which he expected to travel throughout South and Central America speaking for the plan of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. Loveria was one of the signers of the historic pact drawn up at Washington last July celebrating the first fraternal bond made between the labor movements of the United States and Mexico. After leaving the United States the first country Loveria spoke in was Peru. Following is his report, in part, to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Baltimore:

In Peru I found three federations of labor, in the capital city, Lima. These organizations embrace, also, the labor movement of Callao, the largest seaport of this country; Callao was only twenty minutes ride from Lima. One of these federations is called Liga de Sociedades Unidas—or The League of United Societies—and is composed of 38 societies, called, in Spanish, mutualistas, or mutual benefit societies, which care for the sick, bury the dead and give support to widows and orphans. These societies were the first form of labor organization in Latin America, and although they do not deal much with economic problems they are of great importance if it is remembered that they fathered the labor movement in these countries. They are steadily taking on modern forms as fast as the labor struggle demands.

Another federation is the Confederación General de Trabajadores, or General Federation of Workers, which embraces ten labor unions. These unions are made up

of men who work at such trades as hodcarriers, building laborers, trackmen, street-car men and so on.

The largest and strongest federation is called the Confederacion de Artisanos, or Federation of Artisans, working as printers, carpenters, masons, painters, tailors and so on.

These three federations all belong to the Centro Latino Americano, or Latin-American Centre. This Centre has its own board of directors, chosen from the most able men of labor, and presided over by a printer by the name of Alberto J. Montes.

Although they have no political labor party organized in Peru, they support candidates at elections who are friendly to labor, as does the American Federation of Labor. There are now six labor members in the provincial legislature of Lima.

In Chili there is a similar centre working in co-operation with the Peruvian Centre. The purpose of this work is to promote a mutual and clear understanding as to their economic needs, and also to promote a lasting peace between the two countries, for be it known that the Governments of Chili and Peru have had no diplomatic relations since the last war of several years ago. This was the war in which Peru lost two provinces, which now belong to Chili. Both countries since their last struggle have been keeping their respective armies on a war footing.

Each one of these labor centres has a resident delegate in the country of the other, and in this manner organized labor of Chili and Peru has formed a fraternal bond which at all times is a means of communication between the two peoples. And, while the governments are not represented by diplomatic agents, the organized workers of both countries are at all times in close touch with each other. This has been the great factor in the preservation of peace.

These two centres have already met as a congress in Santiago, the capital of Chili, on the beginning of this year, and will meet again in December of this year in the same city.

As an enlargement of this work it is proposed that all the other South and Central American countries join this movement by sending delegates to the coming congress in December. In this manner the plan of the Pan-American Federation of Labor grows in South America, as it is growing in Mexico and the United States.

From Peru I went to Valparaiso, a city of two hundred thousand people, the largest seaport of Chili. In this city there are many unions, but no properly constituted federation. The lack of federation comes from the present uncertainty of the unions papers.

In the capital of Peru the labor movement publishes two very important weekly as to what is the best form of tactics; leaders of different schools of thought all desire to bring the workers to their particular viewpoint. This state of things is common in Latin-American countries where they have failed to understand how to meet the needs of the hour and yet preserve the ideals of the working class. But in spite of these differences it was a pleasure for me to see at my lectures and addresses men from all the various schools of thought in

the labor movement. In addition I am glad to say that my meetings served as a common ground on which many differences were adjusted between the leaders with the prospect of still firmer bonds of union.

A socialist movement is starting in Chili which publishes its own daily paper and several weekly reviews.

The labor movement prints several weekly and semi-weekly papers in various Chilean towns. In addition, in Valparaiso, the two largest and important papers published daily a section entirely devoted to labor written by men from the ranks of labor. These two labor editors and the president of the largest union of Valparaiso were appointed a committee to accompany me to Santiago, and introduced me to the labor movement of the Chilean capital. Delegations met us at the stations along the route bearing printed greetings and flowers and singing labor songs.

In Santiago I found the same divisions as to tactics and labor ideals that exist in Valparaiso, but unity is steadily growing. I found many strong unions besides the Latin-American Center of which I have spoken. The Railroad Brotherhood, which is the strongest, tailors, commercial clerks, and an important federation called Congress Obrero, or Labor Congress.

In Buenos Aires the political power of the labor movement is concentrated in the Socialist party, which has a much stronger organization than the trades unions, and syndicates. The Socialist party in this country has about fifty thousand votes and has elected one senator and nine representatives to the National Congress. The strongest labor organization in Argentina is the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina, or the Argentine Federation of Labor. This federation embraces twenty unions and syndicates, one of the unions being the Railroad Men's Federation, or Federacion Obrera Ferrocarrilera with five thousand members. The Argentine Federation has a total seventeen thousand members. There is another institution called, also, Argentine Federation of Labor, which is at the same time a strong organization. On account of their internal divisions I could not get exact information from it. Chauffeurs, printers and stevedores, have, also, a very powerful association. There are libraries, stores, and renting houses conducted by co-operation in the most modern form of co-operativism.

In Uruguay I found a much better labor movement than in any of the others, but, nevertheless, it would be much stronger if it were not for the division of opinion among the leaders. Uruguay may be termed the Switzerland of the Western Hemisphere. It is the most liberal country in Latin-America in respect to legislation and customs of the people. The strong unions and syndicates that they have, have personality, influence enough to make the master class take them into consideration.

Delegates will note that I was only in the four largest Spanish-speaking countries where there was a labor movement of size. And even in these countries I was only in the largest cities, being forced, for want of time, to pass by such important places as Punta Arenas, Antofagasta and Iquique. In

Chili, and Rosario, La Plata and Mendoza, in Argentine, in some of them being even stronger labor movements than in the capitals. It should be noted that before the trip I have been speaking of I visited Cuba and Costa Rica. In order not to make this too long, I will briefly say that the labor conditions of these two countries resemble the conditions of Chili in regards to divisions of opinion in the labor ranks bringing about an inevitable weakness.

The reception of my mission in all the Latin-American countries was one of enthusiasm for the idea of holding an international congress as the first practical step to a working bond, which, it is expected, will take the form of a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee in regard to the Mexican situation was adopted unanimously.

At the close of Mr. Loveria's address President Gompers presented to him, on behalf of the delegates, a handsome gold locket, suitably inscribed, as a token of the fraternal respect and esteem in which he was held and for the service he had rendered to the cause of international fraternity.

Mr. Loveria thanked President Gompers and the delegates for the gift.

British Trades Union Congress.

Executive Council's Report, page 64.

We note with satisfaction that the exchange of fraternal delegates with Great Britain has been resumed after a period of three years and trust that this exchange may continue without interruption in the future. We believe that the workers of all countries ought to learn from the experiences of the wage-earners of those countries now engaged in war, to the end that they may be in a position to protect and maintain human rights and interests. We approve the suggestion that studies of trade union activity under war conditions ought to be made for all countries concerned.

We earnestly hope that the workers of all European countries will be able to maintain their labor organizations, even under stress of war difficulties, and that when peace shall have been restored they will be in a position to carry forward their activities in behalf of human rights and human liberties and a fuller democracy.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Supplementary Report of Executive Council Report.

We concur in the opinion expressed by the Executive Council that it is necessary to organize for peace in order to prevent unnecessary wars, wars for commercial and

political exploitation or aggrandizement and unreservedly recommend for your adoption the constructive plan for that purpose outlined in the supplementary report of the Executive Council on International Relations.

Experience and history do not warrant us in believing that any plan will wholly abolish war, nor do we think that any nation can ever wholly relinquish the right to wage war. The right to oppose wrong and injustice is essential to the maintenance of the spirit and the purposes of ideals and institutions of freedom. Yet, while preserving our right to oppose any infringement of our rights and to protect our freedom, we hold that these can best be safeguarded by establishing institutions for dealing with relations between nations and thereby organizing that field for peace. We believe that through permanent institutions, mediation, conciliation and by directing forces and conditions as they develop, the causes of wars and wars themselves may be prevented.

We appreciate the fact that peace is essential to the highest development of civilization and that it is earnestly desired by all right thinking people. But desire for peace is not in itself sufficient. There must be will for peace, together with agencies for making that will effective in the affairs of nations. There must be voluntary associated effort to establish justice so that there may be an honorable basis for permanent peace.

It is a purpose so valuable that it is worthy of our best thought and most intelligent efforts. The organized labor movement must present constructive suggestions if their concepts are to be considered while international institutions are in the making.

Therefore, we recommend for adoption the fundamentals contained in the report of the Executive Council as basis for an international organization for promoting justice between nations to the end that wars may be averted and human and national rights and freedom maintained.

The report was adopted unanimously.

British Fraternal Delegates.

(The delegates' report in full is given on pages 235-246, third day's proceedings.)

The able, instructive and interesting report submitted by Delegates W. J. Mahon and Mathew Woll, in which they so graphically portrayed the subjects dealt with and actions taken by the British Trades Union Congress, has been noted with satisfaction.

Your committee recommends that the report in full be published in the proceedings of this convention, and that this convention herewith expresses its gratification for and approval of the report of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Canadian Relations.

Your committee notes with satisfaction the continued friendly relation which exists between the organized workers of our country and Canada, and gives expression to the hope that such relation will grow in warmth and effectiveness as the years go forward.

Your committee recommends that Samuel Gompers be commissioned, and is hereby authorized, to visit Canada at some time during the 1917 Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, if time will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee amended Resolution No. 6 by striking out the part of the Resolve which reads: "That for the sake of a better understanding and permanent friendly relations between the workers in Japan and America we accept the invitation of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan and hereby authorize the Executive Council to select a suitable person to carry a message of good will and encouragement to the working people of Japan," and inserting the Resolve as it appears in the amended resolution, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Paul Scharrenberg, Andrew Furuseth, Patrick Flynn, D. P. Haggerty, William F. Dwyer, James E. Wilson, John A. O'Connell, M. J. McGuire, Frederick W. Ely, John Murray, H. W. Dcnnett:

WHEREAS, The recognized menace of unrestricted Asiatic immigration has resulted in the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the subsequent adoption of the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement between this country and Japan; and

WHEREAS, In the spirit alone of imperative necessity and self-protection organized labor of America has favored and urged the passage of such exclusion laws, but has at all times been ready to aid and encourage the workers of every country and of every color and creed to emancipate themselves from exploitation; and

WHEREAS, We have recently learned, with interest and gratification, that the working people of Japan are organizing into industrial unions, and have formally invited the organized workers of California and the organized workers of America to send dele-

gates to the fifth anniversary of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, to be held at Tokyo next spring; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor, without receding one step from its well-known attitude upon Asiatic Exclusion, has already accepted the invitation and has given to the delegate from Japan an expression of good-will and a message of hope and encouragement for a brighter future to the workers in his country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled at Baltimore, Md., that we note with extreme pleasure and satisfaction the fact that the working people of Japan are organizing into unions and federated under the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan; that we bespeak for them and their movement all the success possible; that we recommend that the Executive Council continue its friendly office in an effort to be helpful to the organization of the workers of Japan in every way possible by correspondence, and that it send a message of fraternal greeting, good will and best wishes for the success of the movement to organize more thoroughly and practically the wage-workers of Japan to bring light in their work and their lives.

Your committee concurs in the resolution as amended, recommends its adoption, and that it be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it may deem necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Invitation of Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan.

Upon the invitation of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan extended through its president, Bunji Suzuki, to visit Japan on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the Yu-Ai-Kai, we have to say, the subject matter having been referred to and acted upon in Resolution No. 6, your committee moves that this invitation also be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

President Gompers, on behalf of the delegates, presented to Mr. Suzuki a fob and a locket suitably inscribed.

Mr. Suzuki made a brief address in which he thanked the delegates for their gift, expressed the hope that friendly and fraternal relations would continue to exist between the workers of the United States and Japan, and thanked the delegates for their kindness and courtesy to him during the sessions of the convention.

Delegate Woll continued the report of the Committee on International Relations, as follows:

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate H. M. McLarin of Federal Employes Union No. 14332:

WHEREAS, the titanic and murderous war now in progress between certain European nations and in Mexico has brought vividly to our attention its horrors of death, agony, privation and devastation, and its very existence caused us to realize that no nation, however civilized and peaceful, is safe from its possibility under the present diplomatic system; and

WHEREAS, The laboring class must, and does, bear the burden of sacrifice and loss, in which the capitalist or wealthy class not only does participate, but from which it in reality profits; and

WHEREAS, The political representatives of the nations of the earth too frequently heed the demands of the wealthy for profit and the protection of their properties to the detriment of ourselves and our people, and too often arouse racial and national jealousies, prejudices and hatred, for the purpose of provoking war for the benefit of the said capitalist class; and

WHEREAS, The United States of America is the principal neutral nation, and we, its citizens, are in more favorable circumstances than the workers of any other neutral or belligerent country for instituting and conducting a movement for the protection of ourselves and our fellow-workers from the extension of the present conflict and from future wars; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn war as a means of settling international disputes, and hereby place the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, on record as unalterably opposed to the slaughter of human beings for the purpose of extending commercial opportunities, of controlling or subjugating the laboring class, or maintaining the so-called national honor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of this federation be and they are hereby empowered and directed to take the necessary steps to establish and maintain, in conjunction with the labor bodies of other countries, an international congress or federation of labor, with such provision as may be necessary and practicable for the hearing and discussion before international officers, or special commissions of labor representatives appointed for that purpose, the causes of disagreement between two or more nations, with a view to the prevention of a state of belligerency through reaching an amicable understanding as demanded by civilization, humanity and the welfare of the workers in the nations involved, and to the execution of such political action by such workers as will bring to the attention of the governmental representatives of such nations the expediency of settlement by diplomatic means.

While indorsing the sentiment and declarations expressed in the whereas, since the matter has been practically covered in this report and adopted by this convention, we recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate A. L. Rich, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The most practical, the most economic, the most profitable and the most reasonable methods that the Government of the United States can employ in a policy of preparation against war with foreign nations is to begin by removing the conditions that are primarily responsible for the creation of such wars; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention favors the establishment of a commercial union between the United States and the South and Central American Republics; that we also favor the establishment of steamship lines to give ample and efficient service to the commerce of the countries composing such union; that we favor the issuing of bonds by the Government of the United States to an amount sufficient to finance such steamship lines; that we favor the extension of credits or loans by the United States Government to such of the countries composing this union as may require a loan or credits, to enable them through ownership and control of stock in such steamship lines to participate in the management thereof and to secure for the people the benefits to be derived from the operation of such service; the amount of such loans or interests to be determined by a convention or joint commission representing the countries comprising such union and empowered to make such apportionment of interests, on condition that the government of the country receiving such apportionment of stock or interest retain not less than one-third of the same under the direct ownership and control of their respective governments as a guarantee of the safety of the investments and the efficient and impartial management of the services in the interest of all the people of these republics, as we hold that the interest of all the people of the republics of this continent, including the assurance of peace amongst themselves, is of more vital importance, and therefore entitled to greater consideration than the selfish desires of a few individuals, whose chief aim, object and purpose is to exploit them and their industries down even to the point of precipitating wars between them for the retention of this privilege.

Your committee feels that we cannot consistently indorse a commercial union such as is provided for in this resolution without indorsing the issuance of government bonds and further indorsing the proposition that these bonds, together with other financial obligations, shall be guaranteed by the government. It is the opinion of your committee that the adoption of the principles of commercialism between nations implied in this resolution makes for war rather than its prevention. Your committee, therefore, recommends nonconcurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Andrew A. Hill, of the Little Rock, Ark., Central Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The last convention of the American Federation of Labor held at San Francisco, Cal., instructed the Executive Board to arrange for a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and in the same place the World Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the war in Europe; and

WHEREAS, Our Executive Board has tried in vain to arrange for such a World Labor Congress because of the position taken by some of the labor unions of Europe, wherein they definitely rejected the proposal made them by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The aims and objects of the organized labor movements in Europe are practically the same as those of the organized labor movements of this country, and inasmuch as we of America cannot rise far above our fellow trade unionists of Europe and stand for any length of time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we suggest to the organized labor movements of those countries that shall participate in the general peace conference to determine terms and conditions of peace at the close of the war, that they urge upon their respective governments that the wage-earners shall be represented in an official commission from their respective countries and if it shall be determined that neutral countries also will participate in the general peace congress, the same policy ought to be pursued by them; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board stands instructed to do all in its power to bring about a World Labor Congress at the earliest possible time, and that in the meantime they shall lend their assistance and influence to help the different labor organizations of Europe get on their feet and again in good working order after the war.

The object sought by this resolution has already been covered by previous action of this convention. Your committee, therefore, holds that no further action is required.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and indorsed by that body:

WHEREAS, Conditions in all warring countries have resulted in filling trades hitherto supplied by men workers only with enormous numbers of underpaid women, unorganized and voteless; and

WHEREAS, We foresee, at the close of the war, when men return asking back their jobs, grave danger that these exploited women will be used to lower the wages of men as well, permanently and everywhere, thus causing the hard-won results of previous years of organization to be lost to the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we indorse the movement to obtain from all governments at the time of the signature of the treaty of peace the establishment of international agreements to take effect within a definite time and embodying the following principle:

The wage paid for definite work must be absolutely independent of the sex of the individual performing it.

Your committee has amended the foregoing resolution by striking out: "The wage paid for definite work must be absolutely independent of the sex of the individual performing it," and substitutes: "Equal pay for equal work performed regardless of sex."

With this amendment your committee concurs in and recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 118—By Benjamin Schlesinger, J. Heller, A. Rosenberg, Sarah Shapiro, Max Gorenstein and Morris Deltch, Delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The European war is daily growing in extent and horrors, and the unfortunate nations involved in it seem to be powerless to check the fury of mutual destruction and wholesale bloodshed; and

WHEREAS, Many nations in Europe are held in political subjugation by the great powers, are deprived of the right of self-government, hampered in their free national and cultural development, oppressed, maltreated and persecuted, and the existence of such oppressed nationalities, and their natural and legitimate struggles to liberate themselves constitute a fruitful source of international strife and war; and

WHEREAS, Some of the warring countries of Europe still withhold from the Jewish people the political, national and civil rights enjoyed by other citizens or subjects of those countries, although the Jews are making untold sacrifices in goods and blood for the countries of their birth or adoption; and

WHEREAS, The international movement of organized labor has for its aim the abolition of all forms of oppression and discrimination, national and racial, as well as political and industrial; be it, therefore,

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Baltimore in November, 1916, gives its hearty indorsement to the joint House resolution introduced by Congressman Meyer London in the House of Representatives, and by Senator Lane in the Senate, calling upon the President of the United States to convene a congress of neutral nations with the object of terminating the fratricidal war in Europe and establishing a durable peace upon just terms which shall include effective machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the future and ample provisions for the political independence and self-government of the oppressed nations and the removal of all political, national and civil disabilities of the Jewish people; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the organized workers of the United States are urged by the American Federation of Labor to render moral and material assistance to the full extent of their

means to their suffering fellow-workers, the victims of the war and of political, religious and racial persecution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

We have given the subject matter of the preambles and resolutions serious consideration. We are in accord with the facts set forth in the preambles, but the resolution is out of harmony with the best interests of the peoples involved in the countries of the European war and the purpose of the resolution would be in conflict with the highest concepts of human welfare. It would be idle and hurtful to attempt to hold a conference of the neutral countries with the object of terminating the European war at this time. Out of the fratricidal struggle the only compensation that can come of the human sacrifice is that there shall come to the peoples of the countries involved and to the peoples of the whole world a larger measure of justice, freedom and democracy.

Taking the text of the preambles as our own we recommend that this convention of the American Federation of Labor declares that:

The European war is daily growing in extent and horrors, and the nations unfortunately involved in it are at present powerless to check the fury of mutual destruction and wholesale bloodshed. Many nations in Europe are held in political subjugation by the direct powers, are deprived of the right of self-government, hampered in their free, national and cultural development, oppressed, maltreated and persecuted, and the existence of such oppressed nationalities and their natural and legitimate struggles to liberate themselves constitute a fruitful source of international strife and war.

Some of the warring nations of Europe still withhold from the Jewish and other oppressed peoples the political, national and civil rights enjoyed by other citizens or subjects of those countries, although the Jews are making untold sacrifices in goods and blood for the countries of their birth or adoption.

We declare that the international movement of organized labor, having justice for its aim, must give its best efforts to the abolition of all forms of oppression and discrimination, national, racial as well as political and industrial.

We urge that the organized workers of the United States render moral and material assistance to the full extent of their means to their suffering fellow-workers, the victims of the war and of political, religious, racial and industrial injustice.

Together with what we have already reported and recommended and which this convention has already adopted, we recommend that this report be substituted for Resolution No. 118, and further

That the American Federation of Labor pledges itself and all whom it can persuade to act in co-operation with us to render every service in order that justice and freedom for labor and for humanity be secured and maintained for the peoples of all countries the world over.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Woll: This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

G. W. PERKINS, Chairman:
JAMES DUNCAN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
MAX S. HAYES,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES WILSON,
JOHN P. FREY,
B. A. LARGER,
T. V. O'CONNOR,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
JOHN H. WALKER,
C. L. BAINE,
W. D. MAHON,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary.

Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole as approved by this convention. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Report of Committee on Labels.

Delegate Barnes (J. M.), secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate R. L. Brazzle, Seattle Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted Resolution No. 117 indorsing the exposition method in label agitation and educational work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention instruct the Executive Council to communicate with the various labor unions of America and all manufacturing concerns employing union labor and displaying the union label to ascertain their willingness to pay their pro rata expense

in presenting to the nation a traveling exhibit of union labor products, labor unions to be requested to exhibit historical records, works of art, music, sculpture and paintings as each union may consider most appropriate; and be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor throughout the world be invited to co-operate in this undertaking, to the end that the aims, aspirations and struggles of the workers in all lands be mutually understood, and thus lead to a closer fraternity and solidarity of method and purpose.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 46 by striking out the following section, which it considered superfluous, as all unions are included in the resolution:

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the International Joint Executive Board, Brewery Workers of America, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Edmund P. Walters, of the Bottle Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers' Union No. 10675:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor should foster and encourage the exclusive use of bottle caps, crowns, corks and seals which are manufactured by union labor, among those crafts and trades which handle products requiring the use of bottle caps, crowns, corks and seals; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor should particularly insist upon the use of such union-made products by all affiliated trades engaged in the brewing and bottling industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that all affiliated organizations whose members are required to handle products which necessitate the use of bottle caps, corks or crowns, insist upon the use of such products only as are made by union labor.

The resolution was adopted as amended.

The committee amended Resolution No. 57 by adding a third and fourth "Whereas," and a second "Resolve," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Samuel Lebowitz, of the Mineral Water Workers No. 12674:

WHEREAS, The union label of the American Federation of Labor is being counterfeited by certain firms manufacturing seltzer water in the Greater City of New York; and

WHEREAS, This abuse of the union label is working a great hardship upon the union using the label of the American Federation of Labor, especially Mineral Water Workers' Union No. 12674, of Greater New York; and

WHEREAS, We are informed by reliable sources that there are many counterfeit

labels used by unscrupulous firms, and that their detection is most difficult; and

WHEREAS, It is reported that labels used cannot be definitely traced to the unions to whom they are issued; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor hereafter when issuing labels to the various unions shall have the number of the local union receiving same printed with red ink on the face of the label; and be it further

RESOLVED, By this convention that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have a careful investigation made of this subject and make such arrangements as they may deem best to safeguard the union label of the American Federation of Labor and the local union using same.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is an assured fact that the union label is one of the most potent factors for the advancement of the most vital interests of the membership of our trade-union movement, and by which we are enabled to help each other in discriminating between union and non-union made products when purchasing commodities for our daily needs; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union, having a union label, is seeking a wider demand for tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the union label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Baltimore, Md., that inasmuch as union-labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best qualities are marketed in parcels that come within the reach of all consumers, and easily accessible to all purchasers they should receive a larger share of the purchasing power of union men and their friends; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the consensus of opinion of the delegates attending this convention that the practice of demanding the union label on our purchases has heretofore not given the results we have a right to expect. In view of this condition we give a renewed expression of our fealty to our cause, and pledge our effort to creating a more extended demand for union-labeled tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff, thereby employing union men and women working in the tobacco industry.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegates Preston Gompers, Mueller, Barnes and Campbell, Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, About 7,000 unorganized cigar makers, 96 per cent. of whom are

women and girls, went on strike in the city of Detroit, Mich., against working conditions which were a disgrace to American ideals and a fitting standard of womanhood, and for an increase of wages; and

WHEREAS, These workers, struggling for decent living and working conditions, finding themselves hopeless and impotent against a merciless combined manufacturers' association, backed by a hostile police force and a strike-breaking injunction, in their desperation turned to the Cigar Makers' International Union for refuge; and

WHEREAS, The Cigar Makers' International Union, true to its mission, opened its doors and admitted these unfortunate and helpless workers to membership; took up their burden, and have successfully held them in line for eighteen weeks, despite the machinations of a hostile police force and an ever-ready injunction judge; and

WHEREAS, About twelve of these striking girls have been convicted of contempt of court for an alleged violation of judge-made injunction laws, and three of them given jail sentences; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we indorse and commend the stand taken by the women and girls involved in this unequal, but justifiable, strike, and rejoice in the magnificent courage they have displayed under conditions before which it requires stout hearts and great determination.

RESOLVED, That we see in this great display of courage, fortitude and determination upon the part of these new recruits and heretofore unorganized workers an inspiration, hope and a justification and a fulfillment of all that we have claimed for the trades union movement and its final triumph.

Your committee reports as follows on Resolution No. 127:

This resolution is indorsed as a statement of facts, though no action is proposed by it.

Your committee most heartily commends the spirit of revolt against tyrannical labor conditions and the spirit of solidarity exhibited by seven thousand unorganized cigar makers of the city of Detroit, 98 per cent. of whom are women and girls, and we congratulate the Cigar Makers' International Union of America for fighting their battle and taking them into the fold of its organization.

The facts here recorded constitute an eloquent appeal, in the judgment of this committee, for a more earnest and widespread patronage of the blue label of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America.

We insist that slavery of the character herein described cannot exist in cigar shops of this land, unless encouraged and indorsed by the smoking public in the purchase of non-union cigars.

And, again, we cite the fact that a wholesome, active and general demand for

cigars bearing the blue label will forever wipe out such slave conditions.

Regarding the entire situation of the cigar industry of Detroit, this strike and general organization efforts, we recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor continue to co-operate with the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, as they have during the past few years in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Recommendations of the Committee.

We call attention of the delegates to the following facts for their consideration for the protection and the wider and more general use of the label as an organizing force:

First—It has come to the notice of your committee that there appears to be an impression abroad among many organizers of the American Federation of Labor, the international unions and local organizers that the Label Trades Department being charged with label agitation and label advertising that, therefore, they are absolved from special efforts in this direction.

We, therefore, recommend that all organizers be informed by the respective authorities that label agitation, wherever and whenever possible, is an important part of an organizer's duties.

Second—We direct attention and submit again for the consideration of the officials of the American Federation of Labor and all international unions issuing labels, the advisability of using cloth labels instead of paper labels, as provided for in Resolution No. 146, submitted to the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor by Thomas F. Tracy of the Union Label Trades Department and adopted by the convention, which reads, in part, as follows:

"WHEREAS, Manufacturers of suspenders, neckwear, etc., could adopt the cloth label which is sewed on, and thus remain permanent evidence that such articles were manufactured by union labor; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Executive officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested in the future not to issue paper union labels to be used on union products where the cloth union label can be attached."

The recommendations of the committee were unanimously adopted.

Secretary Barnes: This completes the report of the committee.

(Signed) VICTOR ALTMAN, Chairman;
 MAX HAYES,
 CORNELIUS McCUE,
 JOSEPH F. BROCK,
 GEORGE MCCARTHY,
 J. GOLDSTONE,
 MORRIS DEITCH,
 E. W. VAN DUYN,
 WILLIAM E. BRYAN,
 MAX ZARITSKY,
 F. A. SCOBY,
 LAWRENCE KEEFE,
 PHILIP BOCK,
 J. MAHLON BARNES, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Report of Committee on Organization.

Delegate Conboy, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 163—By Delegates James P. Noonan, Edward F. Kloter and Frank Fisher, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, Owing to the unorganized condition of the various trades working in the numerous shipyards throughout the United States; and

WHEREAS, Owing to the deplorable conditions that exist in these shipyards for the workers of the different crafts therein employed; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the opportune time has arrived to remedy this condition, which has been a thorn in the side of every man that has the interest of organized labor at heart; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record calling upon the heads of all organizations having men working in shipyards to put forth an effort, by concerted action, to place organizers in the field to try to bring about the desired results that labor for years has tried to attain in the shipyards throughout the United States.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Report of Committee on State Organizations.

Vice-President Alpine, chairman of the committee, reported as follows.

Resolution No. 154—By Delegate John A. McDonald, of the Detroit Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is an effort being made by the organized working people of

Michigan to secure the adoption of a constitutional amendment restricting the courts from issuing injunctions and abolishing the rights of men and women during industrial disputes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit Federation of Labor hereby requests that the American Federation of Labor indorse the movement and urge that international unions having subordinate locals in Michigan support, morally and financially, the effort to amend the constitution in the State through the initiative and referendum.

Your committee, in its previous report adopted by this convention, in dealing with the subject matter of the resolution, urged the immediate and united action of the organized workers in an effort to enact laws looking toward the elimination of the present iniquitous court procedure in the various states in issuing injunctions against the workers in labor disputes, and therefore concur in the resolution in conformity with this declaration.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

(Signed) JOHN B. ALPINE, Chairman;
 JOHN H. WALKER,
 J. B. BODE,
 JAMES W. KLINE,
 BOB WHITE,
 THOMAS SWEENEY,
 WILLIAM BOWEN,
 J. E. CRELLIN,
 JAMES P. HOLLAND,
 C. E. JAMES,
 SANTIAGO IGLESIAS,
 HENRY W. RAISSE,
 JAMES BRUFF,
 E. F. KLOTER,
 E. L. EDGERTON.

Report of Committee on Ways and Means.

Delegate MacGowan, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate John A. O'Connell, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Sugar Workers' Union, Local No. 10519, of San Francisco, California, has secured the eight-hour day and improved wage conditions for its members by and through economic organization; and

WHEREAS, The sugar industry, one of vast importance to the people of this country, is now practically unorganized so far as the workers are concerned in all the large sugar refineries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Baltimore, Md., hereby appropriates the sum of five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) for the purpose of organizing the sugar industry, and that the Executive Council be instructed to devote its special attention to organize the sugar workers in the larger centers of said industry.

Your committee realizes the importance and necessity of organization in the sugar industry, but inasmuch as the funds of the American Federation of Labor are limited, we feel that it would be establishing a dangerous precedent to appropriate a specific sum for organization in any particular industry. Your committee, therefore, recommends that the suggested appropriation be stricken from the resolution and with this amendment your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Your committee had referred to it that portion of the report of the Executive Council's report appearing on pages 14 to 48, containing Secretary Morrison's report and Treasurer Lennon's financial statement. Your committee finds that the entire subject matter has been fully reported on by other committees.

(Signed) JOHN P. WHITE, Chairman;
A. O. WHARTON,
JOHN DEVLIN,
WM. F. KRAMER,
W. M. WELSH,
JOHN T. JOY,
CHARLES B. TORPEY
P. J. GUERIN,
HENRY ALEXANDER,
JOSEPH WEBER,
F. J. SHEEHAN,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
W. R. BOYER,
CHAS. MacGOWAN, Secretary.

Report of Building Trades Committee.

Delegate Griggs, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that trades unions in various parts of the country are signing so-called arbitration agreements with their employers, forbidding the sympathetic strike; and

WHEREAS The sympathetic strike is the most powerful weapon of organized labor in its struggle against unfair employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appeals to all affiliated unions to assist each other in every way possible and to refuse to enter into agreements that call for the surrender of the right to strike in support of other workers.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, In view of the fact that trades unions in various parts of the country are signing so-called arbitration agreements with their employers, forbidding the sympathetic strike; and

WHEREAS, The sympathetic strike is the most powerful weapon of organized labor in its struggle against unfair employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor appeals to all affiliated unions to assist each other in every way possible and to advise them not to enter into agreements that call for the surrender of the right to strike in support of other workers.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, The Building Trades of New York City are not conjointly giving to themselves nor to the organized labor movement the concerted activity which is essential to progress, to trade union development as well as to mutual advantage;

WHEREAS, Those trades are not through a trades council affiliated to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, nor have their efforts in that direction in recent years been successful.

RESOLVED, That Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby authorizes its Executive Council, together with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, to assemble in New York City at the most opportune date for the purpose of organizing a building trades council in affiliation to the Building Trades Department, and subject to its general rules and regulations;

RESOLVED, That in order to make this effort successful and permanent the general presidents of the building trades affiliated to the American Federation of Labor and to the Building Trades Department are herewith invited and directed, in so far as the American Federation of Labor can direct, to be in attendance at the conference herein provided for, and that they or their executive boards, prior to the date of the conference, shall arrange that three representatives of their respective local unions shall attend the conference for the purpose of and with authority to thoroughly organize a building trades council of bona fide building trades.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution, and hopes that the conference will be brought about as speedily as possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 102 by striking out the following resolves:

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to enforce the laws of the American Federation of Labor by requiring the Chicago Building Trades Council to unseat this suspended local union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That upon the failure of the Chicago Building Trades Council to comply with the law of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department that they be revoked in accordance with Article XI, Section 2, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor; also Article XV, Section 3, governing departments.

And inserting in lieu thereof the resolve which appears in the resolution when amended, which reads as follows:

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, A. Hinzman, Charles MacGowan, M. J. McGuire, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America:

WHEREAS, It became necessary for the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America to enforce discipline in the City of Chicago, Ill., which resulted in the revocation of the charter of subordinate lodge number one, July twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and fifteen; and

WHEREAS, Official notice of such action was given the Chicago Building Trades Council, through its secretary, James Conroy, and to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor through its secretary, William J. Spencer, on the same date; and

WHEREAS, All correspondence and requests to the Building Trades Council of Chicago upon the subject matter have been ignored and unacknowledged; and

WHEREAS, The secretary of the Building Trades Department has advised that several requests were made by him upon the Chicago Building Trades Council of Chicago to unseat the delegates of the suspended local; and

WHEREAS, Article XI, Section 9, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor specifically provides that "no Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a national or international organization of their trade herein affiliated under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter"; and

WHEREAS, This expelled local union is still seated in the Building Trades Council of Chicago in violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor and the Building Trades Department and is given encouragement and support which is a

serious obstacle to the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, in its enforcement of its laws and the settlement of the controversy with this expelled local union; and

WHEREAS, An appeal was made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, under date of January 5th, 1916, requesting that the laws of the American Federation of Labor be enforced and the Chicago Building Trades Council required to unseat this suspended local union; and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the instructions of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Building Trades Department to have this local unseated by the Chicago Council, they are still in affiliation with the Chicago Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to enforce Article XI, Section 1 of the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and urge upon the Building Trades Department to put into effect their laws governing such cases by requiring the Chicago Building Trades Council to unseat this suspended local within the next ninety days.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers—Building Trades Department.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

In view of the conferences now being held between the representatives of the Carpenters and Sheet Metal Workers, your committee commends the endeavor of the Executive Council to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this jurisdictional contention.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Carpenters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Owing to previous action being taken by this convention on this matter, your committee therefore deals only with that portion of the report of the Executive Council dealing with the report of the special committee appointed by President Gompers to investigate the status of the Dock Builders in New York city. Your committee approves and commends the action and report of the special committee, and wishes to state emphatically that in its opinion the statements made by President McClory of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers regarding the integrity of the members composing special committee is unwarranted, unjustifiable and without foundation. We therefore, heartily indorse the report and

the recommendations of the special committee appointed by President Gompers in this controversy.

As your committee realizes that in the building of docks, piers and wharves there is possibly work that belongs to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and also to the Brotherhood of Carpenters which should be segregated or divided so that which belongs to either of these organizations shall be mutually recognized by both, and set forth in a working agreement to be drawn up by the officers of both organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McClory, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers: I desire to reiterate at this time every word contained in that letter to President Gompers, because nothing has transpired since its writing to change my mind.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Machinists—Carpenters.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

We recommend the action of the Executive Council in this matter and sincerely hope its efforts will prove successful in bringing about a mutually satisfactory understanding.

The report of the committee was adopted. Secretary Griggs: This completes the report of the Committee on Building Trades, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

THOS. J. WILLIAMS, Chairman;
THOMAS R. PREECE,
PETER G. COOK,
EDW. F. KLOTER,
JOHN J. HYNES,
GEO. F. HEDRICK,
J. M. GAVLAK,
D. D'ALESSANDRO,
J. T. HURLEY,
W. E. HEMSELL,

Building Trades Committee.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Thomas F. Tracy Memorial.

The death of Thomas F. Tracy, which occurred November, 1916, removed from the councils of the labor movement a staunch trade unionist. When the organizations of labor were weak in numbers and influence it required courage and determination to become identified with the trade union movement. It was then that the mettle of men's

souls became the distinguishing mark. The qualities and attributes that drew Thomas F. Tracy into the labor movement represent the faith, the courage and the vision that are the essentials upon which the trade union movement has been founded.

Thomas F. Tracy gave years of efficient service and devotion to the cause of labor—both to the organization of his own trade and to the general movement. When his work for his local union demonstrated his ability to plan and to accomplish constructive betterment for his fellow-workers, he was called to larger service, first, for those of his trade and then for those of all trades—for all workers. For many years he served as second vice-president of the Cigar Makers' International Union, as legislative committeeman of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department.

The constructive work he accomplished while occupying these positions of trust and responsibility was possible because of his keen appreciation of the injustice inflicted upon the toilers, his realization of the magnitude of the struggle to secure economic justice and his abiding faith in the destiny of the labor movement and his vision of a better life for all.

He held that the economic organizations of wage-earners are the fundamental agencies through which betterment and justice can be secured for the workers, and he was unyielding in his opposition to efforts to divert the workers to other policies. Although deprived of health and rugged strength he devoted his full physical and mental power to the movement to alleviate the sufferings of others and to remove the causes of injustice.

Ever mindful of the rights of others, he gave the best that was in him that they might be secured and preserved with inflexible fidelity to every trust imposed on him; he lived the life of an upright trade unionist, and the memory of his devotion to the cause of humanity serves as an inspiration to those who knew him. He exemplified the constructive character building which is the essence of our movement and which it fosters.

Thomas F. Tracy was one of the builders of the trade union movement of America. While his death removes him from among the active workers for the cause of humanity, yet that which he accomplished in life will live in the beneficent influences brought into the lives of millions of wage-earners.

Those of us who knew Thomas F. Tracy have the influence and the memory of a kindly, courteous man, whose sympathy was helpful because directed by understanding and intelligence; who endured physical suffering with fortitude, who fought for the right as he saw it with unswerving faith, and who gave to his friends and the cause of labor loyalty and honest service.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
G. W. PERKINS,
W. A. CAMPBELL,
J. MAHLON BARNES,
PHIL H. MUELLER.

Delegate Perkins: I move the adoption of the Memorial submitted by the Cigar Makers' delegation.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Mueller, and adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate Furuseth: I move that the Memorial be suitably engrossed, framed and presented to the children of the late Thomas F. Tracy.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 169—By Resolutions Committee:

WHEREAS, The lady visitors have received the most cordial attentions from the local Committee on Entertainment;

RESOLVED, That this medium be adopted for the expression of their sincere appreciation for the generous measure of interest which has been taken in their comfort and entertainment, and the spirit of kindly concern in their welfare while in Baltimore which has been constantly manifested.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 170—By Resolutions Committee:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at this time voice our deep appreciation for the presence of His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, who offered the invocation, and Bishop John Gardner Murray, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who offered the opening prayer;

RESOLVED, That we express our cordial appreciation for the welcome address of Honorable Emerson C. Harrington, Governor of Maryland, and Mr. A. S. Goldsborough, representing the Mayor of the City of Baltimore, and that it was with peculiar and personal pride that we were privileged to have the first Secretary of Labor, Hon. William B. Wilson, among those who participated in our opening exercises;

RESOLVED, That this convention express its obligations to the members of the

Musicians' Union, who furnished the convention with a masterly interpretation of our patriotic airs and the pleasure which their presence gave to us;

RESOLVED, That the local Committee on Arrangements are entitled to our expressions of heartfelt approval for the various and bounteous provisions which they made for our comfort and entertainment, and which we have enjoyed during our sojourn in Baltimore, and we extend our sentiments of admiration for the kindly and continuous interest which has been shown by the wives and daughters of Baltimore trade unionists, and for the solicitous desire which they have ever indicated for the comfort and the social enjoyment of our lady delegates and the other delegates in attendance at the convention.

That the delegates to this convention through the discussion on the subjects which have come before them have again given marked evidence of that sound and sterling principle of forbearance and true courtesy towards each other, which made it possible for this convention to accomplish constructive work, and which develops the intellect and broadens the horizons of those who are privileged to attend to better qualify them to labor more effectively and with a still greater success for the development of our trade union movement and its efforts to establish a greater measure of social and industrial justice.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Secretary Frey: This completes our report, which is signed by the entire committee:

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman;
GEORGE W. PERKINS,
GEORGE F. HEDRICK,
B. A. LARGER,
HUGH STEVENSON,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
DANIEL J. TOBIN,
MARTIN F. RYAN,
JOHN A. VOLL,
A. A. MYRUP,
J. W. MORTON,
JAMES G. HANNAHAN,
O. E. WOODBURY,
REZIN ORR,
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.
Committee on Resolutions.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco: I move that we repeat what transpired in the San Francisco convention, when all the delegates stood in silence for one minute in respect for the memory of those who have departed from us in the last year.

The motion was seconded, and carried by all the delegates arising and remaining standing in silence for one minute.

Delegate Iglesias obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 171—By Santiago Iglesias:

RESOLVED, That this convention, in view of the clauses embodied in the Jones Bill pending in the Senate of the United States denying, to great extent, the civil rights of the people of Porto Rico, earnestly request and recommend that the national unions, international unions, state federations and city central bodies communicate with the Senators of their states, and request them not to cast their votes for the Jones Bill until it is properly amended so as to do justice to the people of Porto Rico in maintaining the rights that they now enjoy and possess.

Delegate Iglesias moved the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Woll: I move that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for attention.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Schlesinger, and carried.

President Gompers: The business of this convention is completed. There has not been a resolution or motion submitted that has not received the consideration of the various committees, the Executive Council and this convention. It is a source of great gratification that we have transacted business of such vast importance and character that will make greatly for the advance of the rights

and the promotion of the interests of the working people of our country.

Permit me to say that in the long experience I have had, both in attendance at and presiding over the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, not one has given me more hope and encouragement to work. Splendidly done plans, excellently laid out conclusions, deliberately reached, and all making for the great work for the coming year and for the years to come.

May I ask that when the delegates reach their homes they will carry back to their respective constituencies the encouraging word for every man and every woman from now on to work on tiptoe, full of energy in order that the plans laid down, the ways and means provided by this convention shall be carried into effect and bring light into the lives and the work of all the toilers of the American continent.

For myself, I can but express my deep appreciation of the courtesy manifested by the delegates on the floor of this convention toward each other and toward the presiding officer. I can find no words adequate to express my deep appreciation and gratitude for all of these things.

Treasurer Lennon moved that the convention adjourn sine die.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The delegates all arose and sang "Auld Lang Syne."

At 7 o'clock p. m. Saturday, November 23th, the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison

Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.

Henry A. McAnarney

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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